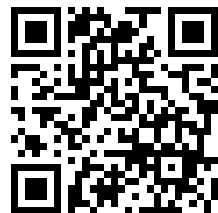


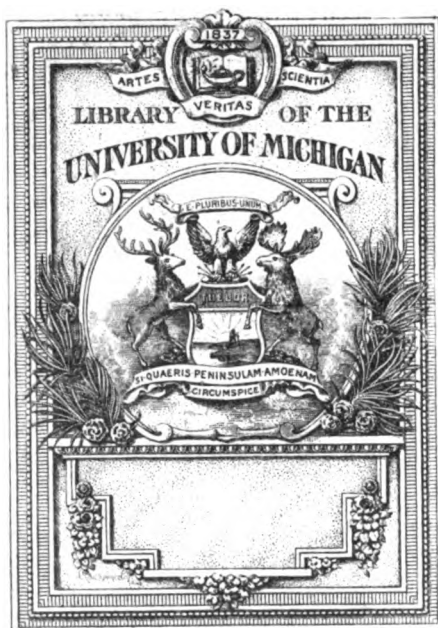
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# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

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## THE BABYLONIAN AND BIBLICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE CREATION

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Nearly thirty years ago Mr. George Smith, one of the most brilliant and successful pioneers of Assyriology, discovered the fragments of an Assyrian legend of the creation. It was in the form of a poem, and from the portions of it that remained he concluded that it had been composed in seven tablets or books. Between these seven tablets and the seven creation days of Genesis a comparison was natural, more especially as the order of creation in the Assyrian and biblical accounts seems to be the same, and there were, moreover, other points of resemblance between them.

After Mr. Smith's untimely death other fragments of the Assyrian poem came to light. It soon became apparent that it was really a sort of pæan in honor of the god Bel-Merodach who, in the eyes of the later Babylonians, was the creator of the world. Other gods had played that part in the earlier days of Babylonian history, but Merodach was the patron god of the city of Babylon, and when Babylon became the capital of the country it was needful that its god should be supreme. Merodach, accordingly, usurped the place which had previously been held by the older divinities, absorbing all the offices and attributes that had belonged to them. Among these the creative function naturally held a foremost position, and it

was therefore as creator of the world that the god of Babylon now stepped forward to the exclusion of his brother-deities. Henceforth in the eyes of the Babylonians Merodach alone was the creator of the world.

Hence it is that the work of creation necessarily occupies a large space in a poem the object of which is to celebrate the supremacy of Merodach. The poem, in fact, becomes an epic of the creation, since it was in virtue of his being the creator that Merodach proved himself to be the first of the gods. It was because he alone had made the world that he was supreme in both heaven and earth. Not only was the earth with its inhabitants the work of his hands; the heavens also, where the gods dwelt, were equally his creation.

The creation was conceived of by the Babylonians as the evolution of order out of chaos, of light out of darkness, of law out of anarchy. The present world with its law and order has been evolved out of an earlier and chaotic world in which the anarchic forces of nature were allowed full play. The evolution has been the result of a struggle; the anarchic elements have been subdued and confined within the limits of law only after fierce resistance, out of which the gods of light emerged triumphant and the demons of darkness were put to flight. In the Epic of the Creation the triumph of the gods of light is ascribed to Merodach. Other gods before him had essayed to fight with the dragon of chaos; he only had succeeded in overcoming her.

The dragon of chaos was a personification of the deep, of that abyss of waters over which the storms sweep, and which, unless checked and restrained, would swallow up the earth and all that it contains. In the deep the Babylonians saw the primeval origin of all things. The belief went back to days long before Babylon became the leading city of Babylonia and its god had usurped the creative functions of the older deities. But it was a belief deeply planted in the Babylonian mind, and all theories or stories of creation were required to presuppose it.

It was a belief that first grew up in the city of Eridu, which, some seven or eight thousand years ago, was the seaport of primitive Babylonia. Eridu then stood on the shore of the Persian Gulf, though the silting up of the coast and the retreat of the sea have long



since removed its site far inland. Its maritime trade made it the nursery and home of early Babylonian culture; its god Ea was the culture-god of Chaldea, to whom were ascribed the invention of writing and all the arts and habits of civilized life. For the inhabitants of Eridu and for the culture which emanated from it Ea was, therefore, the creator, and here accordingly the earlier Babylonian system of cosmology first grew up.

The maritime situation of this earlier home of the Babylonian story of the creation thus explains how the deep came to be regarded as that out of which the universe has been evolved. The deep was the Persian Gulf, and to the native of Eridu who saw the land growing, as it were, out of the sea by the accumulation of silt it was natural to suppose that this was the way in which the whole earth had come into existence. The fields reclaimed from the Persian Gulf at Eridu were a type and illustration of the world and its creation. As they were in a sense the gift of the sea, so, it was argued, the whole world must have had its origin in the deep.

Babylon was probably a colony of Eridu. At all events, its patron god Merodach was identified with the son of Ea of Eridu, and came in time to absorb the attributes of his adopted father. The creative functions of Ea passed to Merodach; Merodach and not Ea became the creator of the world. In the Epic of the Creation, accordingly, Merodach is the creator of the world, though the system of cosmology is still that of Eridu.

The first tablet or book is a philosophical introduction to the story which follows. It breathes the spirit of a later age when the old myths had ceased to be believed and the supernatural figures that moved in them had been transformed into cosmical principles and abstract symbols. Tiamât, the dragon of the deep, has become the impersonation of chaos and anarchy, the ocean which encircles the world has ceased to be divine and has been changed into the element out of which all things have been produced, and the gods themselves are resolved into material elements. And creation itself is represented as a process of development, instead of being the result of a war in heaven, as the rest of the poem declares it to be.

It is only in the introduction, however, that mythology thus makes way for the materialistic philosophy of the schools. Elsewhere the

poem knows only of the myths in which the Babylonian stories of creation were embodied and of the mythological figures with which they were connected. Tiamât assumes her mythological character, and the larger part of the epic is occupied with the legend of the war of the gods and the victory of Merodach over her. The introduction is, I believe, the work of an Assyrian who may have lived as late as the time of Assur-bani-pal; the rest of the poem is of Babylonian origin and of comparatively early date.

Much of the missing portion of it has recently been discovered by Mr. L. W. King, and we can now, therefore, follow the thread of the story in a way that was impossible before. Among the new fragments found by him are the beginning and end of the sixth tablet, in which the creation of the man is described. We now learn that the revolt of Tiamât had been preceded by an earlier revolt of Apsu, "the Deep," and Mummu, "Chaos"—evidently a variant version of the war of the gods in which Apsu and Mummu took the place of Tiamât.

The account of the war and of the final victory of Merodach occupies the first four books. At the end of the fourth we are told how the conqueror divided Tiamât "like a flat fish into two halves," forming out of them the waters above and below the firmament. Then in the fifth tablet comes the appointment of the heavenly bodies to illuminate the world, and to measure time. They were not created like the firmament, for in the eyes of the Babylonians the sun and moon and stars were deities, and consequently had come into being at the same time as Merodach himself. What the creator did, therefore, was to fix the places to be occupied by the signs of the Zodiac, to "ordain the year" and its divisions, assigning three stars to each of the months, to cause the moon-god to illumine the night and determine the length of the month, and to set the sun-god over the day. At the same time, the courses of the celestial bodies through the sky were laid down for them, and the whole universe was bound together by inviolable laws, "so that none might err or ever go astray." The reign of chaos was over; henceforward the world was to be governed by fixed law.

The latter half of the fifth tablet is wanting, and until Mr. King's fortunate discovery nothing was known of the sixth. We now find that it begins with a description of the creation of man.

When Merodach heard the word of the gods, his heart prompted him (and) he devised [a plan]. He opened his mouth and [spake] to Ea, what he had conceived in his heart he imparted [to him]: "Blood will I take and bone will [I fashion]; I will make man that man may [exist?]; I will create man to inhabit [the earth], that the service of the gods may be performed and their shrines [built]: I will also change the ways of the gods and reform [their counsels], that they may be all honored together and against evil [be protected?]."

The creation of man is thus connected with the overthrow of the powers of darkness, and its object is expressly stated to be the worship and service of the gods of light. Did man not exist, the gods would be deprived of their offerings, and the temples wherein they were adored would remain unbuilt.

The seventh and last tablet of the epic is a hymn of praise sung by the gods in honor of Merodach, in which the attributes and powers of the other "great gods" are transferred to him. It formed originally no part of the story of the creation, or even of the legend of Merodach; it was an independent poem, going back to Sumerian times and incorporated by the author of the epic into his work. Numerous explanatory commentaries of it existed, fragments of which have survived to us, and the author of the epic has connected it with the rest of his poem by explaining that it was chanted by the gods in their council chamber after the overthrow of Tiamât, and by adding to it at the end a few lines of epilogue.

The story of the overthrow of Tiamât, like the story of the creation itself, was primarily told, not of Merodach, but of another god, El-bil, the older Bel of Nippur. Hence it is that, after describing how the task of opposing Tiamât had been undertaken in vain by Anu and Ea, no mention is made of Bel of Nippur, the third member of the Babylonian triad. Bel, in fact, has been identified with his supplanter, the younger Bel-Merodach of Babylon. But the identification goes back to the age of Abraham. It was under Khammu-rabi, or Amraphel, that Babylon became the capital of a united empire and its god supreme in the divine hierarchy of Babylonia. When Abraham migrated to Canaan, the story of the creation and of the war in heaven must already have assumed much the same form as that which it has in the epic.

The importance of the fact becomes clear as soon as we compare the Babylonian story with the first chapter of Genesis. The resem-

blance that exists between them has been recognized from the first. Indeed, it is more than a resemblance; much that we find in the biblical cosmology presupposes the conceptions of the cuneiform story and meets with its explanation from them. Even the technical terms of the biblical narrative are Babylonian in origin.

But there is more than this. While the Babylonian story is polytheistic and mythological, the biblical account is intensely—we might almost say aggressively—monotheistic. Here and there, it is true, expressions have been left which imply a polytheistic source: *tehom*, “the deep,” for instance, is used as a proper name, like Tiamât, without the definite article, and God is represented as saying, “Let *us* make man in *our* image;” but it is no less true that in most cases the polytheistic and mythological element in the Babylonian story is not only set aside, but implicitly contradicted. Let us take, for example, the account of the appointment of the heavenly bodies. In the Babylonian epic there is no mention of their creation, for they were divine beings who had come into existence like the other gods before the creation of the present world. In the book of Genesis, on the other hand, though the appointment of the heavenly bodies occupies the same position in the order of creation as it does in the epic, and though, too, God is represented as saying—not that they should be created, but, as in the Babylonian story—that they should be lights dividing the day from the night and regulating the seasons of the calendar, it is nevertheless added that God then “*made* two great lights” and “the stars also.” And not only so; the very names by which the “two great lights” were known are scrupulously avoided. They were names of deities, of the sun-god and the moon-god, and as such are excluded from the biblical narrative. The “stars” similarly take the place in it of the Babylonian Istar, the goddess of the evening star; for the biblical writer all alike are lights and nothing more, which have been created, as well as assigned their duties, by the one and only God. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the biblical writer had the Babylonian story of creation before him, and, while preserving it in the letter, intentionally changed it in the spirit. Vss. 14 and 15 in the narrative of Genesis read like an extract from the Babylonian legend; vs. 16 is the addition of the Hebrew monotheist which deprives them of their monotheistic sense.

The same features distinguish the rest of the biblical account from its Babylonian prototype. There is the same evidence of acquaintance with the Babylonian story, the same conscious elimination of its mythical and polytheistic elements. Nor is it only the mythical and polytheistic elements that are banished; the materialistic philosophy of the introduction to the epic is banished likewise. In place of matter generating itself and developing into the divine, we have God from the very outset creating all things, matter and chaos included. According to the Babylonian poet, "in the beginning" were the formless deep and chaotic matter which together were the source and origin of all things. Even the gods developed out of them, like the rest of the universe, in the slow course of time.

Against this doctrine the biblical writer protests in uncompromising tones. On the forefront of Genesis he declares that "in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." The earth was, indeed, a formless chaos resting on the dark waters of the primeval deep, but the chaos and deep were not the first of things; God was already there, and his breath or spirit brooded over the abyss. The cosmology of Babylonia is adopted which saw in the dark and formless deep the origin of the universe, but it was corrected and modified by the declaration that above and apart from the abyss was the divine creator.

Surprise has often been expressed that the biblical account should represent the light as having been created before the heavenly bodies, and that there should have been evening and morning before the sun was made. But the discovery of the Babylonian story of the creation explains why it should have been so. There, too, we hear of "day" and "night" even before the gods had been born, much more before the creation of the world, the reason being that the heavenly bodies were not made by the Babylonian creator, but only appointed to their work of measuring time. They were themselves divinities, and so had come into existence along with the creator himself.

The difficulty in the biblical narrative has arisen from the addition which asserts that not only were the heavenly bodies appointed to their work of measuring time, they were also created at the same time. Nothing can show more clearly that the assertion is an addition, and that the Babylonian story must have lain before the writer

who made it. The writer in Genesis accepts the statement that the heavenly bodies were appointed to measure time, but he qualifies it by adding that they were also made. The sting of polytheism and materialism is thus taken out of the Babylonian story, but it is at the expense of introducing into it a contradiction and a difficulty. There were evening and morning before there was anything to separate and distinguish them.

But this is not all. In the book of Genesis we are told that the sea and land were divided from one another and vegetation created on the third day, before the creation of the sun and moon. It is evident that we have here an inversion of the natural and necessary order of the creative acts. Vegetation implies sunshine; before it could have come into existence the sun must have been made. In the Babylonian epic, however, the formation of the sea, with its fixed boundaries, is, like the formation of the sky, closely connected with the creation of the firmament out of the two halves of Tiamât. The description of it is, therefore, deeply tinged with the fantasies of Babylonian mythology and superstition, and there was good reason for the different version that we find in the Old Testament. The formation of the firmament is, indeed, left in its original place and ascribed to the second day, but the formation of sea and land is separated from it and made a later and independent act.

It is needless to say that the dragon of the deep is banished from the cosmology of the Hebrew writer. The monster Leviathan may be met with in other passages of the Old Testament; in the first chapter of Genesis, where it could have only a mythological meaning, we look for it in vain. There is no Tiamât out of whom the firmament of heaven may be made, even though the Babylonian conception of a firmament is retained; and equally there is no impersonation of the deep whose waters should be gathered into seas. The God of the Hebrew writer creates by the mere utterance of his word; he speaks, and it is done.

Creation by the word is known also to the Babylonian poet. In the assembly of the gods Merodach proves his power to overcome the dragon by destroying and re-creating a garment through the power of his word alone. But in the actual creation of the world the word is not employed. Here the god works like a craftsman with pre-existing materials, fashioning them according to his will and

putting them, as it were, under bolt and key. Doubtless there was a version of the creation-story current in Babylonia which made the divine word the creative power, but it was used by the author of the epic merely to illustrate the superiority of Merodach to the other gods. In the book of Genesis, on the contrary, the creative power is exercised through the divine word alone; there may, indeed, have been pre-existing materials, but it was through the word of God that they took shape and became the world of today.

I need not carry any farther this comparison of the Babylonian and biblical accounts of the creation. It is sufficiently clear that the Babylonian story was known to the Hebrew writer, if not in the form of the epic, at all events in one very like it. It is also clear that between the two the contrast is profound. In the first chapter of Genesis the polytheism and mythology of the original are gone, or at any rate have left but few traces behind them; in their place we have spiritual conceptions and the emphatic assertion of the unity and omnipotence of God. Between the Babylonian epic and the Hebrew Scriptures there is a gulf which cannot be spanned.

When was it that the Babylonian story first became known to the inhabitants of Canaan, or could have been adapted and transformed by the writer in the book of Genesis? The answer to this question would need an article to itself, and the lines it would follow can only be briefly indicated here. The Tel el-Amarna tablets have shown that the legends and traditions of Babylonia were read and studied in Canaan in their literary form even before the Mosaic age, while Gunkel has pointed out that references to Tiamât and other characteristic features of the Babylonian story of the creation are to be found in the earlier portions of the Old Testament. It can further be shown that the Babylonian stories used by the author of Genesis have been, as it were, domesticated in Palestine, and have there received a local coloring before they were incorporated into his work. So far as we know at present, there are only two periods when a Hebrew could have had access to the literary productions of Babylonia and been able to read the cuneiform script—the age of Moses and the epoch of the exile. And in the epoch of the exile it is little likely that a Jewish monotheist would have borrowed the cosmological legends of his Babylonian oppressors, interpenetrated, as they were, with a polytheism and mythology which he abhorred.

## THE MIRACLES OF THE GOSPELS

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For the moment the attention of New Testament scholars is directed to the teaching, rather than to the recorded acts, of Jesus. Even those who do not go to the length of declaring the subject of the gospel miracles to be a closed question, are glad to escape to the less controverted ground of the teaching. Whether or not the latter can be held as standing on a separate footing from the miracle, narratives, or whether we may hold, with Beyschlag,<sup>1</sup> that the two are so intimately and inextricably associated that they must on the whole stand or fall together, it is certainly a natural thing for those who are trained to scientific methods and imbued with the scientific spirit to fight somewhat shy of anything that claims the miraculous character. Is not alleged miracle discredited wherever the light of scientific inquiry can be fully turned upon it; and is not science—nay, is not the human mind—bound by its constitution and laws to reject, or at least to relegate to the domain of the unknowable, everything supernatural? For, in the acquisition of knowledge, mind must always found upon experience, personally gathered, or imparted and authenticated by others; and the whole rationally arranged structure of our experience—or, in more technical terms, the whole apperceptive and organically related content of consciousness—is the instrument whereby new observational judgments are determined; and fresh additions are made to that content by adjusting each new item relationally in its proper place in the organic structure of our acquired knowledge. The new and the unfamiliar must be assimilated through a process of analogy, and if no relation can be found to exist between some new phenomenon or alleged fact and the facts already ascertained, then, if we cannot absolutely determine it as false, we at least cannot adopt it as part of our real knowledge, since according to a

<sup>1</sup>*Das Leben Jesu*, Vol. I, p. 280.



well-known philosophical axiom, "the unrelated must ever be to us the unreal."

Yet, although all new knowledge and all new truth which we accept must be somehow in relation to previously acquired knowledge and truth, it does not follow that everything which transcends the range of past experience, and is for the time inexplicable, must be rejected as incredible. It is not so, for example, in the domain of physical science, when some new discovery is made, such as those of the Röntgen and Becquerel rays, and of the "miracle," as it has been termed, of radium,<sup>2</sup> whereby some of the fundamental ideas previously entertained in regard to matter seem to be revolutionized; for scientists are certain that, as nature is a system of organized unity, there can be no real contradiction between facts already established and any new phenomena which have been accurately observed, and the true scientific attitude toward them is not one of scornful rejection, but rather of patient investigation in order to discover, if possible, their explanation and connection with the system of previously ascertained truth.

Men of science frequently employ the term "miracle" in the case of natural phenomena which are out of the common order; for example, in regard to the development, by certain molluscs such as the snail, of new eyes when the first have been accidentally lost, or the reproduction of limbs in the case of lizards, spiders, etc. Yet the development and growth of all organisms are equally inexplicable, and nature is full of miracles of this sort.

Certainly it is not at this moment of scientific progress, when the horizon is widening in all directions, that any phenomenon can be summarily rejected merely because of its strange and inexplicable character. The boundary between the organic and inorganic, and between the physical and the psychical, appears to be vanishing, while our idea of "life" is undergoing revision, and new light is being cast on the relation between the visible world of matter and the invisible world of ether. Speaking of certain problems of a research which till of late was derided by men of science, an American pro-

<sup>2</sup>"If half of what is believed to have been experimentally proved is true, the 'miracle of radium' is the only term that can be used."—Professor Boys at British Association meeting held at Southport, 1903.

fessor<sup>3</sup> says: "What over fifteen years ago was deemed *possible* is today deemed *probable*, and tomorrow may be demonstrated;" and Sir Oliver Lodge, speaking a few years ago at a British Association meeting, said: "The barriers which separate the two worlds [spiritual and material] may gradually fall away, as many other barriers have done, and we shall arrive at a higher perception of the unity of nature."

If, then, we employ the term "miracle" in its etymological sense as *something wonderful* or out of the line of ordinary experience, we certainly cannot, with Matthew Arnold, dogmatically affirm that "miracles never happen," since in that sense miracles may be performed any day by educated white men among savages. Nor, even if we define a miracle as a break in the continuity of natural process, can we on that account, with Strauss, reject the miraculous in an off-hand way. If a stalk of unripe corn were suddenly cut down by a sickle, or if a drowning man, who would infallibly have died if left to the continuity of natural process, were resuscitated and restored by a physician's skill, here would be a break in the process of natural development, although it is effected by the introduction of a new process which is still within the limits of the natural.

No doubt the question remains: What is comprised within the limits of the natural? As a matter of fact, nature and the natural are really generalizations from human experience. The succession of phenomena has been observed to proceed regularly in a certain order, and hence we generalize certain "laws of nature;" but there is no *a priori* necessity that certain phenomena should always follow certain others in a fixed order. Granted a *new and adequate cause*, there is no reason why an effect transcending ordinary experience should not occur.

George Eliot declared that she had no difficulty in regard to the question of the *possibility* of miracles, but only as to that of the *sufficiency of the testimony* for them; and, on the ground of Theism, this is a truly rational position. Even many reverent New Testament scholars, in view of the difficulties attending the latter question, not unnaturally adopt an attitude like this: Jesus Christ is himself the great marvel of history, and his teaching is so much greater than

<sup>3</sup>A. E. Dolbear, in the preface to his book *Matter, Ether and Motion*.

any thaumaturgic acts that the question whether these actually occurred is a very subordinate one.

Yet every believer in a special divine revelation through Christ must, *in some sense*, admit a miraculous element in his life. In the wider sense all nature is revelation, and, for those who can discern it, all her processes and phenomena are thrilling with the self-revealing activity of the immanent God; and thus any absolute distinction of natural and supernatural is excluded; and in the more special sense in which revelation applies to Jesus Christ and redemption, there is miracle, in the sense of special divine activity, not of a God "breaking his own laws," but of a free personality revealing himself as he chooses this way or that. Rothe's position, that the idea of revelation involves that of miracle, is thus surely more rational and more profound than that of Schleiermacher, who held that miracles are not essential to faith.

If we use the term "miracle" in the sense of an event which transcends ordinary human experience, we find a general unanimity among New Testament scholars in supposing that to a certain extent, and in a certain sense, miracles took place in New Testament times: Jesus was a healer, as well as a teacher of the Jews, and performed certain acts which the common people regarded as miraculous. Thus Pfeiderer calls him a wonder-worker, though he would limit the cases of healing to sufferers from nervous and mental ailments (*Nerven- und Geisteskranken*).<sup>4</sup> The exact character, however, of Jesus' gift of healing is regarded as doubtful—whether, for example, he possessed some mysterious personal magnetism or unusual will-power, or whether he may have somehow acquired the secret of certain rare medicaments. Even Strauss supposed that, among the crowd who applied to Jesus for healing, some genuine cures may have been performed through faith or confident expectation on the part of some nervous sufferers.

Here we have something to start upon; for if the personality of Jesus was so unique that not only his teaching, but his healing acts, transcended ordinary experience, those who, like Rothe, confess that they have never found difficulty in accepting the gospel miracles as real and authentic, occupy a position differing only as to degree or

<sup>4</sup>Pfeiderer, *Urchristentum*, p. 360.

extent, not kind, from that of those naturalistic scholars who admit that certain unusual phenomena probably did attend the agency of Jesus.

## I

Our view of the amount of importance to be attached to this inquiry will depend very much on our general christological position. One great question of modern Christology has been in regard to how far, to use a somewhat paradoxical form of expression, Christ and Christianity can be separated; how far faith centers in and rests upon his person; or whether, on the contrary, as Lessing put it, Christian faith should be a believing as Jesus believed rather than a believing *in* himself; or how far a knowledge of his historical person is necessary apart from a knowledge of the ideas to whose dissemination his life was devoted.

The tendency both of the Kantian rationalism and of the Hegelian idealism has been to lay stress on the ideas of Jesus rather than on his historical person. Schleiermacher, on the other hand, set the person of Christ, whose mediation was exercised in a mystical way, at the center of the Christian system. More recently Harnack, in his *Essence of Christianity*, has laid stress on the teaching of Jesus rather than on his personality: no doubt it was through his person that the revelation of God came; but in his message there is no doctrine of himself; not he himself, but the Father, is the object of faith.

In connection with the question how far some authentication of the miraculous incidents of the life of Jesus is necessary for faith, the controversy recently carried on by Professor M. Kähler<sup>5</sup> with Bey-schlag, Hermann, and O. Ritschl claims some attention.

Kähler and Hermann agree in maintaining that, since religious convictions and faith are not based on a historical judgment, they require a sphere which is free from controversy; but whereas the latter supposes that such a sphere can be delimited by establishing a certain nucleus of reliable fact in the records of the acts and teaching of Jesus, the former holds that, since the apostles were preachers rather than historians, Christian faith is not founded on historically verifiable facts in regard to Jesus, but on such a mental picture of the

<sup>5</sup>See his *Der sogenannte historische Jesus und der geschichtliche, biblische Christus*, and other publications.

Christ, as preached by the apostles, orally or by writings, that men can know him sufficiently to attach themselves to him as his disciples, and have their lives thereby influenced and transformed. The conception of Christ which filled the mind of the apostles is communicated to men, not through an artistic historical composition of the materials contained in the gospels, since these are subject to controversy, and not by the methods of the historian, but rather by those of the preacher. Though we cannot now with perfect certainty get at the historical Jesus, we can reach the living Christ as preached by the apostles.

Somewhat similar to this is the view expressed by Professor Percy Gardner, in his work *Exploratio Evangelica*. His idea of the gospel narratives corresponds to that expressed by A. Bauer, in his *Forschungen zur griechischen Geschichte*, in regard to the historical writings of antiquity in general. Bauer says:

None of the ancient writers intended simply to describe real life or actual personalities; this would have seemed to them a breach of the laws of art. Even the historians did not set in the first place the establishment of the naked truth, but the production of a certain effect upon the readers. Thus at the best they have presented to us pictures of individuals exalted into types; often they have merely set up examples with a view to moral edification and warning.

According to Gardner, the great abiding reality is moral character, and the production of it is the main thing for which the world and the whole changeful scenery of phenomenal fact in the world exist; and hence the great ideas which influence the will, and so affect the formation of character, are far more important than phenomenal facts. Hence also the apostles and writers of the gospels addressed themselves to the will rather than the intellect, and set forth the ideas represented and promulgated by Jesus, laying less stress upon literal accuracy as to the facts. Therefore, in inquiring into the authenticity of the gospel narratives, we require always to make allowance for the subjective purpose and bias of the writers.

Now, in briefly reviewing such theories, we can, in the first place, admit the value of the distinction, suggested by Kähler, between the apostles as preachers and as historians. What was required of them was such a representation of the person, mission, and teaching of their Master as was adequate for the purpose; and it was surely not essential that, on the more external and intellectual side, every detail should be capable of standing microscopic investigation by a scien-

tific examiner. Their vocation was to be witnesses for Christ—*ἔσεσθέ μοι μάρτυρες* (Acts 1:8)—and as such their essential qualifications were sympathetic insight corresponding to the inward enlightenment of the divine Spirit, moral integrity or truthfulness, and sufficient intelligence. The testimony of plain men of sterling moral uprightness, given in a law court, may not be at all affected in value, in regard to the real question under examination and judgment, although certain nonessential details, narrated in the language, and according to the ideas, of the common people, might not be accurately expressed according to modern scientific ideas of accuracy.

Again, for the purposes of Christian faith it is certainly not essential that every detail of the gospel history should be scientifically authenticated. That faith, indeed, is no blind acceptance of unverifiable details; it depends upon revelation coming through the medium of facts whose investigation it welcomes; but it does not require to wait till such scientific inquiry has been thoroughly carried out. It resembles in this respect the next most sacred thing we know, the loving confidence of a child in a worthy father or mother. That confidence is not independent of fact; its ground lies in the revelation of the character of the parent through fact in numberless ways; but it does not begin only after every fact has been thoroughly examined and sifted. Though it is a well-grounded and rational confidence, much in the life of that parent may remain unknown and unexplained to the child. In order to a sufficient knowledge of, and trust in, a father's character, a son does not require to interview the confidential legal adviser of the latter and ascertain exactly how his affairs stand and what is the precise state of his bank account.

Christian faith, which centers in Christ's person, is founded on facts interpreted through spiritual insight, and those facts are open to reverent investigation; but a faith that could begin only after historical and literary criticism had said its final word about the gospels would certainly not be Christian faith.

This, however, does not at all imply that historical criticism has no important function here, nor that the gospel narratives do not possess general historical reliability. The idea of the impossibility of trusting the general accuracy of any ancient historical narrative is certainly an exaggeration on the part of A. Bauer, especially in the

case of historians—such as Xenophon in his *Anabasis*, Thucydides in his *History*, and Julius Cæsar in his *Commentaries*—who wrote of events which happened either in, or near to, their own time. Even a Jewish writer like Josephus, though not a character of the very loftiest human type, can be trusted to give a sufficiently exact and graphic account of events which happened in his own time, and his ideal of what such a history should be does not fall conspicuously short of the most modern one. He says:

The principal scope that authors ought to aim at, above all the rest, is to speak accurately, and to speak truly, for the satisfaction of those that are otherwise unacquainted with such transactions, and obliged to believe what these authors inform them of.<sup>6</sup>

And in his treatise against Apion, speaking especially of his book on the *Wars of the Jews*, in all whose transactions he claims to have been personally concerned, he says:

I was so well assured of the truth of what I related that I first of all appealed to those that had the supreme command in that war, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me, for to them I presented these books, and after them to many of the Romans who had been in the war.<sup>7</sup>

The case of Josephus is peculiarly relevant to the present discussion, because, as a writer, he was essentially on the footing on which most of those who were concerned in writing the gospels are supposed to have stood: he was thoroughly a Jew, intellectually as well as nationally, for he had acquired Greek only for the purpose of writing his history with some assistance from others. Nor do we find him unable to write the story of his people and time without mixing contemporary events with miraculous details. Although he had a belief in prophetic visions, his narrative is singularly free from a supernatural element. He believed, no doubt, in the supernatural virtues of the *baaras* plant in expelling demons from those who were alleged to have been possessed by them; but, in regard to this, his testimony is certainly true as to the beliefs of his contemporaries.<sup>8</sup> When, in another place, we find him describing the exorcism of a demon by Eleazar, a Jew, in the presence of Vespasian, of which he was a personal witness,<sup>9</sup> we need not doubt that he was veraciously narrating a real incident, whatever may have been its true explanation.

<sup>6</sup>Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIV, i, 1.

<sup>8</sup>Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, VII, vi, 3.

<sup>7</sup>Josephus, *Against Apion*, I, 9.

<sup>9</sup>Josephus, *Antiquities*, VIII, ii, 5.

Whoever we may suppose to have been the persons principally concerned in writing the gospels, we cannot presume that they were more oriental in their ideas than was Josephus, or that they were less capable than he of narrating facts exactly as they occurred. Nay, we find that *their* ideal of history was quite as high as that of the Jewish historian, and, to judge from the preface of the gospel of Luke, it did not materially differ from that of modern times. It was not indeed, in their opinion, necessary that the authors of the gospels should themselves have witnessed the events described—it is not so required in a modern historian—but whoever undertook to write the history of the ministry of Jesus required to proceed upon apostolic authority, in other words, to write *according to the accounts delivered by those who from the first had been eyewitnesses and associates in the matter* or the events described: *καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γινόμενοι τοῦ λόγου*. The work of the authors in question was mainly that of compiling and arranging (*ἀνατάξασθαι*) the material thus apostolically attested and handed down to them.

This description of the apostles as eyewitnesses and ministers of the *gospel history*—for that is the particular force of *τοῦ λόγου* in the quotation—is of the utmost importance when conjoined with that sense of responsibility which, judging from the epistles which have come down to us under their name, is one of the most conspicuous features of the apostolic character. Not only could they attest the events from their own ocular observation, but they had been officially appointed *ministers* to convey the account of them to others, and it was evidently their chief preoccupation at the close of their career to pass on this sacred trust to faithful successors.

When stress is laid upon the credulity of the epoch in which the gospel narratives were written and compiled, and upon the idea that their compilers, being ignorant of the methods of the modern historian, were ready, like the mediæval hagiographers, to pick up, in an irresponsible way, any floating legend that came to hand and seemed to suit their purpose, it is only fair to point out a consideration that has been too little emphasized. Whatever lack of historical and literary talent may have existed in the early Christian communities, the most intelligent and leading men among them held an ideal in regard to what the accredited gospel narratives ought to be which



formed no despicable substitute for such a talent. I refer to their sense of responsibility in possessing that "gospel" which it was their lofty vocation to impart in its purity to others, and which in their estimation evidently partook mainly of the character of a narrative of the sayings and acts of Jesus. They felt that a sacred charge had been intrusted to them, which they were bound to perform and hand on unalloyed to the new generations (cf. 2 Peter 1:15, 16; 1 Tim. 1:18; 4:13, 14, 20; 2 Tim. 2:2). We cannot read the impassioned appeals of the aged Paul to Timothy without the conviction that anxiety as to the due transmission, to fit and worthy hands, of this sacred trust was one of the main objects that had prompted the writing of his two epistles to Timothy. For example, in the second epistle he says of the gospel, "that good deposit (*παράθηκη*) which was committed unto thee guard through the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us." One of the great prepossessions of the apostles in view of passing from the arena of their earthly labors was evidently the transmission, to the hands of capable and worthy leaders, of the gospel in unimpaired purity. "The things which thou hast heard from me among many witnesses," writes Paul to Timothy (2 Tim. 2:2), "the same commit thou to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also." "Yea," says Peter (2 Pet. 1:15), "I will give diligence, or take careful precaution, that at all times ye may be able after my decease to call these things [the truths contained in his evangel] to remembrance." If objection is raised to the validity of such a citation on the ground that the authorship of this epistle is controverted, we can presume at least that the author wrote in the spirit of Peter and his fellow-apostles. Evidently the time of the passing away of the apostles was that at which the gospel accounts would be definitely and authoritatively committed to writing. The *ipsissima verba* of those accounts which, from so frequent repetition in the mouths of the several apostles, had gradually concreted into a rigid, unvarying form, were considered of the highest importance: "Hold fast *the pattern of sound words* which thou hast heard from me," writes Paul to Timothy (2 Tim. 1:10).

Although this consideration cannot be regarded as conclusive in itself, or as enabling us to dispense with the investigation of the character of the gospel narratives, it is important that it should not be

lost sight of in the course of any inquiry which may be undertaken into the historical character of the gospel narratives.

## II

At the outset of any inquiry into the historicity of the gospel narratives, we are confronted by the miraculous incidents recorded in them. It is certain that popular tradition tended, in ancient and mediæval times, to develop legendary and mythical details around the lives of men whose personality was of an uncommon kind, such as the saints, and even the learned men, such as the Michael Scotts and Doctors Faustus, of the Middle Ages; and, further, it is certain that any ordinary professedly historical document is gravely compromised in so far as it exhibits miraculous features.

Our purpose in this section is to glance at certain miracle-narratives which have been regarded as analogous to, and tending to discredit, the gospel narratives, in order to consider how far such a comparison is valid, and to inquire whether the synoptic gospels do not exhibit features which put them in a class altogether by themselves.

1. I begin with a brief glance at a document which has caused considerable stir in ancient and modern times in the line of such a comparison as that to which I have alluded; I mean the curious treatise on the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, written at Rome about 230 A. D., or a hundred and forty years after the death of that magician, by the Greek rhetorician Philostratus. This book has been held to stand on a like footing with the gospel narratives for various reasons: Apollonius was a contemporary of Jesus, a philosopher, and an alleged moral reformer and miracle-worker, who is said by his biographer to have led a frugal, self-denying life of devotion to truth and wisdom.

Philostratus professedly founds, among other obscure sources, on a very questionable narrative written by Damis the Ninevite, which had been handed down to a relative of the latter, and had come into the hand of the empress Julia, who finally delivered it to Philostratus. It is clear enough that either this Damis was a rival of the famous Baron Münchhausen or, what is most probable, that large portions, if not the whole, of the professed biography, are fiction, pure and simple, on the part of the Greek author. Take for example the extensive por-

tions relating to the pretended journeys of Apollonius to Babylon, India, and Ethiopia. Both in Babylon and India he hobnobs familiarly with kings, who in each case talk philosophy with him in excellent Greek. He and Damis pass on camels *over the Caucasus* to India, and return from it over that part of the Caucasus *bordering on the Red Sea*; and, when across it on the return journey, are still in India and within sight of the plain of the Ganges. Here they reach the stronghold of the Wise Men, a veritable enchanted castle, and are received with hospitality by the sages, who of course all speak good Greek. Among the many marvels of the place is one which casts in the shade the greatest of modern inventions, in the shape of a couple of magic barrels, one of which, when opened in time of drought, sends forth abundance of rain-producing clouds, and, when the rain becomes excessive, the other is opened and sends forth a strong wind which blows away the clouds.

Only two more of the miracles of this book need be cited, the first being the expulsion of the plague which had been raging at Ephesus. Apollonius, having called all the male citizens to the market-place, pointed out to them a ragged mendicant whom he ordered them to stone. In course of the onslaught the old man was transformed into a rabid dog, by whose death the plague was arrested. At another time the sage had a midnight interview on the plain of Troy with the shade of Achilles, and discussed with him the events of the Trojan war. Helen, he asserted, had not been in Troy at all, but in Egypt; but, on finding this out, the Greek leaders continued the war all the same. The shade of the renowned warrior was five cubits high to begin with—a pretty respectable height surely; but he speedily grew till he reached the height of twelve cubits.

2. The character of the miracle legends in the *apocryphal gospels* and kindred literature is sufficiently well known, and I shall not here enter into their details. Some of these display a weird power of imagination, as in the story of the Descent to Hades, with its Miltonic dialogue between Satan and Hades, and as in the history of the cross, which is said to have been made out of the wood of a tree which grew from a branch of the Tree of Life planted by Seth, and which was safely kept till the time of Solomon and the queen of Sheba, the former of whom buried it near the pool of Bethesda. Much of these

bizarre creations are exactly in the spirit of the *Arabian Nights*; though often, as in the Gospel of the Infancy, the details degenerate into pure childishness.

Before dismissing these narratives it is enough to indicate that they entirely fail in regard to the test I purpose to apply to the other miracle-narratives, viz., how far, as biography, *they contribute to any clear conception of the central personality*. In this respect they give but a poor reflection of the unique and consistent character delineated in the authorized gospels.

3. From the *mediæval hagiology* we gather plenty of instances where popular legends have been adopted in an uncritical, credulous spirit by the biographers of particular saints. Those writers were frequently personal disciples of their hero, or members of the same monkish order; and, in glorifying their subject, they were enhancing the reputation of their order or community; and since in those ages miracles were considered an essential feature of saintship, there was a temptation to accept without critical inquiry, from popular tradition, whatever legends appeared to attest the superhuman power or faith of the saint. Somewhat analogous to this, it has been held, was the origin of the gospel miracles. Here also was a case in which marvels were expected; the methods of the modern historian, some suppose, were unknown; and a certain interval of time had elapsed so as to allow some legendary or mythical element to spring up.

As a rule, the miraculous element is exhibited in these mediæval biographies of saints very much in proportion to the interval of time between the events and the date of writing. Thus in the life of Martin of Tours, written not very long after his death by his disciple Sulpitius Severus, we find supernatural machinery of very limited amount and of a kind little affecting our belief in the general trustworthiness of the narrative. This legendary matter refers mainly to cases of angelic aid, given in answer to prayer, in overthrowing pagan temples and hewing down sacred trees, as well as in contending with heathen priests and demons. Even though an angel is alleged to have once succored the saint, visibly armed with spear and shield, such cases are easily explained by Martin's pious and figurative ascription of his success to divine help in answer to prayer.

When a long interval of time separates the biographer from the

events narrated, the miraculous details become more pronounced and less easily explicable on natural grounds. Thus the monkish chronicler Ailred, writing several centuries after the death of Ninian, can accept the story of how that saint and a traveling companion, when overtaken by a fall of rain, sat down comfortably under an arch of dry air "impervious to rain as a solid arch of stone," and, as they read their Psalters with the rain falling in torrents beside them, "an unlawful thought" momentarily arose in the mind of the saint, and then the rain poured down without hindrance.

Few such treatises, however, lend themselves more to the purpose of a comparison with the miracle-narratives of the gospels than the account of the miraculous acts and prophecies of St. Columba, written by his successor Adamnan. The conditions under which the gospel narratives are held by many critics to have grown and been compiled coincide in a good many ways with those under which Adamnan composed his work. Columba was the first abbot of Iona, 563-597 A. D., and Adamnan was the ninth abbot, 679-704 A. D.; therefore at the time when the *Vita Sancti Columbae* was written we may suppose that somewhere about a century had elapsed since the death of the saint. The writer would draw his material mainly from oral tradition, but tradition handed down in the circumscribed, though highly credulous, circle of the Iona monk fraternity, who would carefully cherish every legend and rumor which enhanced the reputation of their founder. Though the writer was actuated by a manifest desire to glorify his predecessor, and though he was of a simple, superstitious cast of mind, his work was probably in no degree the result of pure invention on his part, but rather of diligent, painstaking collection and compilation. He gives more than one hundred and twenty examples of the marvels related of Columba, the first part of his book being devoted to the prophecies, the second to the miracles, and the third to the angelic visions connected with his hero.

In examining the alleged miracles of Columba we find that, as in the case of those ascribed to Martin of Tours, many of them can be so far explained in a natural way. A typical specimen is the account of the young man who, while engaged in milking the cows belonging to the monastery, had omitted the usual pious formula employed to exorcise demons and prevent the milk from becoming sour. Having

bethought himself of this culpable omission, the youth came to the abbot confessing his error and beseeching him to bless the pail. This done, the lad, probably with trembling fingers, lifted the lid of the pail, whereupon half the milk was suddenly spilled—an accident which the credulous biographer ascribes to the way in which the exorcised demon revenged himself for being compelled to abandon the pail.

Storms are miraculously calmed at the prayer of the saint, and, even after his death, by laying his books and clothing on the altar; books written by him are found dry and unharmed after having lain a considerable time under water; a piece of rock salt which he had blessed and given as a remedy for inflammation of the eyes is found miraculously preserved when the house it was in had been destroyed by fire; a well springs out of a rock at the prayer of Columba when water was needed for the baptism of an infant; and future events are predicted and incidents happening at a great distance are correctly described by him. Once a companion of the holy man, while swimming across the river Ness to fetch a ferry-boat, is assailed by a marine monster which “rushed up from the bottom of the stream with a loud roar and open mouth,” but, the saint having made the sign of the cross and called on God, the fierce beast fled back to its lair “as if drawn by cords.” We find one curious parallel to certain of the folk-lore tales of northern peoples, whose effect depends on repetition, in the case of the poor man who was supplied by Columba with a sharp stake, which he fixed in the ground, and then every morning found a deer impaled upon it. Urged, however, by his timorous wife, the man lays the stake at night by the wall of his house, and the watch-dog is impaled on it; next it is placed in a pool of a neighboring river, and a salmon is caught on it; once more it is removed and fixed on the roof, and a crow is killed on it; and finally, at the wife’s instigation, the poor man chops it in pieces, when the couple are reduced to beggary.

These examples, culled almost at random from the pages of Adamnan, will be sufficient to show the general quality of the legends recorded by him, and to indicate the kind of atmosphere in which they must have sprung up. They are here given only as samples of what we gather from a thorough study of the kind of writings referred

to; but the question remains, how far such writings ought to be used as a criterion for a judgment regarding the miracle-element in the gospels. For various reasons we cannot regard them as furnishing any such criterion.

First, the gospel miracles as a whole are of a loftier stamp than, and breathe a different atmosphere from, the sort of miracles we have been considering, puerile as these usually are and contributing to no elevated purpose. The latter are in this respect comparable to many of the alleged communications from the spirit world which have been so much under investigation during recent years. Did these answer any serious purpose, were they connected with any important message, or did they give any startling revelation of the life beyond the grave, we might be disposed to yield them earnest attention.

When we consider not only how epoch-making, but how world-transforming, was the message and mission of Jesus, we cannot deny that unusual works accompanying it would have been in accordance with the fitness of things. The great purpose of setting up the kingdom of light on earth, which is the central aim of the teaching of Jesus, is equally manifest in his acts, which form a practical commentary to the teaching, each miracle contributing to a revelation of his character and to the establishment of his spiritual kingdom.

Another important consideration here is that the features of the character of particular saints, as delineated by different hagiologists, are apt to be *definite or otherwise* in proportion to the interval of time that has elapsed between the date of the events and their written record. Thus in the life of Ninian, written by Ailred six hundred years or so after the death of the saint, it is not a flesh-and-blood personality we meet, but only a pale phantom. On the other hand, from the biography of Martin of Tours, written not many years after his death, by his disciple Sulpitius Severus, we derive a much more definite idea of a striking and picturesque figure—a little ascetic Pannonian monk, clad in an old dusty stole, living, now as a root-fed hermit on a lonely isle, now among barbarians in Gallic forests, and anon commanding respect at the imperial court; a man of simple, frugal habits, who would black his servant's shoes and divide his cloak on a winter night to clothe a beggar, and, even after he had been compelled by the enthusiastic populace to assume the episcopal

office, living simply in a "prophet's chamber" beside the church, yet magnifying his office and handing the communion cup, after he had first drunk of it himself, to his presbyter, before giving it to the tyrannical emperor Maximus; and undaunted in courage and faith, swaying by sheer moral force his large monastic community of princes, lords, and commoners alike, who gathered to him on the banks of the Loire.

Compared with this, the character of Columba, gathered from the narratives of Adamnan written a hundred years or so after the events, is very indefinite in outline. The character of Apollonius, as depicted by Philostratus after an interval of a hundred and forty years, is a little more definite; yet it is not much more than an ideal type of a Greek philosopher of a certain school—ascetic, shrewd, devoted to philosophy, and looking down from a superior height on the uninitiated, opposed to tyranny and moral evil, yet cracking jests at the tables of luxurious kings.

In the synoptical narratives we have the portraiture of a real and original human personality, into whose inner depths we get far profounder glimpses than in the case of Martin of Tours. *We get far nearer to Jesus:* we see him at one time looking around with indignation in the synagogue of Capernaum, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts; and again rejoicing in spirit at good news; anon moved with compassion at the sight of the widow following the bier of her only son; and finally with his spirit overclouded with sorrow even unto death. He takes a kindly interest in the children, even watching them at their games in the market-place; he looks on nature with a genial, observant eye, and records in his sayings a great variety of its aspects. He regards the manifold pursuits and customs of his fellow-men with shrewd inspection, portraying in his parables scenes of every-day life; the wiles of a dishonest steward; the different receptions given to a returned prodigal by a father and a selfish elder brother; the Rembrandtesque details of a Jewish marriage ceremony at night with lamps and attendant virgins, and numerous other scenes.

The character of Jesus is strikingly original as well as definite. Manly strength and womanly sympathy, self-control and the reticence of a strong character who can keep his own counsel, are among its



features. He refuses to be hurried in his purpose by his impatient friends; he withdraws from the fickle enthusiasm of the multitude who acclaim him as king; and he answers no word in self-defense at the bar of Pilate. He admires the grit, as one might say, of the Syro-phœnician woman's faith; for he was himself a hero and he taught his disciples to be heroes, warning them beforehand of coming tribulation and persecution, and claiming their personal devotion and the renunciation of everything for himself and his cause.

Jesus was the greatest of idealists, yet he was most eminently practical. He brings everything to the test of experience. "By their fruits ye shall know them." He differs from a Plato or a Seneca by not only proclaiming a lofty standard of morals, but also by giving it living power to elevate the lives of the common people. No other teacher has had such mighty influence in molding the lives and destinies of men and nations, and in setting up "the kingdom of God" on earth. A mere phantom or creation of the imagination of certain credulous Jewish mystics and theosophists cannot account for such effects. Beyond question the historical Jesus was himself far more remarkable than any of the miracles ascribed to him. Yet it cannot be said that those miracles were unworthy of himself or his mission.

In contrast to the generally childish character of the miracles ascribed to mediæval saints, which do not reveal a lofty moral purpose, his miracles were *σημεία* of a great and unique personality and mission. Matthew Arnold was right in saying that no amount of thaumaturgy can make truth any truer; but a thaumaturgy that takes the form of ceaseless beneficent activity in helping mankind and healing their bodily and spiritual maladies is at least fitted to extort from thoughtful spectators the question, "What manner of man is this?" and to lead them to deeper inquiry into his person, doctrine, and mission. It was in this way that Jesus himself set value upon the miracles. We know from his rejection of the appeal of the Pharisees to show them an external sign that he did not use the miracles as external, and in themselves sufficient, proofs of his messiahship; yet those miracles, especially in their moral aspect, were claimed by him—for example, in replying to John Baptist's message from prison—as signs that the kingdom of God was beginning through him to be set up.

We must conclude, from an examination of the mediæval miracle

narratives, that the miraculous element requires some time for growth and will be prominent in proportion to the time which has elapsed since the date of the alleged events; but at the same time, *pari passu* with such lapse of time and such prominence of the miraculous features, there will be an indefiniteness of outline in the character of the miracle-worker. How, then, do we explain the fact that the gospel narratives, which contain such profusion of miracle-incidents, depict a character so definite and powerful in its influence that men of high intellectual rank have declared that they had a profounder and more real acquaintance with Jesus Christ than with any of their contemporaries, and that the lives of men who cultivate acquaintance with him through the gospels are being thereby elevated and transformed?

### III

Keeping in view that unique character of the gospels which differentiates them from the mediæval miracle biographies, I proceed to inquire how far it may be possible scientifically to authenticate any of the gospel miracles. The reality of a gift of miracle-working in the apostolic church, and *a fortiori* in the case of Jesus himself in whose name his disciples wrought miracles, has contemporary attestation in the epistles of Paul and James;<sup>10</sup> but there are facts of our own time which also go to the authentication of one prominent class of the gospel miracles, viz., those which refer to cases of demonic possession.

These cases have been ascribed to some form of physical or psychical malady, such as hysteria, epilepsy, or mania. The old oriental ideas, originating in early Babylonian, or still more primitive, times, attributed all diseases, and specially nervous maladies, to the influence of demons, and the state of the time in Palestine at the Christian era is alleged to have been such as to cause nervous diseases to be specially prevalent.<sup>11</sup> But while it is undeniable that such nervous diseases exhibit some features of resemblance to the cases of demonic possession, as described in the gospels, there is trustworthy evidence to prove that certain physical and psychical phenomena exactly corresponding to the descriptions given in the gospels are witnessed in certain parts of the world in our own day—cases which able European

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Beyschlag, *Das Leben Jesu*, Vol. I, p. 280.

<sup>11</sup>A. Reville, *Jésus de Nazareth*, Vol. II, pp. 76 f.

and American physicians are unable to classify under the head of any known disease.

Evidently physicians of competent scientific attainments, rather than theologians, have the best right to speak on this subject, and I may refer in passing to a volume which appeared not long ago, entitled *Demonic Possession in the New Testament*,<sup>12</sup> by a writer who appears to have a combination of qualifications entitling him to be heard on this question. This writer maintains the position that the problem of demonic possession has not yet been settled, and while admitting that the symptoms which have led so many writers to identify demonic possession with nervous diseases, betoken, on the whole, that there are external points of similarity in the two classes of cases, he holds that there is one symptom of an essential kind which has been overlooked, viz., the recognition of Jesus on the part of the demoniacs, and, we may add, the violent antipathy they exhibit to his name. Of the instances which I now proceed to cite from various authentic sources, the first class are given, not as cases which have been subjected to definite medical examination, but as a specimen of what persons of educated intelligence declare to be quite different from ordinary nervous troubles and to resemble the cases of possession described in the New Testament.

Rev. F. B. Meyer, a well-known preacher and author in London, during a visit to Esthonia in Russia, having met there the Baron von Uxeküll, a well-known philanthropist of that country, found the latter to be a firm believer in the existence of cases of demonic possession among certain of the country people.<sup>13</sup> One characteristic of these cases communicated by the baron was the violent antipathy shown by the patients toward religion, and especially toward God and Jesus Christ. One man, having been asked by the baron to kneel in prayer and repeat the words after him, complied until he came to the name of Jesus, which he obstinately refused to repeat. When urged to do so, he made a great effort, and at length, uttering the word, he fell to the ground with a scream. The baron commanded the evil spirit to come out, which it apparently did, leav-

<sup>12</sup>W. Menzies Alexander, *Demonic Possession in the New Testament*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

<sup>13</sup>Article by F. B. Meyer in *The Christian*, March 6, 1902.

ing the man exhausted, but well. On another occasion Count Pashkoff, with some others, prayed for four hours with a man who was said to be possessed with an evil spirit, and who all the while was mocking them and saying that their efforts were useless, and that there was not one demon only in possession but many. Finally, when in despair, the count said, "Lord Jesus, we have no power at all to drive out this spirit; do thou do it!" there was an evident going forth of some evil influence, and the man became subdued and quiet.

Such cases, although many of them are said to occur in that part of Russia, if standing by themselves, may not be held to establish definitely the fact of modern instances of possession by evil spirits; but we find much stronger, because medically examined and attested, cases from another part of the world. So far as my own experience goes, any European or American missionary who has lived in China, if questioned on the subject, will unhesitatingly declare his or her belief in demonic possession. There are certain phenomena occurring among the Chinese which are perfectly well authenticated, and which appear to be distinct from ordinary forms of physical and mental disease. The Chinese themselves call such cases *nsieh ping*, or diseases of evil spirits. *They have distinct names for true insanity, as well as for hysteria, catalepsy, and other forms of mental disease, and they draw the line quite distinctly between these and what both heathen and Christians invariably call "possession by evil spirits."*

In regard to these Chinese cases we have the advantage of being able to produce the opinion of competent medical men. Thus, among others, Dr. Dudgeon, late of Peking, a man of high ability and attainments, who was personally known to me, and Dr. Howard Taylor, agree in regarding such cases as distinct from any known physical or mental disease. The former, commenting on a particular case, says:

This was evidently not epilepsy, nor hysteria, nor delirium like delirium tremens; nor catalepsy, nor insanity, nor chorea. What was it? His outward symptoms, when he presented himself, suggested the last-named affection. Every minute he cried out, and his body, but especially his head, was shaken convulsively. We tried the effect of nervine sedatives, but with no benefit. As the man knew nothing of the religion of Jesus, we did not attempt the biblical method of casting out devils. Had we such a case again, I should be inclined, from the success reported by the Rev. Dr. Nevins, of Che-foo, to try the scriptural plan.

Miss Gordon Cumming, who took pains to collect trustworthy

evidence from competent witnesses, chiefly missionaries who are accustomed to deal with the Chinese common people at close quarters, gives the results of her inquiries in her interesting book, *Wanderings in China* (Vol. I, pp. 238-46):

The symptoms are so precisely those which were thus described in biblical days that foreigners, after vainly seeking to express the condition of the victim, are fain to accept the Chinese solution. They find a being, apparently mad, foaming at the mouth, tearing off every shred of raiment and wildly appealing to God to let her (or him) alone.

After mentioning that Taoist and Buddhist priests have special ceremonies of exorcism by which it is sought to expel the spirits, although their success is uncertain, she proceeds:

In a considerable number of cases such as these, the native Christians have been appealed to by their heathen neighbors to see whether they could do anything to help them; and these, remembering how of old those who had faith in the Master were enabled to "cast out the spirits by his word and to heal all that were sick," have sought to follow in their wake and, taking up their position beside him who was grievously tormented with a devil, have there wrestled in prayer with passionate earnestness, pleading that the true God would reveal his power in the presence of the heathen, and concluding with the apostolic words, "In the name of Jesus Christ, I command thee to come out." Again and again their prayer has been granted; the wild tempest has been allayed, and the sufferer lulled to a condition of deep peace, whence, after a while, he has arisen to go forth, clothed "and in his right mind," to tell his heathen brethren of the marvelous way in which he has been cured.

This writer proceeds to draw a parallel between the story of the man out of whom the legion of devils was cast (Matt. 15:22-31; Mark 5:15-20) and a particular case brought under her notice in China.

This is precisely the story of at least one of the Bible women near Foo-Chow. She had been long known to her neighbors as being "possessed of devils," and when the Christians found her, she was foaming at the mouth, wildly tearing off her clothes and struggling against one whom she addressed as "the Holy One" (a title she could never have heard used in the sense it conveys to us). The simple earnest prayers, that were offered on her behalf prevailed: she not only was "healed," but came to seek instruction at the mission and to pray that she might be baptized. She there remained till she had succeeded in learning to read, and then would stay no longer, for she said she must return to teach in her own village. Though very poor, she refused to accept of any salary, for she said: "The people will listen and believe when they see that I do not do it for gain."

One remarkable case is also described in which a person possessed by what the Chinese call a "snake-demon" was brought to an English doctor who, considering it an instance of pure hallucination—although seven members of the same family had died through possession by the snake-spirit—resolved to try the effect of a harmless deception. He had the man blindfolded and pretended to go through an operation for the extraction of the snake, and after removing the bandages, showed him a white snake drowned in a basin of water, which he gave the patient to believe had been his tormentor. The man, yielding faith to the deception, appeared for the moment relieved; but in a short time the distressing symptoms returned and he was as ill as before.

Instances of a kindred character might be multiplied, and the inference appears to be perfectly warranted that in Palestine during early Christian times, as well as in certain parts of the world at the present day, pathological phenomena have occurred which are distinct in character from any of the nervous diseases known to western physicians.

Anyone who dogmatically declares that the New Testament explanation of those phenomena—viz., that they result from the presence and influence of invisible living agents—is a delusion, has very imperfectly learned that lesson of caution taught by recent scientific discoveries which was referred to at the beginning of this article. At one time the phenomena of the transmission of physical contagion were as great a mystery to medical science, and their real explanation was as little understood, as those of certain forms of moral and spiritual contagion and influence still are. For example, in the case of a vessel whose arrival at a certain remote island, after a long voyage during which there has been no sickness on board, has occasioned the outbreak of an epidemic on that island, medical men would at one time have scouted the idea of certain *invisible living agencies*—viz., microbes—being conveyed in that way from one part of the world to another.

What has been rendered probable, if not absolutely certain, by the results of recent physical science is that behind this arena of visible and ponderable matter there is an "unseen universe" of ether, full of innumerable, complicated, and organized forms of energy in which

it is perfectly credible that beings of a suitable constitution and organization may exist and act; and it is further accepted by leading exponents of science that not only do all material questions run ultimately into ether questions, but the subtle and delicate constitution of the human nervous system in particular involves action and reaction between the visible and the invisible spheres.

It is also of importance to indicate, in closing, that a whole set of phenomena connected with cases of healing, which have not yet been thoroughly explored by science, are on the same line as many of the gospel miracles. It would require a separate article to do anything like justice to this subject; but it is perfectly certain, for example, that certain individuals in different ages have possessed some obscure power—call it physical-magnetic, spiritual, or what we may—whereby cures have been effected even at a distance, in ways quite unaccountable on the ground of ordinary human experience. If any personality can be credited with the possession of such power, it is surely one of a stamp so unique and a moral influence so world-transforming as Jesus Christ.

## MYTHOLOGICAL TERMS IN THE LXX

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It will be necessary to treat this subject from three points of view: (1) the identifications of Greek and Semitic or other deities in the translated books; (2) the introduction of other Greek mythological terms; (3) the mention of heathen temples and heathen deities in books originally written in Greek, or of which the original has not come down to us.

Before, however, actually approaching these it may be interesting to notice the form which looks as if it ought to be read  $\Pi\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ —written in uncial Greek letters in the Hexaplaric manuscripts. As everyone knows, it is really an attempt to represent the tetragrammaton, or sacred unpronounceable name of the Deity in Hebrew. These letters were chosen as being the nearest form of letter to the characters  $\text{יהוה}$  as they appeared in the older script, which actually do appear in some Greek manuscripts. The only manuscript of the LXX in Swete's edition which contains the form  $\Pi\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$  is the Codex Marchalianus (Q), and that only in the margin. It almost always represents  $\text{יהוה}$ , but in two passages of Isaiah (3:15; 9:17) it stands for  $\text{אֱלֹהֵי}$ . The symbol seems to have been constantly used in all the other translations of the Old Testament, and Aquila and Symmachus are credited with using it for  $\text{אֱלֹהֵי}$  in one passage in Ezekiel (2:4). The chief ancient authority for the form is Origen on Ps. 2:2, from whose words it is clear that the symbol was in public reading read as  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , just as for  $\text{יהוה}$ , another name of the Deity was substituted in Hebrew.

To return to our more immediate subject. The margin of the Codex Marchalianus in Ezek. 8:14 introduces us to Adonis as identical with the Hebrew  $\text{אֲדֹנִי}$ , transliterated as  $\Theta\alpha\mu\mu\omicron\nu\zeta$ . The Revised Version has also introduced Adonis in the margin in another passage (Isa. 17:10), "plantings of Adonis" for "pleasant plants."



The American revisers, however, omitted this alternative rendering. St. Jerome, commenting on Ezekiel, says: "Quem nos *Adonidem* interpretati sumus, et Hebraeus et Syrus sermo *Thamuz* vocat." As for the passage in Isaiah, which does not immediately concern us here, see Burney in Hastings' *Dictionary*, *sub voce*. The curious point to notice is that Adonis itself seems to be a Semitic name connected with אֲדֹנִי, while the word תַּמְּוִז has the article prefixed to it as if it were really only an epithet of the God, and not his real name any more than Adonis was. They were, in fact, mere titles of a deity whose real name is not known. The Greek worship of Adonis was evidently an imported one; and of the Hebrew word תַּמְּוִז no satisfactory explanation in Hebrew has been given.<sup>1</sup> The identification of Tammuz and Adonis cannot be traced any farther back than to St. Jerome, to whom it was clearly known and who mentions the worship of Tammuz or Adonis as having taken place at Bethlehem in the cave where Christ was born.<sup>2</sup>

In Job 42:14, the third of Job's daughters in his second family is called Ἀμαλθείας κέρας. In A the name has suffered corruption and appears as Μαλθεας; and in N\* we have Ἀμαθίας. The name Amalthea is mythical in its origin, for it was the name of the goat that suckled Zeus or of the nymph who tended the goat.<sup>3</sup> The horn of Amalthea was a synonym for plenteousness, because nectar flowed from the goat's horn.<sup>4</sup> The Hebrew equivalent קֶרֶן הַפִּיָּה is generally taken to mean "horn of antimony," though פִּיָּה is once translated in the LXX by πολυτελής. Aquila and Symmachus both have Καρναφουκ, which shows that they had the same Hebrew text as we have now. The Greek name was no doubt suggested by the קֶרֶן of the Hebrew. If we could accept a transliteration which Montfaucon gives of the proper name from a "Codex Colbertinus, num. 1952"—a manuscript to which he attaches great importance—we should have Aquila and Symmachus as authorities for Καρναφουθ, which might point to a reading of the Hebrew of some form connected with the root פִּירָה or the noun פִּיר, which would be

<sup>1</sup> It is, however, connected with the Babylonian Tamuzu, which represents the Sumerian Dumu-zi, i. e., "the son of life." Tammuz was originally the sun-god (Sayce in Hastings' *Dictionary*).

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Paulinum*, Op. I, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> See Callim, *Fr.*, 49.

<sup>4</sup> Anacr., 8; Phocyl., 1.

more naturally rendered by *'Αμαλθείας* than פֶּךְ would be. But there is every reason for doubting the reading of the word thus given.

\**Απυς*, the bull-god of Memphis, occurs once in the LXX of Jer. 26(46):15, διὰ τί ἔφυγεν ἀπὸ σοῦ ὁ \**Απυς*, in a prophecy about Egypt. This is one of the passages where the Greek is undoubtedly right, and the Massoretic word נִסְחָן ("are," or "is swept away") should be divided into two and become נִסְחָן. Even without this alteration \**Απυς* and ὁ μόνος ὁ ἐκλεκτός σου could be taken as alternative renderings of אֱבִירִים or אֱבִירָה ("thy strong ones" or "one"). It is doubtful, however, whether the words ἀπὸ σοῦ ὁ \**Απυς* occurred in the Lucianic text, as the words are omitted by H. and P., 22, 48.

\**Αρκτοῦρος*, literally the "bear-ward," the earliest constellation recognized by the Greeks, is used in Job 9:9 to represent the Hebrew כִּימָה, if the order of words is the same in both Greek and Hebrew. In Job 38:31, however, כִּימָה = Πλειάδος (= עֵשׂ, Job 9:9), and עֵשׂ in Job 38:31 = ἔσπερον. כִּימָה is generally taken to mean the Pleiades, as derived from a root כִּימ, "to heap up;" so a group of stars. The authorities vary considerably. Aquila, who would no doubt represent the Hebrew tradition of his time, translates כִּימָה by \**Αρκτοῦρος* in Am. 5:8, where the LXX has another text altogether; Symmachus and Theodotion translating Πλειάδα(ς). The ἔσπερον of Job 38:32 seems really due to Theodotion, but the Syro-hexaplar attributes the same translation of עֵשׂ to Aquila, and this would confirm, so far as it goes, the assignment of \**Αρκτοῦρος* to כִּימָה. The Vetus Itala reverses the order in Job 9:9 and makes "Arcturum" to correspond to עֵשׂ, thus making כִּימָה the Pleiades as in Job 38:32. Nothing really definite can be asserted on this point.

Of other astronomical terms which have a more or less mythological connotation, but which are simply used by the translator as representing corresponding Greek terms, we have:

1. Ἐσπερος, the evening star, used twice in Job (9:9; 38:32); once, if the Hebrew and Greek order are identical, as equivalent to כִּימָה. This Hebrew name is, however, looked upon as the equivalent of Orion, as in the LXX of Job 38:31 (in Am. 5:8 the Greek

translator must have had a different Hebrew before him). It is far better, therefore, to take *ἄσπερος* as equivalent to the Hebrew *שָׁפַר*, just as it is in the second passage in Job, to *שָׁפַר*, though the general opinion is that these Hebrew names would be more properly represented by Arcturus, which also occurs in Job 9:9. At present, however, no definite certainty can be arrived at on these points.

2. *Πλειάς* occurs in the same two passages of Job for *פְּימָדָה* or *שָׁפַר*. Symmachus and Theodotion also give this Greek word as the equivalent for *פְּימָדָה* in Am. 5:8, where the LXX does not recognize any astronomical term. The word *פְּימָדָה* is accordingly taken by most authorities as representing the cluster of stars known as the Pleiades, though others make it equal to Sirius, the dog star.

3. Lastly, *Ὠρίων* represents *כְּסִיל*, as we have seen above, in Job 38:31, as it does also in Aquila's version of Am. 5:8. It appears also in the LXX version of Isa. 13:10, where the Hebrew has *כְּסִילֵיהֶם* (R. V., the constellations thereof; new Oxford Hebrew Lexicon, their Orions, *i. e.*, Orion and other constellations of the same brilliancy—a rather weak rendering). The Greek here seems to point to a better text with a reading *כְּסִיל*.

The "Mazzaroth," perhaps the signs of the zodiac, were quite beyond the power of the Greek translator to do anything with except transliterate.

We have introduced these terms, which in Greek have ascribed to them a mythological history, to make the list of terms with a mythological attribution complete. It would be no more correct, however, to say that any mythological idea was intended to be conveyed by them than it is now, when we use the similar terms in English. This would also apply to the use of such a word as *ἄδης*, which had come to be used as a common noun rather than a proper one, and perhaps of *τάρταρος*, which recalls the verb *ταρταροῦν* of the New Testament (2 Pet. 2:4), and which occurs twice in the present text of the Greek Job (40:15; 41:23), though the reading in the first passage is very doubtful.

That there were giants in the earth in the days of antiquity seems to have been a very widespread tradition of later days, and the belief in such persons is still in evidence in the folklore and nursery tales of modern days. Such a belief has its place in the Greek

Scriptures. The term *γίγας* is not only used just as we use the word "giant" now—i. e., as equivalent to a mighty man (Heb. גִּבּוֹר)—but also for three Hebrew terms which imply, in two cases at any rate, a belief in a race of giants. One of these is the Nephilim who have found their way into the R. V. of Gen. 6:4; Numb. 13:33, and are also plainly alluded to in Wisd. 14:6; Eccclus. 16:7(?) (where, however, in the Hebrew they are called נְפִלִים), and Bar. 3:26–28. The connection between the Nephilim and the sons of Anak which is asserted in the Hebrew of Numb. 13:33 is not recognized in the LXX, which omits all mention of these sons of Anak in that verse. But in Deut. 1:28 "the sons of the Anakim," who are mentioned elsewhere as a special race (e. g., in Numb. 13:23, γενεαὶ Εναχ(κ); Deut. 2:10, 11, and Josh. 11:21, 22, οἱ ενακειμ Deut. 9:2, υἱοὺς ενακ), become simply υἱοὺς γιγάντων. In Deut. 2:11 these Anakim are accounted Rephaim with the Emim, and Rephaim is the other term which is translated γίγαντες in Gen. 14:5; Josh. 12:4; 13:12. In these last two passages Og, king of Bashan, is assigned to the race of giants, as in Deut. 3:11 the LXX assigns him to the ραφαιν, where his gigantic bedstead or sarcophagus is mentioned. So in 1 Chron. 11:15; 14:9, 13, the valley of Rephaim becomes ἡ κοιλάς τῶν γιγάντων, though in 2 Kings 23:13 = 1 Chron. 11:15, we have ἡ κοιλάς Ραφαιμ, as in Josh. 15:8 we have γῆς Ραφαιν(μ); 18:16, εμεκ ραφαιν(μ). In 2 Kings 5:18, 22 = 1 Chron. 14:9, 13, we have the still more remarkable expression ἡ κοιλάς τῶν Τιτάνων, to which we must revert later. We can scarcely imagine that the translation of 2 Kings, chaps. 5 and 23, can come from the same hand; the translations of 1 Chron., chaps. 11 and 14, are in accord. The singular of this name, נֶפֶשׁ or נֶפֶשׁ, occurs in 2 Kings 21:18, 20, 22, and its parallel 1 Chron. 20:4, 6, 8. Here again in 2 Kings we have the transliterated form ραφα, supplemented by ἀπόγονοι τῶν γιγάντων in vs. 22; and in 1 Chron. 20:4, 6, 8, we have the term *γίγας*, while in vs. 8, by the addition of ραφα, we have a different turn given to the verse from that which it has in Hebrew.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> LXX attributes the rescue of the bodies of the seven sons of Saul in 2 Kings, chap. 21, to another descendant of the giants not mentioned in the Hebrew—Dan, the son of Joash or Joah (2 Kings 21:11).

I have noted these somewhat in detail in order to illustrate what a composite production much of what is called the LXX version must be declared to be.

A still further complication arises in the LXX. The Hebrew word **אננ** is not only used of a race of giants, but also as = "the shades of the dead." As a result of this we find "the shades" turned into *γίγαντες* in Job 26:5 (except N\*) *μὴ γίγαντες μαιωθήσονται ὑποκάτωθεν ὕδατος*; again, in Prov. 21:16, "The man that wandereth from the way of righteousness shall rest in the congregation of giants" (*ἐν συναγωγῇ γιγάντων*); we might here almost compare one of Bunyan's giants.<sup>6</sup> So again, Isa. 14:9, "all the giants that ruled the earth were collected for thee," instead of "it stirreth up the shades for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth" (R. V., margin).

The use of the term "giant" as applied in the LXX may simply be intended to indicate some tribes or peoples of higher stature than the normal Semitic population; such a race, for instance, as was credited, by early travelers, to the wild and remote country of Patagonia.

As to the occurrence of the Titans mentioned above, the Greek name is also given in the rendering by an anonymous translator of 1 Chron. 11:15, and occurs in Judith's song of deliverance (16:7) in company with *ὑψηλοὶ γίγαντες*:

Neither did sons of the Titans smite him,  
Nor did high giants set upon him.

Is this to be taken as a poetic hyperbole, or did the author of this work of fiction imagine that such a person as Judith is portrayed to be would be a believer in Titans in her own day? That a belief in a survival of a remnant of a giant race still subsisted in later times among the Greek-speaking Jews can be deduced perhaps from the occurrence of *οἱ κατάλοιποι ἐνακειμ*, "the remnant of the Anakim" (R. V., "the remnant of their valley") in Jer. 29(47):5.

We now turn to the witness of the Apocrypha to take note of heathen worships existing in the time of those writings in Jewish territory or elsewhere, and any other subsidiary uses of any theological terms.

The ideas about angels, their ranks and names, shows a further

<sup>6</sup> Symmachus translated in the same way in Prov. 9:18.

development in the apocryphal writings than in the canonical Scriptures. Though, apparently, seven angels are mentioned in Ezek. 9:2, it is in a very indefinite way, and the only named angels in the Old Testament are Michael and Gabriel. To these are added in the Apocrypha Uriel and Raphael—the former in 2 Es. 4:1; 5:20; and 10:28, of which no Greek version exists; the latter in the book of Tobit. It is only in Tobit that the number of these chief angels is asserted to be seven (12:15; cf. Rev. 8:2).

This organization of the celestial hierarchy has been said to have had its source in Persia, but it seems more likely to have been due, as the Jewish tradition of the origin of the names asserts, to Babylonian influence. Lenormant goes so far as to call one set of Babylonian heavenly beings referred to in their tablets *archanges célestes*. Whatever their names were originally, to the later Jew Uriel seems to have been the illuminating angel and Raphael the healing angel. Of such magnificence were they that man could not bear the brightness of their presence and the majesty of their appearance (cf. Dan. 8:17 and Rev. 19:10; 22:8, 9). The developments of after-times do not concern us, but it was evident from the first that a risk of angel-worship coming in was feared just as Paul in Col. 2:18 warns men about the "worshipping of angels."

In the book of Tobit (38:17) we find the belief in the power not only of the good angel Raphael, but also of the evil demon Asmodæus, who, upon smelling the smell in Tobias's nuptial chamber of the burning of the preparation made at the direction of Raphael, fled into the uppermost Egypt, whither he was pursued by Raphael, who bound him (cf. Rev. 20:2, where Satan is bound). The Jewish commentators connect the name Asmodæus with the Hebrew root *שׂמד*, so that for them he is the destroying angel, and it is as a destroying angel that he appears in the book of Tobit. There seems to be little doubt that this demon is derived from *Aêshuna*, one of the seven evil spirits of the Mazdean religion of Persia. The termination *-δαίς* of the Vatican reading of the name lends color to the idea that the last part of it is derived from the Zend word *daêva*, meaning "demon," though the combination of the two words does not occur. In the Aramaic and Hebrew versions Asmodæus is called king of the Shedhim, i. e., of the demons (the word *שׂדִּים* came from

Babylonia; see Hastings' Dictionary), as a counterpart to Lilith. As the destroying angel he appears in Hebrew history in the account of the exodus (cf. Heb. 11:28, ὁ ὀλοθρεύων) and of the plague in David's time, as well as of the destruction of Sennacherib's host, and of the plague that fell upon Job. In all these cases, however, the destroying angel is a minister of divine vengeance. Such a destroying angel is also mentioned in Wisd. 18:25 (ὁ ὀλεθρεύων) in a reference to Numb., chap. 16, and in Rev. 9:11 (Abaddon, i. e., ἀπολλύων).

It scarcely comes within the province of this article to examine the language used in the Book of Wisdom about the Egyptian plagues. But it is obvious that many expressions used of them are in part suggested to the writer by his acquaintance with Greek mythology and its idea of the lower world. E. g.:

- 17:3, sore troubled by spectral forms.
- 17:4, phantoms appeared, cheerless with unsmiling faces.
- 17:14, the recesses of powerless Hades.
- 17:15, haunted by monstrous apparitions.

So the apocryphal epistle of Jeremiah, which professes to be a letter to the Jews in captivity at Babylon, is a denunciation of heathen rites and ceremonies; and the "Narration of the Bel and the Dragon" claims to give us an account of the exposure by Daniel of two forms of worship current in his days.

When we come to the books of Maccabees, we are brought more into immediate touch with the heathen forms of worship with which the Jews of Palestine came into closest contact, and which must have horrified especially the Hasidæans (i. e., the purists) among them.

The persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes were the cause of much apostasy in Israel. "Many consented to his worship, and sacrificed to the idols" (1 Macc. 1:43). His command was "that they should build altars, and temples, and shrines for idols, and should sacrifice swine's flesh and unclean beasts" (1:47); "He commanded the cities of Judah to sacrifice, city by city" (1:51); "They builded an abomination of desolation upon the altar, and in the cities of Judah on every side they builded (idol) altars" (1:54); "And at the doors of the houses and in the streets they burnt incense" (1:55); "On the five and twentieth day of the month they sacrificed upon the

(idol) altar, which was upon the altar (of God)" (1:59); even in Modin, the ancestral home of the Maccabees, "the king's officers, that were enforcing the apostasy, came . . . to sacrifice" (2:15). One Jew, at any rate, was persuaded to sacrifice on the altar there (2:23), whereupon Mattathias, the father of the five Maccabees, killed him on the altar and raised the standard of rebellion with a view, in the first place, to pulling down the idolatrous altars. No doubt all the people did not join the rebellion, for Hellenizing influences must have been at work, especially considering that among the "gentiles" were found men who "were wont to inquire concerning the book of the law, seeking the likenesses of their idols" (3:48).

One temple, at any rate, seems to have stood in Gilead and to have flourished. It is called in 1 Macc. 5:43 f. simply the temple at Carnain. It is supposed to have existed in the time of Amos and to be alluded to in 6:13. R. V. has: "Ye which rejoice in a thing of nought, which say, Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength?" The exact site of Carnain has not yet been discovered. It was a place "difficult of access by reason of the narrowness of the approaches on all sides" (2 Macc. 12:22). In 2 Macc. 12:26 this temple is called the temple of Atergatis. Owing to the fact that the place called Carnain has been identified with the Ashteroth-karnain of Gen. 14:5, Atergatis or Atargatis has been identified with Astarte. But this can scarcely be correct, for elsewhere, at any rate, there were temples both of Astarte and of Atergatis (e. g., at Ashkelon). Atergatis is a name identical with Derkëto. An account of the worship of this goddess, "omnipotent and all-producing," is to be found in Lucian.<sup>8</sup> It spread as far as the banks of the Euphrates. Upon the approach of Judas to Carnain (164 B. C.) the gentiles fled to the sanctuary, but it did not help them. The city was taken, the temple was burned with fire, together with all that were therein (1 Macc. 5:44).

There would also seem to have been altars and carved images of Gods at Ashdod (1 Macc. 5:68). The chief of these was the temple of Dagon (R. V., Beth-dagon), where the inhabitants took refuge from Jonathan the Maccabee. The usual result befell them. The temple and those in it were burned with fire (1 Macc. 10:77).

<sup>7</sup> Apuleius.

<sup>8</sup> *De Dea Syra*.



Nothing definite is known about this god and his worship. From the time of Hadrian in the neighboring city of Gaza a god is known to have been worshiped called Marnas (i. e., "our lord"), and some have thought that he might be identical with Dagon.

Something has been said in a former article about the licentious worship of Apollo and Artemis in the groves of Daphne, a suburb of Antioch. Onia III.—or II., if, as some think, Onia II. and III. are only one person—who was under detention at Antioch during the times of trouble at the beginning of the second century B. C., seems to have had no scruple about abusing the right of asylum attached to this heathen temple. According to the narrative of 2 Macc. 4:34, he was enticed from it and slain, though some have doubted the historical truth of this narrative.

Dionysus was one of the Hellenic gods whose worship made most way in eastern and Semitic countries. Antiochus Epiphanes in particular endeavored to enforce the worship of this god together with the partaking of the sacrifices on the day of the king's birth, every month, at Jerusalem. "On the day of the king's birth every month they were led along with bitter constraint to eat of the sacrifices; and when the feast of Dionysus came, they were compelled to go in procession in honor of Dionysus, wearing wreaths of ivy" (2 Macc. 6:7). This would be about 170 B. C. A few years later Nicanor, one of Antiochus's generals, threatened to raze the temple at Jerusalem to the ground and to replace it by a temple to Dionysus (2 Macc. 14:33), but he was never able to carry out his purpose. About forty years before this, according to 3 Macc. 2:29, Ptolemy Philopator (222–205) had ordered that the Jews should be branded with the ivy leaf of Dionysus, who was the special patron god of the Ptolemies. It is interesting to notice that in later times Dionysus-worship was to be found in Jerusalem, for Dionysus was one of the chief gods of the Roman colony *Ælia Capitolina*, and figured on its coins.

At the same time that Antiochus endeavored to enforce the worship of Dionysus upon the Jews, he is credited with having sent an old man of Athens (or an Athenian named Geron—R. V., mg.) to compel the Jews to turn the temple at Jerusalem into a temple of Zeus<sup>9</sup> Olympius, and the sanctuary at Gerizim into one for Zeus

<sup>9</sup> The "Divine Zeus" occurs only in the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures in the Greek name for *θεός* — *Diospolis*.

Xenius (i. e., the "Protector of Strangers") (2 Macc. 6:1 f.). No doubt the title Olympius was given to Zeus in this connection to make Zeus Olympius equal to the supreme god; and the cult of this Zeus seems to have been a favorite one with Antiochus, for he went on with the building of the temple at Athens to Zeus Olympius which had been begun by Pisistratus. The title Xenius was also one which was widely attached to Zeus.

We have one mention, in the account in 2 Macc. 4:10-20 of the deeds of the great Jewish Hellenizer, Jason, of the worship of Herakles at Tyre: "When certain games that came every fifth year were kept at Tyre (probably in imitation of the Olympian games), and the king (i. e., Antiochus Epiphanes) was present, the vile Jason sent sacred envoys, as being Antiochians of Jerusalem (by this is meant that the inhabitants of Jerusalem were counted as if they were colonists from or citizens of Antioch; cf. 2 Macc. 4:9), bearing three hundred drachmas of silver to the sacrifice of Hercules, which even the bearers thereof thought not right to use for any sacrifice, because it was not fit, but to expend on another charge. And though in the purpose of the sender this money was for the sacrifice of Hercules, yet on account of present circumstances (or of the bearers) it went to the equipment of the galleys." The Herakles or Hercules in this passage was the Greek name by which the Tyrian god Melkarth was designated.

One other heathen temple, far removed from Palestine, is mentioned in 2 Macc. 1:13-16—that of Nanæa, in which Antiochus Epiphanes is said to have met his death, "by the treachery of Nanæa's priests," when he had come to Elymais with the design of plundering the temple, under the pretext that he would marry the goddess and take the treasures as her dowry. The goddess, whose name was Nanâ or Nanai, was a primitive Sumerian goddess, and was in later times looked upon as identical with Artemis<sup>10</sup> and Aphrodite, because she had also come to be looked upon as equivalent to Ishtar. Attempts have been made<sup>11</sup> to find allusions to Nanæa in the Old Testament, but without success.

Looking back, in conclusion, upon what has been said with

<sup>10</sup> Polyb., 31, 11; Joseph., A. J., XII, 9.

<sup>11</sup> See *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

reference to these mythological terms, we can, at any rate, arrive, I think, at two or three definite conclusions.:

1. In post-exilic times there would seem to have been more of heathen and idolatrous worship left, not in Jerusalem itself, but in the more distant parts of the land, and especially in the north, than perhaps is generally supposed to have been the case.

2. While the Greek translators of the Bible had imbibed the developed belief of their time in the hierarchy of angels, and also in a world of fallen angels, their verbal identification of these latter with the giants and Titans does not necessarily imply that they accepted the Greek mythological beliefs connected with them. The name "Titans" would naturally occur to one knowing anything of Greek as a natural word to express what he wished to express in his translation.

3. While the Græcizing element in the Jewish population of Jerusalem was but a small one, constant intercourse with Greek-speaking people must have made other Jews in other countries acquainted with foreign beliefs and superstitions. This may perhaps be best illustrated by what has been said above about some of the language used in the apocryphal book of Wisdom. How far they were affected by their surroundings is not always very clear.

# THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND THE METHOD OF ITS SOLUTION

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It will scarcely be doubted that religious belief is undergoing modification. It will, perhaps, not be admitted so readily that this modification reveals a crisis in religious faith and involves in doubt the essential religious object—God. Yet such is the case. One need but regard the distribution and direction of social activities to realize that a large and ever-increasing proportion of our best trained and most serious-minded men and women are convinced that religion is an outworn belief. And this contention holds good despite the fact that the recent decades have witnessed a widespread revival of intense religious activity. It is the presence of this crisis and the demand for its resolution which constitute the fundamental problem of religious belief today.

## I

Every worthwhile attempt at solving problems must commence by resolving them; i. e., by setting before our minds their determining features and principles. In the present instance, accordingly, we must begin our inquiry with the question: "What causes have led up to the present religious crisis?" In answer, I would indicate, first and in general, that the main source of intelligent religious indifference today is not, as has been too commonly supposed, an inherent antagonism between religion as such and the modern mind, but rather one between what may be called authority-religion and the modern mind as expressed in scientific and philosophic method. This antagonism we shall indicate, to begin with, in a general way, and follow with a more specific indication of its form and method as exhibited by Christianity.

Authority-religion maintains that, of himself, man is incapable of knowing truth, and consequently that it must be determined for him

by processes other than his own. To such a method science and philosophy are inherently and necessarily opposed. For if human intelligence cannot determine of itself the truth or falsity of its opinions, science and philosophy are vain. And so vigorous has been their opposition that authority-religion has relinquished its pretensions to jurisdiction in every sphere but that of religion. Even here its claims have been greatly modified and the vehicle of authority constantly changed. Its spirit, however, remains the same as in the days of its more absolute sway, and it is this spirit to which the modern mind is unalterably opposed.

For Christianity, authority-religion has had two distinct sources—Jewish religion and Greek philosophy. Although separate in the beginning, these were ultimately amalgamated and constituted the imposing fabric of mediæval religion against the spirit of which modern science and philosophy have constantly directed their attacks whether in the person of Roman Catholic or of Reformed theology.

As an offshoot from Jewish religion Christianity inherited an all-controlling faith in authority and revelation. This faith, however, it concentrated in the personality of a single individual—Jesus of Nazareth—whom it consequently regarded as the ultimate standard of manhood and the ultimate revelation of God. And so unique and powerful was the result that the Christian view of God and of man dispossessed from their holdings the religions and philosophies of Hellenistic-Roman civilization and itself became the controlling factor in molding the future of western European life. But, while it is true that Christianity infused a refined and intrinsically dynamic ideal into Græco-Roman society, and thereby won fairly the pre-eminence which it attained, it must not be forgotten that Christianity accomplished this result, in part, by means of Greek thought and Roman social organization. It is without doubt a profitless use of time to speculate what might have been the fate of Christianity and the course of European life had the triumphant religion not been able to avail itself of the results of Greek and Roman experience. As matters stand, however, we can with some clearness discern the influence of both civilizations upon the new religion. To Rome, Christianity is indebted for its early organization; to Greece, for its intellectual formulation. It is to the latter influence as bringing out

the implications of authority-religions and as developing their theological forms that we must confine our attention. And it is strikingly illustrative of the practical character of the religious movement which stirred Græco-Roman life to its depths in the early days of the Roman Empire that Christianity should, in its defense and exposition, borrow so largely from the armory of Greek intellectual life. In the principles of Aristotelian logic it soon discovered an instrument precisely adjusted to the formulation of its own authoritative beliefs. And it is thus not a matter of accident or prejudice that mediæval theology, whether taken in its scholastic or in its mystic form, was, in method, Aristotelian to the core. Both Christian religion and Aristotelian philosophy rested in a basis of authority and revelation. It was natural, therefore, that, although their contents were concretely different, the two should in the course of time be brought into closest contact, and that in their amalgamation Christianity should supply the controlling faith, while Aristotelian logic provided its expository forms. Indeed, we can now see that Aristotelian logic furnishes the essential principle for the formulation and exposition, not merely of the Christian religion, but of all religions in that period of their development in which they take on a predominantly authoritative cast. From this it follows that, if we set carefully before ourselves the characteristics and implications of Aristotelian methodology, we shall come into possession of the key to authority-religion and to the antagonism which science and philosophy inevitably develop to it, whatever its concrete form.

Aristotle conceived of knowledge as a process which moves within two fixed limits. On the one hand is the individual object immediately revealed to sense—the material of knowledge. On the other hand is the universal principle immediately revealed in reflection—the organizing agency in knowledge. Knowledge itself is obtained when the individual mind succeeds in subsuming the materials of sense under their appropriate principles. Human reflection thus rests in and gains its validity from facts and principles given by revelation and received upon authority. This method, assimilated by the church and applied to its own authority-faith, gave rise first to Christian apologetics and ultimately to mediæval theology. Hence, when scientific and philosophic thought had, toward the close of the

great mediæval period, developed into the consciousness that knowledge can be obtained only by means of a process of human investigation whose criteria lie within and not without the process, it was natural that they should come into direct conflict with Christianity. This opposition to authority-religion was felt at first by science as an infringement upon the right to investigation in special fields, and by philosophy as indicating the necessity for making a distinction between natural and revealed forms of knowledge. Today the opposition is exclusive and universal. Religion no more than botany or physiology can be validated upon the basis of authority and revelation. Opposition or indifference to authority-religion, consequently, is not the passing mood of a restless hour, but a settled conviction fostered and determined by our whole modern method of investigation. The days of twofold truth are past and gone, and the intelligent world has come to believe unshakably that we cannot admit the competency of the human mind to determine its beliefs in the major part of its experience and to deny its power in the remaining portion of the field. For this reason the modern mind is led to believe that every adjustment of authority-religion to the newer order of things has been but an additional step toward its final undoing and a further exhibition of the essential untenability of its method. Thus it is convinced that, when the reformed churches substituted the authority of the Bible for that of the Roman ecclesiastical hierarchy, they gained no logical advantage. Nor did the various denominations with their various confessions. Nor do those who, influenced by the decay of confessional theology and the transformation which science and historical criticism have wrought in our attitude to the Bible, fall back upon the consciousness of Jesus as the center of authority-religion. So surely as we rest in any of these as sources of truth directive of, and not determined by, the ordinary methods of investigation, the conviction is ultimately borne in upon us that our beliefs are but examples of the fallacy of the *petitio principii*.

The decay of authority-religion has thus forced the question whether religion in every form is outworn; and, if not, how we can make good such a contention.

One method of solution is of the following character, and has been suggested by the development of the comparative study of religions.

Instead of attempting to validate religion in opposition to scientific method, it has been asked: Why not apply the method itself to religious facts? For it cannot be doubted that religion has always existed among men, that it has grown and differentiated in a highly complex manner, and that its influence upon life and mind has been fundamental. Let us then take religious facts as we would any others; let us see what they have to say for themselves and add their contribution to the sum total of knowledge. Such a point of view is entirely legitimate, and there can be no doubt that for the future it will be one of the greatest instrumentalities in bringing us to sane, large-minded, and natural conceptions of religion. But, although the science of comparative religion is of great importance in determining descriptively the content of religion, one is led to doubt its sufficiency for resolving the present crisis and of furnishing us with validated religious beliefs. For the fundamental question arises: In what sense does a scientific study of religion determine the character of religion's ultimate object—God? As this form of apologetic runs, it is maintained that the religious consciousness reveals immediately a supersensible reality, and that through the development of religion man comes to the conviction that the object of religion is ultimate and personal. Now, laying on one side the fact that science cannot lead us farther than to partial views of things, and that in religion, consequently, it can only bring us face to face with a spiritual agency active among other agencies, objections of several kinds rise to mind. First, the contention that the religious consciousness intuits or reveals a supersensible reality throws the argument back upon the authority-religion basis and is open to all the objections raised against that form of belief. Second, for science no belief can be taken at its face value. Each must be grounded and validated. Third, inasmuch as religious belief implies the reality of an ultimate being, that discipline alone whose business it is to treat of ultimates—viz., metaphysics—can pass in judgment upon the point. Lastly, if we determine to maintain a purely scientific standpoint, there is much reason to believe that we shall find that our conception of God will turn out to be the projection of the social ideal, and not the directly revealed entity that we might desire it to be.

Science, therefore—even the science of comparative religions—



cannot lead us to a satisfactory solution of our problem. If, then, religion is to remain as a justified consciousness of the eternal, there is but one way open to us. We may raise the question whether philosophy, as metaphysic, in its treatment of ultimate problems has any place for religion, and more especially for a religion such as Christianity which would determine the ultimate as personal; that is, not as an Absolute to whom personality is a mere incident, but as a God who is personal in the most real sense of the term. This, I take it, is the fundamental problem confronting the religious thinker today. Beside it all other religious questions, however important, become secondary; for with its solution the life or death of religion for the world of today as anything more than ethics is bound up. Let it be solved positively, and we have in it the principle for a reconstruction of religious beliefs in such form as to place them side by side with scientific and philosophic convictions. Moreover, allied with and resting upon the science of comparative religion for its concrete material, it would emerge in a new systematic theology which might reconstruct our practical religious life in accord with all that is most natural, sane, deep, and broad in the ideals and activities both of ancient and modern times. To such an attempted metaphysical solution of the problem we now turn.

## II

In proceeding to the metaphysical investigation of the theistic problem it is necessary for us first to clear our minds on the following question: What is the nature of metaphysic, and how does it operate?

Professor F. H. Bradley has humorously defined metaphysic as "the finding of bad reasons for what we believe upon instinct;" and there are those who believe seriously that it can go no farther. To such, metaphysic is either impossible or useless. This is especially the attitude of those who would contrast science with metaphysic. According to their way of thinking, science is the occupation of minds that keep close to facts, and that by slow labor and toilsome processes derive general principles which permit of verification by further application to facts. Metaphysic, on the contrary, is the vain occupation of misguided or incapable minds—misguided in so far as they seek truth outside of or beyond experience; incapable

inasmuch as they deal in vague abstractions and generalizations which are never brought to the test of concrete discriminating experience. As a consequence, thinkers of this school, seriously and with a sympathetic desire to save their fellows from useless expenditure of energy and the bitterness of future disillusionment, counsel us to refrain from reckless *a priori* constructions of what is or is to be, to confine our activities in the main to the well-charted portions of reality, and for the rest to voyage into the beyond only in so far as we can avail ourselves of the compass provided by the methods of previous experience. It is true, they admit, that science can unveil to us but small fragments of the true nature of things. Around, above, and beneath is mystery. The farther science proceeds and the greater its conquests, the more insignificant its results appear in comparison with what remains to be investigated. Granting this much, the scientist maintains, however, that what he knows, *he knows*. There are a solid basis and an ever-increasing range to his knowledge. Furthermore, the scientist's agnosticism with reference to the ultimate nature of things, and his skepticism with reference to all attempts at prejudging the character and course of experience, are complemented by assured gnosticism with reference to results obtained and obtainable by scientific methods. In contrast with such modest, yet convincing, aims, the methods of metaphysic appear to many minds to be extravagant and absurd.

Now, did metaphysic endeavor to usurp the rôle of science, and to construct either the facts or the laws of reality by the specious play of abstract concepts, intelligent people would have a right to regard it as a mental aberration, to pity its devotees, and to avoid it. But when we consider the fact that many of the world's keenest minds were metaphysicians, and that they were not behind their age in appreciation of science, a doubt arises as to whether the scientist has quite understood the metaphysician and his problem. Add to this the fact that, although metaphysic might gain scientific favor by confining itself to the task of synthesizing the results of the various sciences, it feels, instinctively, that by so doing it would be untrue to itself. Wherever metaphysic has understood its calling (and, on the whole, it has been fairly conscious of its true position) it has endeavored neither to oust or forestall, nor to be the mere stenographer and

summarizer of science. Its position has rather been that of an independent critic and ally of the scientific worker. Professor F. H. Bradley has expressed this by defining the metaphysical standpoint as the critical investigation of first principles. The metaphysician, accordingly, never interferes with the practical scientist, but examines into and tests the principles or assumptions upon which scientific procedure rests. The relation of the two is precisely that of the economist to the practical business man. The former does not enter into the whirl and strife of business, nor does he, after an *a priori* manner, prophesy the course of coming events. Instead of such folly, he investigates the principles upon which business procedure rests, brings them out into clear light, exhibits their laws, and by so doing enlightens the practical man. In like manner, while science exploits the concreteness of the phenomena of the world and their laws, metaphysic investigates the presuppositions of science, their validity and their implications. By so doing it enlightens the procedure of science and frees it from false or inadequate conceptions. For, as will soon be seen, science can neither avoid assumptions and first principles, nor the framing of notions concerning them. Hence, when science has scorned metaphysic, it has either fallen back upon the crudities of common-sense or upon some outgrown or hybrid metaphysic. Metaphysic it cannot avoid and, if this be so, the intelligent scientist should prefer a trained metaphysic to one crude or bastard, once he perceives the true character of the discipline. As to first principles, it may be said, therefore, that science *assumes*, whereas metaphysic *investigates*. Metaphysical method, accordingly, is neither blind nor arbitrary. Again, the investigator of first principles does not endeavor to get away from, but closer to, facts and their laws. From Thales downward, every metaphysician has conceived his problem as that of getting closer to the world which is. The distinction between the metaphysician and the scientist, as that between the economist and the business man, is one made by a difference of interest and point of view—a difference occasioned by the necessities of the division of labor. The scientist is interested in the individual features and laws of phenomena, their groupings, etc. He takes for granted that there is a cosmos or interrelated system of events governed by laws, that the character of the world's facts and laws are discoverable

piecemeal by him, and that his method of observation, explanation, and experiment furnishes the means to such a desirable end. Whether these things are, or are not, true, how they are true, and what such truth implies, are questions which he does not raise. And yet it does not require a vast amount of intelligence to perceive, once attention is directed to the matter, that the scientist assumes general views of the world and of knowledge which, if true, would destroy his science. The discrepancy between his general beliefs and his practical method is not apparent to him, because he has not considered the two in relation to each other. Indeed, the practical scientist is the last man we need ask for a critical account or justification of the method which he applies. For this reason there is imperative need for an investigation of the scientist's first principles before the full benefit of his method can be obtained. And such an investigation is undertaken by metaphysic.

Science and religion have thus a common interest in the investigation of first principles—an interest whose worth and form metaphysic alone can determine. Science is interested in the outcome of the inquiry because of its bearing upon the possibility of human knowledge. Religion is interested in the result because of its significance for human life as a whole. As a consequence, the interest of each may be best served, first, by a critical analysis of the ordinary presuppositions of science, and, second, by an equally critical reconstruction of scientific first principles based upon the results of the earlier analysis.

### III

Scientific presuppositions, as ordinarily stated, are the expression of the doctrine known as naïve realism. Outside and independent of the individual mind are "things" woven together into a most complex world. This world we appreciate by way of sense-perception. Eye, ear, skin, etc., reveal to us realities beyond themselves. Sensations may come and go, but each in its momentary career carries us out from itself to the permanent quality which constitutes a part of the real essence of the "thing." This relation of sensation to quality is thought to be so close that, although the sensation is in the mind and the quality in the external thing, it is only by a process of reflection that the mind can disengage the one from the other. To

the scientist as well as to the plain man the mind appears to be dealing at first hand with the objective qualities of things, and not merely with his own sensations. It is only when the scientist begins to philosophize that the sensation is distinguished from the quality and the former as a mental reality conceived as the medium for the revelation of the latter. But, again, sensations in their frequent repetition are found to group themselves in ordered fashion. By attending to the varied forms of this grouping the mind (so thinks the naïve realist) is enabled to build up its perception of a complex world. The smaller groups of sensations whose concomitant appearance and disappearance are constant are unified into perceptions of individual "things." The relations of the groups, taken contemporaneously and successively, form the basis for the mind's perception of the real relations of the object. Finally, the unification, in the mind's view of its actual or possible experiences constitutes its perception of the existing world. And, as we have seen, the relation between the mind and its object is taken to be so close that the fragmentary and momentary nature of our perception is swamped in the completeness and permanence of the world which is perceived. The process of knowledge, accordingly, is that of discriminating and relating properly the qualities which sensations directly and immediately reveal. In knowing, the mind must add nothing of itself. Its function is limited strictly to describing and construing its experiences. And it is as efficient aids in this process that the method and instruments of science have their place. The scientific investigator observes and discriminates as carefully and widely as trained and active sensory processes aided by instruments of precision will permit. By slow and carefully taken steps he determines in thought the character and interrelations of his sense-impressions, and tests his conceptions by constant reference to their sense-originals. The result, when confirmed by the experience of others, is regarded, not as the consciousness of a mere series of definite and interrelated psychic events, but as the exact knowledge of the real essence of external things.

Such a conception, at once simple and direct, commends itself to the mind at first view, and until the assumptions upon which it rests are closely examined. From the analysis made above the following points should be clear: (1) Naïve realism postulates an original

existential dualism between the mind and its object. Each is real apart from the other, and their knowledge relations are representative. Subject and object, consequently, are terms between which knowledge moves, and not factors which fall within the activity of knowledge. (2) Naïve realism assumes the possibility of a validated correspondence of mental states to the objects which they represent. This correspondence of internal idea to external fact is knowledge, and it presents the following forms: the agreement (a) of sensation with quality, (b) of percept with object, (c) of the conscious unity of mental presentations with the objective unity of nature. Against such views the following fundamental and decisive objection has been raised: Naïve realism must forfeit any claim to the possession of a reflective criterion for the discrimination of truth from falsity, and for the determination of knowledge. As a consequence, it must either admit the bankruptcy of its doctrine, or must unreasonably, and therefore uselessly, assume the validity of its assumptions. For, by hypothesis, knowledge is to consist in the correspondence of mental states, whether sensation, percept, or world presentation, with a reality which exists outside and independent of the aforesaid mental states. But how can correspondence or lack of correspondence be determined unless we actually compare both terms; and, in the nature of the case, we do and can possess only one term, viz., the subjective? For the naïve realist knowledge must remain forever an impossibility. Although Locke was partially aware of this unfortunate outcome of his realistic hypothesis, as is evidenced by his recognition that sensitive knowledge is fundamentally necessary and inherently uncertain upon his principles, we have to thank Berkeley and Hume for carrying the doctrine to its necessary conclusion. In his contention that "an idea can be like nothing but an idea," Berkeley cut the ground away from realism, and in his convincing proof, first, that the manipulation of mental states can never provide us with objective relations, and, second, that sense impressions cannot lead us validly beyond themselves, Hume finally destroyed the assumption of naïve realism and demonstrated, what Plato had taught long before, that sensationalism, the ultimate source of realism, when reduced to consistency, is absolutely speechless.

Thus naïve realism, considered as a satisfactory postulate for

science, fails signally when put to the test. Is the result otherwise with the transfigured realism which is adopted by the philosophic scientist as a substitute for naïve realism?

The essential feature of transfigured realism, and that which distinguishes it from naïve realism, is a philosophical formulation of the scientific distinction between primary and secondary qualities. As has been seen, the naïve realist (and with him the scientist in his practical moods) considers qualities to be external essences. In his more theoretical frame of mind, however, the scientist discriminates more closely among qualities, referring certain of them—the secondary—to the mind, and certain others—the primary—to the external object. Or, speaking more specifically, sensations with their accompanying abstract ideas are considered by the transfigured realist to be secondary qualities having a purely mental existence, whereas the external bases of these are denominated primary qualities. Thus we get a distinction between the object as it appears to us and the object as it is in itself; that is, between its phenomenal and noumenal aspects.

Immediately the question arises: How are these two aspects of the object related the one to the other, and in what way do they provide a sure basis for science? In answer to the first part of the question we are indebted to the transfigured realist himself for a clear statement. For John Locke and Herbert Spencer alike science touches only the phenomenal aspect of the object; its noumenal side being entirely unknowable. And this frank statement answers (although in the negative) the second part of the question. On such a conception science disappears, for it can never be the union of contradictory terms. Knowing the unknowable is absurd, whichever way we take it. The scientist believes that the appearances which he observes and describes are representations of an object whose structure or essence really manifests itself in them. Transfigured realism, on the contrary, furnishes the scientist with subjective appearances which manifest nothing that is objective. As a consequence, knowledge and science are supposed to rest in a relation whose terms are mutually contradictory; which is absurd. And still this result seems inevitable to the transfigured realist on the basis of the scientist's first principles. Plain man and scientist alike

start with the assumption: Here is mind; there, outside, is the world of things. These operate upon mind and produce effects by means of which the object is cognized. If, now, we subtract from our total perception the factors which are exclusively mental, what remains must constitute the essence of the extra-mental thing. Such a process leaves us (so says the transfigured realist) with the recognition of an external cause for our experience—a cause, however, of which we can say only that it is the source of our experiences. For the remainder it is essentially unknowable. To determine it further would mean to read into it qualities which, as has been seen already, have a purely mental existence.

It is at this point that the ideal-realist, or the trans-subjective realist as he sometimes calls himself, takes issue with the transfigured realist. It is the aim of the ideal-realist to maintain the standpoint of the naïve realist, and yet to save science and knowledge from the destruction wrought by transfigured realism. The ideal-realist admits the distinction made between primary and secondary qualities, but contends that the external cause of our perceptions cannot legitimately be regarded as unknowable. Every sensation, and every relation of sensations, he maintains, is determined by an external cause, but by a cause which is correspondent in each concrete detail with the effect produced by it. Hence for the unknowable noumenon of the transfigured realist must be substituted an intelligible object whose inner character corresponds to and represents itself in every detail of perception. True, the real object is extra-mental, trans-subjective; but it is now so conceived that, instead of being intrinsically opaque, it is intrinsically transparent. Hence, although the plain man and the scientist deal at first hand simply with their mental states, they are now free to regard them as the exact correlates of real existences. And what is true of objects in their isolated capacity is also true of them in their relations one to another. Thus we are led finally to the conception of a real, but intelligible, extra-mental world—a world in which there is nothing intrinsically opaque, and consequently a world which is ultimately ideal. In such fashion the ideal-realist believes that he meets the demand of the plain man for an extra-mental world, of the scientist for an intelligible independent world of things, and of the metaphysician for a sound theory of knowledge.



Yet, despite its plausibility, ideal-realism is no more satisfactory as a scientific postulate than naïve realism. Indeed, it rests upon the same foundations and treats its problems by identical methods. The difficulties encountered are consequently the same. Ideal-realism as truly as naïve realism lacks a criterion for the discrimination of truth from falsity, and for the determination of its intelligible object. The extra-mental object may be existent, but how do we know when we have reached a correct statement of its structure? Our sole basis for judgment is sensation and the perceptions framed thereon. But these are affairs of the mind, and we deal with no other counters. If a picture be a photograph, we know that it must have an original. But if the original never comes within our view, we can never identify the photograph. In like manner we must insist that while the ideal realist may treat his *intra-mentem* perceptions as copies of *extra-mentem* realities, he can never demonstrate his point and can never identify his concrete experiences. As a matter of fact, the ideal-realist endeavors to utilize the scientific method as a concrete instrument for discriminating truth from falsity. He thus gains prestige for his system from his ally. He fails, however, to see that, if his conception of knowledge and reality be true, science is forever impossible.

There is one further objection which applies equally to the three forms of realism. They alike maintain that we must go beyond the individual mind for an explanation of its momentary experiences. And why? Because forsooth, our concrete experiences come and go, they originate and disappear. The law of causation assures us that every event must have a cause; consequently our momentary experiences must be depended upon something else, and therefore upon an extra-mental reality. But why extra-mental? Hume demonstrated that sense-experiences furnish no ground for the perception of causation as an extra-mental principle. And realism must ultimately derive all its conceptions from sense. Causation consequently, in so far as we can know anything about it, is an affair of the interrelations of our mental states, and not the executive agent of an extra-mental reality. Sensations as sensations are, therefore, dumb, so far as the revelation of trans-subjective realities is concerned. With this result realism in its various forms comes to the

ground, and we are brought face to face with solipsism; for if the world of concrete objects can be reduced to a system of appearances within the individual mind, I must include my fellows among the list of appearances, and regard myself and my experiences as the sole reality.

It might seem as though our criticism should rest with this result, absurd as it appears. But we have not yet learned the full extent of the absurdities to which realist metaphysic leads us. Having demolished the *extra-mentem* object, Hume next turned his attention to the self implied in every realistic theory of knowledge. This self has always been regarded by the naïve realist as an activity other than the concrete conscious states, and operating upon them. It is, in fact, a mental "thing," having the same sort of primary and substantial qualities as are attributed to the external "thing," the difference being that the self is conceived as a mental substance, whereas the external thing is regarded as a material substance. And although transfigured realism and ideal-realism are more cautious in their definition of the self than naïve realism, they do not entirely avoid the implications and difficulties of the earlier view. Now, against the substantial doctrine of the self Hume raises two objections: first, we know nothing of reality except in terms of experience; second, we have no more right to apply causation to the proof of a noumenal spiritual ground of conscious states than we have to the proof of a noumenal material ground of the same. We have a right only to conceive of a concrete conscious self constituted of conscious experiences. But we have a right to conceive of a physical object in exactly the same manner. One is just as much or as little objective as the other.

It would appear at first view as though metaphysic had led us to a veritable cul-de-sac, and had, therefore, justified the unfavorable opinion that many have formed concerning it. Such a cul-de-sac was, indeed, the result to which Hume in his own opinion was brought. Thorough-going skepticism with reference to the possibility of rationally demonstrating the extra-mental existence of an independent external world, of the soul, of God, is the last word of the great Scotch metaphysician. It is true that we may treat Hume's result as a *reductio ad absurdum* of his philosophy, and may maintain that

it is unreasonable to suppose that men have been universally mistaken in the character of their fundamental beliefs. We may, with Reid and the Scottish school of common-sense philosophy founded by him, postulate the validity of our beliefs in extra-mental realities, and advance a pre-established harmony between mental conception and extra-mental reality. Such a method, however, is inadmissible metaphysically, for we can never solve the doubts which investigation raises by crying absurdity and avoiding the real point at issue. Nor will it do to say that, unless we are prepared to assert the irrationality of the universe, every need must have its real object of satisfaction, and as a consequence we have a right to assert the truth and objectivity of our fundamental beliefs. The "rationality of the universe" is a large question, and we cannot frighten the skeptic away by means of a bogie argument which, when clearly seen, is nothing other than a bare-faced *petitio principii*. And as to needs and their satisfaction, it is sufficient to state that it may be admitted that needs are true, and that their satisfaction may be true, whereas our notions of both may be utterly false. And to determine the true relation of both is just the point at issue. Kant's retort to Reid was, therefore, perfectly just when he intimated that the common-sense philosophy consisted in very ordinary density. There is no way of avoiding the negative results of skeptical analysis except by digging deeper into the nature of things than the skeptic himself. If we apply this principle to the point at issue, we note that the real meaning of Hume's destructive analysis, and the consequent answer to the same, are to be found, not by endeavoring to avoid his argument, but by turning attention to his presuppositions. On doing so we perceive that his contribution to metaphysic is equally positive and negative. Like all great critical philosophers, he unmaskes the insufficiency of previous conceptions and lays the foundations for future advance. Hume's skepticism was not an exhibition of the impossibility of metaphysic as such, but rather of the untenability of the various forms of realistic method. And this may be shown in two ways. First, as was indicated above, Hume demonstrated that a consistent sensationalism is dumb, and that, instead of sensation providing infallible information concerning extra-mental qualities, objects, or world, it is unaware even of its own nature and origin. Secondly, and even more importantly, inasmuch

as the point is constantly overlooked, Hume demonstrated that every theory of knowledge which existentially severs mind from its object seals its own doom; for of necessity knowledge thus conceived must be a representation within the mind of realities without the mind. And inasmuch as mind is confined to representation by means of its own mental states, it can never make a comparison of its copy with the extra-mental original. Put otherwise, Hume's essential metaphysical message is that, if we hypostatize mind, conceive it as an entity, and draw a magic circle round about it, we shall find in time that we have raised a devastating metaphysical spirit whose destructive work we cannot stay until we have learned the word which will remove the spell. That Hume himself was not fully aware of the positive value of his own contribution is evidenced by the fact that he was content to leave his philosophy in the negative form of a solipsism. What he really accomplished was something quite different. He was the first among modern philosophers to bring to clear consciousness the ultimate factor in, and the general expression for, reality which metaphysic demands. For it is not the function of metaphysic, as some have supposed, to construct the concrete content of ultimate reality, but to lay bare the intrinsic nature which real things everywhere display. Hence Hume's rejection of an unknowable and of extra-mental realities, together with his reduction of every phase of reality to experiential terms, is not to be understood in a psychological, but entirely in a logical, sense. The former interpretation, would reduce reality to the momentarily changing stream of consciousness; the latter requires us to take experience in an objective or ultimate sense. Or, in other words, Hume's result, taken metaphysically and not psychologically, denies no reality and no claim that any form of reality makes, but simply insists that every reality at bottom is a form of experience. The characteristic of realism is not that it insists that "things" are real, but that it insists upon their reality as consisting in independence as extra-mental realities. And the characteristic of idealism is not that it would deny the "objective" reality of things, but that it would ask in what such objective reality can consist. Consequently, objective idealism does not remove the real world either of plain man or of scientist, but points out that the world which is has a common

nature and is of a common stuff with that experience which he calls his own. The greatest difficulty in appreciating the standpoint of objective idealism or experientialism is that many people persist in returning to the realistic psychological point of view. And this not because of the inherent force of the realist position, but because of their own lack of metaphysical insight. Subject and object, the self and the world existent in space and time, as well as the system of which these are but functional parts, must be given adequate consideration by a developed metaphysic. This, however, must not blind us to the objectivity of the result which we obtain when we discover that the reality, whether of subject, object, or system, has no meaning except in terms of experience. Experience, therefore, must be regarded as the universal denominator and constituent of reality. So taken it is absolute. Further metaphysical advance is to be made by investigating the various forms in which experience expresses itself, and the important question for us is whether by metaphysic we can obtain an insight into the ultimate character of reality as experience, and whether its ultimate characteristic is of a personal order.

#### IV

The outcome of our metaphysical investigation, so far, has thus been positive and fundamental. But it has also been partial and, for the interest of religion, quite incomplete; for while we have been brought into touch with reality, and have been enabled to form a significant conception of its inner structure, this result has been presented merely in terms of a least common denominator of things real. Religious belief, however, demands an understanding, not of the lowest, but of the highest, form of reality. Once we realize this we appreciate the fact that, although our previous investigation may have led us to the threshold of a solution, it has led us no farther, and that perhaps the most difficult, as it is the most vital, problem of religious philosophy falls within rather than without idealism. For contemporary idealism is by no means convinced that personality in any of its definitions can be raised to the commanding plane of a true exhibition of the ultimate form of reality. Yet it is just this result that positive religion finds essential to its vitality.

Now, it might seem at first sight that, although reality is knowable, and although every form of experience is a true exponent of the nature of things, any attempt at determining ultimate reality must end in failure. From such an abrupt termination of our investigation we are saved by the controlling influence of the theory of knowledge. For, as has been emphasized by the development of modern philosophy in its entirety, it is in the function of knowing that reality takes on determinate form for us. This is true whether reality be manifested in science, art, morality, or religion. Remove knowledge and at once the determinateness of reality fades away. Its function, therefore, is central. For this reason the modern philosopher is convinced that, if he can but understand the nature and forms of knowledge, he will attain a satisfactory insight into the ultimate characteristics of reality. In this section of our essay we must inquire, consequently, whether a positive theory of knowledge carries our insight to an outline view of the final form which reality exhibits, and whether this form is personal.

As a consequence of the analysis made in section iii, we may eliminate at once those conceptions of knowledge which would define its function as a representation by experience of something beyond itself. Having found experience to be the common denominator and constituent of reality, it is evident that the knowledge-function must fall within experience. Our problem consequently becomes: What function within experience is performed by knowledge? The solution stated in the form to which direct analysis of the knowing function leads me runs thus: Knowledge is the formula for constructively transforming experience. This solution we must explain, justify, and interpret. And, by way of explanation, it is to be noted that this conception of knowledge has nothing whatsoever to do with copying or representing reality in a mediate and indirect way. Its connection with reality is direct and immediate; for, as has been seen, experience and reality are coincident. To say, therefore, that knowledge is the formula for transforming experience is the same thing as to say that knowledge is the function in and through which one determinate form of reality is transmuted into another. As will be seen more fully in what follows, the "objectivity" of knowledge consists in the adequacy of this function to the work undertaken, and not the com-

parison of experience with something other than itself which we choose to call reality. Reality is in every experience, and the "subjectivity" of our ideas consists in their demonstrated inadequacy to exhibit the character of some phase of experience, and their consequent failure to bring about the transformations which they attempt. It is the function of objective or true ideas, on the contrary, to determine precisely the character of experience, to describe its possible forms of transformation, and to accomplish these transformations as desired. In other words, knowledge analyzes present experiences into conditions for the realization of future experiences, and these future experiences appear as ends which inaugurate and complete the function of knowing. Hence knowledge finds its origin in a phase of experience taken to be undesirable, and its controlling aim in a future experience thought of as desirable, and into which the undesirable experience may be transformed. In brief, it is an active constructive process, which determines the limits and methods of its own activity, and exhibits its truth and objectivity by constructing the reality which it defines.

To illustrate: During the latter half of the nineteenth century the attention of the French government was called to the fact that the disease known as charbon had so decimated the flocks, herds, and droves of the French farmers as to make a continuance of the industry impossible under the conditions. Pasteur, the chemist, was directed to inquire into the difficulty and to provide a solution, if possible. Here we find the limits of an investigation, and of what is to be knowledge, set in an undesirable condition of agricultural activities and in the desire to change these conditions in such a way as to make agricultural pursuits profitable and satisfactory. To accomplish this result, it was necessary for Pasteur to determine the character of the interfering agency and to provide means for its elimination. Only when he had done so could he feel that his work was complete and that he knew the charbon disease. Following clues suggested by previous investigations, Pasteur demonstrated two things; viz., (a) the disease was caused by the presence of certain bacteria; (b) its virulent and fatal form could be prevented by vaccination, i. e., by inoculation with an attenuated form of the charbon virus. In determining each point Pasteur was led to perform a long series of experiments. His experiments, however, were not haphazard, but

such as to commend their scientific value by their ability to accomplish results. The point pertinent to the present investigation is that the knowledge which Pasteur obtained in its origin, development, and application, had its entire being in the recognition of a problem and in its solution. The problem presented an undesirable set of conditions; the solution lay bare their character, their operation in livestock, and the means for transforming them into desirable activities. In each step of the process the objectivity and truth of Pasteur's conceptions were tested by experiment, i. e., by the actual power to construct the reality conceived. And this result of Pasteur's is but a single example of the work accomplished everywhere by science. To it knowledge arises in the endeavor to turn problems into solutions. It accomplishes this by a constructive experimental process in which analysis and synthesis play complementary parts. As analysis, knowledge consists in the resolution of the problem into operative conditions or determining factors; as synthesis, in the presentation of the solution or whole which may be produced through the co-operation of the factors determined; as experiment, in the realization of its constructive power through the process of production. It is because of its character as a constructive agency that knowledge combines the apparently contradictory values of relativity and absoluteness. Knowledge is relative, inasmuch as its results are dependent upon determinate conditions; it is absolute, inasmuch as it demonstrates that, given the appropriate conditions, the results follow. This state of affairs merely indicates that reality is constructively transformed and controlled in knowledge, and that in this process we may distinguish the means to be employed and the end to be obtained. It is of essential importance, however, to note that the process of transformation is determinate and individual. It is determinate, inasmuch as the conditions and results are not haphazard, but exhibit a preciseness of character and relation which fit them for the specific work which they accomplish. It is individual, inasmuch as the actual process of knowledge is essentially concrete, arising out of, and terminating in, situations which in themselves are diverse one from another, i. e., unique. This fact is emphasized by the distinction commonly made between particular and universal. Ideas embody knowledge, and accordingly are to be considered as constructive formulæ. As such



they must be specifically adapted to the individual situations which they control. In other words, ideas in actual function are individual, having in each situation unique characteristics. But if this alone were true, every situation would require an absolutely new idea, and knowledge would constantly begin *de novo*. Such an embarrassment is obviated by the custom of applying old thought-instruments to new situations. By this means previous gains are conserved and the process of knowledge advanced. This application of the old to the new implies three things at least: first, the process of experience is continuous; second, in the diverse moments of experience, however individual they may be, there are certain similarities or factors which submit themselves to exact control by instruments originally adapted to other moments of experience; third, the old instrument must be adapted to the unique factors of the new situations. If, then, we take into account the fact that an idea-instrument can be adjusted to diverse individual situations, we give to it a universal value; if, on the other hand, we take into account the series of situations to which a given idea may be adjusted, we speak of the particulars which fall under control of the ideas taken as a universal. The distinction of universal (unity) and particular (difference) is consequently a functional and not an existential difference, depending upon the known fact of the adjustability of old ideas to new situations. Moreover, this functional distinction is most acutely felt in our review of a situation preliminary to the exact determination of its individual features. Our thoughts revert first to principles (previous idea-instruments), and we settle upon the one applicable to the present situation. We examine it carefully as a principle and refresh ourselves upon its method of operation. Next we call to mind the previous instances of its application, their specific features, etc. Imbued with the wider knowledge which a larger range of vision gives, we finally apply ourselves to the specific situation with its unique features. When reflection is complete, and knowledge established, what emerges is an individualized idea controlling an individualized reality. With this result we revert to the thought from which we started, that knowledge reveals the innermost nature of the real to be both determinate and individual.

If, then, we are convinced that knowledge is the formula for the

transformation of experience, the crucial question arises as to how this affects personality, and more especially the possibility of predicating personality of the Absolute in any final way.

And first we must note that the development of knowledge transforms experience in an essentially personal way. This may be shown generally and specifically. Taking knowledge generally, we found that in its origin and function it was essentially teleological. A closer examination of this teleological function brings to light its necessary development of experience into personal form. Every idea is twofold in its fundamental characteristics. It is the presentation of an end constituted of anticipations of definite experiences. It also exhibits the means requisite to the realization of these experiences. Again, ideas are constructive agencies, and the means and ends embodied in them constitute a single active process. But such a means-ends process is personal. Consequently the more determinate and complex knowledge becomes, the more definitely must the experience which is the medium of all knowledge take on self-conscious form. And, finally, inasmuch as knowledge originates and ends in the realization of a purpose, the development of knowledge must ever accent, and can never transcend, the self-conscious form of experience.

Turning to detail, our problem involves the origin and nature of the subject-object consciousness and its relation to reality conceived as absolute experience. In its lowest form, knowledge appears as a process in which experience passes from indeterminate to determinate form. And with this simplest process there arises a set of values which, although their antagonism is constantly resolved, cling to knowledge without abatement up to the final moment of its development. These correlative terms are the finite and infinite. They are factors within knowledge, and not independent realities between which knowledge moves. As to the finite, its reality consists in a recognition of the fact that experience tends to pass from indeterminate to determinate form through a process whose course is not immediately completed, and in which inhibition and limitation assert themselves. It is the function of knowledge to recognize and to remove this inhibition. The greater the inhibition and the more pressing the desire for its removal the keener the sense of finitude becomes. As complementary to this the infinite is the formulation of the result

to be reached through removal of inhibition and the realization in free movement of the desired course of experience. Finite and infinite thus stand over against each other as urgent problem and necessary solution in the process of knowledge. They are not fixed entities, but fluent values. For experience facing the problem of a resisting factor in its movement cannot think of this but as a limit, a finitude to be transformed into a means of further movement, into an infinitude. So long as the tension remains, the thought of reality and unreality is bandied from one term to the other, and may even be formulated in mutually destructive and dependent philosophies such as the Eleatic and Heraclitean. It is sufficient, but essential, for us to note that they are correlative values which arise and pass away in the determination of experience; for when the aim of knowledge has been attained, the distinction of finite and infinite lapse in the experience of reality which as true is absolute. And with this we are brought to another noteworthy point. It must now appear that the characteristic of absoluteness is something which attaches to every idea which realizes its aim. This holds whether the idea be simple or complex. Thus we find that the knowledge-process in its development accomplishes a twofold result. It progressively differentiates what we may perhaps call a local experience, and at the same time lays bare a richer and more definitely organized experience within whose activity itself and its differentiation are factors. And at this stage of our argument certain things must not be forgotten. First, we have already taken experience as absolute—i. e., as a process in terms of which everything may be explained, and consequently a process which itself must be self-contained. This self-containedness does not appear to be characteristic of a process which passes from the indeterminate to the determinate and experiences a constant eruption of inhibitions within its activity, especially as these are inhibitions which it undergoes, but does not create. The more natural conception would appear to be that the differentiating point of experience is a factor in a larger experience whose richer content supplies the principles and circumstances of its development. Secondly, the previous point is emphasized by the fact that knowledge is held to determinate lines in the development of its ideas. Not any form of conditions nor any form of aim is possible, but only such as are

found to suit the objective circumstances. Consequently it would appear that knowledge must be formed on lines determined by the immanent presence of an inclusive experience. Thirdly, we must be careful not to determine this inclusive experience in any fixed or static manner, but to leave its determination open to such modifications as subsequent investigation may deem necessary.

With these cautions in mind, we may pass to the direct investigation of the subject-object consciousness. The origin of these forms of reality rests in the transformation of experience from an indeterminate to a determinate form. The early consciousness of the child, although only relatively indeterminate, at the earliest stage in which we become acquainted with it knows as yet no distinction of subject or object, nor indeed any very definite distinctions of any kind. Barring the fact that certain rough distinctions of sense-qualities have already been made, and that as regards touch these are relatively advanced as compared with other senses, the child-consciousness at birth is more nearly what Professor Baldwin calls an "undifferentiated continuum" of activities. Gradually differentiation is pushed forward, and the continuum becomes a vast system of discriminated active points, each of which serves as the prophet and executive of other determinate experiences. The continuum has been modified in two distinct ways. It has developed into a system of stimuli to determinate experiences, and it has come to realize its own inclusive unity as the vehicle and medium of this differentiated system. Into the nature and characteristics of these distinctions we must now look more closely. The system of stimuli, with their suggested possible experiences, is the known world of objects, using the word "objects" in the broad sense of the term. This known world then includes everything experienced from "things" to "persons." Each of these resolves itself into a group of stimuli prophetic of determinate realizable experiences. In method of approach there is absolutely no difference between experience of a "thing" and experience of a "person." The point of distinction lies within this, and consists entirely in a difference by way of reaction on the part of each. In Kantian terminology, a "thing" is a form of reality which permits itself to be used as a mere means to purposes not its own, whereas a "person" is a form of reality which refuses to lend

itself to such treatment, and insists upon the recognition of its own ends and purposes as essential factors in the construction of other purposes. But, admitting this distinction, the prior point remains true, and the world of knowledge becomes a world of differentiated activities whose teleological significance is stamped in the structure of everyone. It is impossible to find an "object," be it person, thing, or some intermediary between the two, which is not the determinate condition of a determinate experience or series of experiences. Professor James insists that the essence of things is teleological, and the more we inquire into how objects have come to be discriminated in experience, and the part which they actually perform in experience, the more are we convinced that they are the expression of the differentiation of experience in the forms of a process which is fundamentally and essentially a means-ends process—i. e., a process which must necessarily emerge and maintain itself in self-conscious form wherever the unity and principle of its nature is brought definitely to view. And this we find to be fact when the system of experience is considered on its side of unity. The world of experience appears therein as a self whose concrete nature is constituted of the very system of experiences which we found to constitute the world of real objects. And this absolute identity of the concrete self, in content, with the world of objects or not-self leads us to the recognition of the same point which we insisted on above, viz., the differentiation of a local or partial experience in and through the activity of an inclusive experience which sets its principles and circumstances. There can be no doubt that the distinction of self from not-self is a distinction, not of material or content, but of function and significance. Analyze the self, and at once its content becomes identical with the not-self. On the other hand, analyze the not-self, and you are brought face to face with the immediacy of the self. Observe, however, that every experience which determines itself in knowledge bears the mark in its determinateness of an immanent ground expressed in the knowledge-movement, and at once the difficulty disappears. Self and not-self have alike objective value and are both true to the real nature of things. And at this point we must press home another phase of the same problem. Self and not-self—myself, other selves, and the world of things—are alike true of reality and constituents of it. But

what are "things" more than forms of experience which have no unity of their own—mere means to the realization of aims of which they have no conception? Their reality then becomes subservient to and mere content of the reality of selves. From this standpoint, therefore, our interpretation of experience as absolute and as inclusive of the reality of the self and the not-self must be in terms of a form of experience at least as elaborate as the self. Whether it must not be more than self is a further question which remains to be asked. So far as we have gone, granted an inclusive experience of the form of a self which recognizes and maintains its own unity in the diversity of its activities; granted an indefinite number of developing experiences, some of which clearly recognize their own unity and some of which do not—we have fulfilled all the demands which knowledge and experience can make of us. In the interactivity of developing experiences one with another, and with the richer inclusive experience, we have an adequate basis alike for the origin and complexity of knowledge, and for the objective forms which the worlds of the self and the not-self take on. On the other hand, in the constant activity of the inclusive experience of which every other experience is but a phase we have an adequate basis for the permanence and universality of those laws of nature and mind which all science presupposes. And this result is sure aside from the question as to whether absolute experience itself differentiates. We must now face the difficulty which Professor F. H. Bradley develops with such inexorable logic in his *Appearance and Reality*. Formulated after the manner which is crucial for the present investigation, the question becomes: Can personality be predicated of the Absolute as Absolute? Professor Bradley answers "No!" and for very definite reasons. He admits that the self is the essential vehicle of reflective experience, but for the very reason that it is so insists that it is convicted of inadequacy. Reflection can never determine truth as absolute; it must content itself with the relative. Consequently, when reflection realizes its own impotency, it perceives that truth and reality in any absolute sense must lie beyond reflective construction in a unity whose necessity we can demonstrate, but whose character we can never determine. With the inadequacy of reflection is involved everything the recognition of whose positive character depends upon

reflection. Chief in this respect is the self. It is a form of dominating importance in the scale of realities, but it must be cast aside as mere appearance when considered in the light of absolute requirements. It will be evident from the above that the motif of Professor Bradley's criticism is to be found in his conception of knowledge, and that any attempt to overturn his contention must first measure his fundamental principles. According to him, knowledge is essentially a process of reflection. It arises out of the diremption of sensible experience in a process in which self-consciousness and articulate expression are attained at the cost of inner unity and consistency. Sensible experience is a unity within itself, but a unity in which every feature is blended in the indistinctness and blindness of mere feeling. By an inner impulse this unity is broken and reflection begins. Its aim is to comprehend the direct experience from which it emerged. But now difficulties meet it on every hand. It must examine experience piecemeal and in an abstract way. The concrete content is too rich for handling in concrete terms. The abstract must, accordingly, be substituted for it. Knowledge, consequently, transforms what it touches, and by so doing mutilates it. But even so abstracted sensible experience is found to be infinitely rich and leads to an unending process of analysis. The same result is reached from the synthetic side. Every fragment determined is found to have innumerable relations to every other fragment and to lead hopelessly beyond itself. On both sides knowledge leads beyond the given and the concrete to the thought of a determining whole in which every detail of experience is exhausted and adequately defined. It is, finally, this exhaustive and adequate definition of each and every detail of experience which alone constitutes truth. Any definition which falls short of, or is other than, the definition of elements in the absolute whole is false. From this it is evident that Professor Bradley proceeds upon a conception of knowledge and of truth which not merely makes a *final* solution of his various problems impossible, but which in all strictness shuts him out *from any solution whatsoever*. For we must press the question and ask Professor Bradley how he obtains a criterion for the determination of any truth. According to his analysis, absolute truth is for the Absolute alone and not to be obtained by us. We must be content with a constantly expanding

relative truth. But what do we mean by "relative truth"? Assuredly, truth obtained *in so far*, but inadequate and subject to indefinite modification. But on what basis can we assert that any idea is true in so far? Every finite idea, whether taken as subject or as predicate, is, according to Professor Bradley, merely proximate. Truth, whether as real subject or as real predicate, exists as the organization of the Absolute. Finite truth, therefore, can be truth in so far only as it corresponds with the Absolute. Agreements or disagreements of this order the Absolute alone could determine. Professor Bradley, therefore, supplies no criterion for the discrimination of the only ideas which can convey distinctions of true from false for us. And this holds despite his endeavor to supply a working criterion by insisting that truth consists in consistency and falsity in discrepancy. Consistency and discrepancy can be applied only on a positive basis, and such a positive basis as we have seen presumes correspondence between the finite idea and the appropriate phase of absolute experience. But such correspondence cannot possibly be made out by the finite.

The breakdown of Professor Bradley's theory of knowledge, accordingly, frees us from the difficulties determined by it and leaves the question of the ultimate characteristic of reality open for reflective consideration. And at the stage to which we have now advanced this consideration concerns a single point. Professor Bradley's contention throughout was that reflection dirempts the unity of experience and never succeeds in restoring it. We have found, however, that in every objective movement of thought the union of idea with reality is realized constructively. Every truth, every idea which realizes its aim, is objective, and there is no distinction between relative and absolute truth. Truth is absolute in every case, or it is no truth at all. Consequently, we have a right to maintain that the vehicle in which reflection develops itself (i. e., the self) also expresses the unity of thought with reality. Such being the logical situation, the developing character of human thought acts rather as an aid than as a hindrance in determining the real as a self-conscious activity. For the more adequate knowledge becomes, the more definitely must its essential characteristics as a means-ends process



(and with it the self-consciousness of the process) be brought into clearness.

Hence, taking the various implications of the theory of knowledge into account, it would appear that we have now the right to predicate personality of ultimate experience, and thereby to pass from the conception of the Absolute to that of God. With this result our inquiry comes naturally to a close. What remains by way of elaborating the dynamic character of the Absolute and its relation to developing centers of experience is an essential for any adequate presentation of a philosophy of religion, but is not required of such a methodological outline as has been attempted here. It is sufficient for us to emphasize, by repeating, that the modern world cannot be content with a presentation of religious belief which is not determined by the intellectual instruments that have given reliable results in other fields. And of these instruments the determining ones for religion must be metaphysical, for the conception of God is that of an ultimate being. Let this point once be determined in a manner which satisfies both science and religion in their respective interests in first principles, and the way is made clear for the concrete formulation of religious beliefs and activities in a form which may be essentially modern and still true to all that the past of religion has to give.

## ON THE RELATIONS OF OLD TESTAMENT SCIENCE TO THE ALLIED DEPARTMENTS AND TO SCIENCE IN GENERAL

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Permit me to begin my address<sup>1</sup> with a personal reminiscence. It was just six years ago yesterday that I stepped for the first time upon the soil of the New World.<sup>2</sup> I was called here by the Committee for the American Lectures on the History of Religions, to deliver a course of lectures upon "The Religion of Israel to the Exile."<sup>3</sup> When I closed the first lecture in that course at one of your oldest and most important universities, a colleague from the department of science came up and greeted me most kindly with the words: "Why, you really use the same methods as we." Now, it is with just this very same fact with which our opponents find fault and reproach us Old Testament students who take a critical standpoint. We have even been branded with the beautiful name "development theorists."<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, I was far from being unpleasantly affected by that first greeting. On the contrary, I expressed to the representative of the exact sciences my sincere pleasure that he had felt so directly the affinity between us, and I found in it additional ground for the hope that I was on the right road with my deductions.

To this truth, that all genuine science forms one living body through which the same blood courses, which is animated and nour-

<sup>1</sup> The author asks leave to publish this paper in its original form, as an address. When he delivered it at the Congress of Arts and Science in St. Louis, and announced to his audience that he had been asked and was obliged to speak German, half of the hearers left the room, because they were not able to understand him. He therefore wishes to supply what he could not do then, and lay his address unchanged before every American who may desire to follow his argument.

<sup>2</sup> The paper was read on September 22, 1904.

<sup>3</sup> Fourth series of those lectures published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1899.

<sup>4</sup> *Entwicklungstheoretiker*.

ished by the same forces and by the same means, no such tangible and overpowering expression has ever been given as in this Congress of Arts and Science which here unites us, their representatives from the whole educated world, in the bonds of brotherhood. One of the two addresses in every department is specially intended to show *how* the single branches of science manifest their particular relation to science as a whole. This is the task confided to me for my special branch. Allow me to interpret the winged word of six years ago as a prophecy of our present meeting, and at the same time as an encouraging sign that I may in fact fulfil the intention of these addresses, and so meet the expectation of the Congress. I may be permitted to take for granted that you do not expect anything heroic from me. You simply suppose that one who for full thirty years has worked in his department is in a position to present its peculiarities and its aims with approximate accuracy.

The department which I represent, and of which you today demand from me an account, is the Old Testament branch of theology; in short, Old Testament theology. Strictly speaking, we are here not concerned with a branch of pure science which investigates its object simply for its own sake. Therefore I must hesitate to accept the position you have given my department as a branch of the history of religion. What we understand as theology is really not the science of religion as such, but the science of the Christian church. In fact, as matters stand today and have stood since time immemorial, it is the science of only one of its forms of development—in my case of the German Evangelical Church—whose interests and needs our theology serves. Theology is then only an applied science, for which fact it must console itself in common with many others; e. g., to mention only those nearest akin in our university program, with law and with medicine.

Now, to the Old Testament department, in comparison with others, and with the multiplicity of churches within Christianity, there might be conceded a favored, one might say an ecumenical, position, in that it ends at the point where Christianity begins; that is to say, before there were schisms within its own body. Nevertheless, the individual beliefs of members of the department will certainly never entirely lack influence upon the work of the department as a

whole. And, in any case, our position toward the religion of the Old Testament, as far as it claims to be a living religion, is very sharply defined. We have no other calling than to make clear how the religion of the New Testament, the Christian religion, could—nay, *must*—spring up on the ground of the Old Testament religion; or, religiously expressed, *how* God through Israel prepared his human children for the coming of salvation in Jesus Christ. This prescribed course has naturally its correlate in individual conviction, and if ever one of us should come to the conclusion that not Christianity, but Judaism, is the fulfilment of the Old Testament, then he must, for his profession, as well as for his belief, draw from this its inevitable conclusions.

In thus fully and freely accepting the church's traditional name, "Old Testament"—"Old" (that is, outgrown) Covenant—for the object of our research, we really exercise a certain amount of self-denial, and resign ourselves to accept a comparatively humble position. Whether this always wins us due gratitude from the Christian church is anything but sure. Our position and our rôle in the church organism have, indeed, changed essentially in the course of the centuries and the millenniums. When the church came into existence, it accepted the books of the synagogue as *the one Holy Scripture*, to which it added only the person of Jesus Christ as the incarnate fulfilment and consummation of the Old Covenant. The proof that he was the Savior rested upon evidences which were believed to stand upon every page of those books. When to the Old Testament there was added in the gospels and the epistles a New Testament which put the person and the teaching of Jesus on an independent basis, and when this biblical teaching was embodied in ecclesiastical dogma, the Old Testament still retained its peculiar value. Inspired of God, it remained for the church, now as before, God's Word, and, as such, each of its words remained true. Nor was this valid for the past alone, to which it had been given; for Christ had built on Old Testament ground, and had let much remain, instead of making substitutions. Moreover, if Christianity was or included an authoritative conception of the universe—which, as the heir of the Greek philosophy, it claimed to do—then it greatly needed the Old Testament for the completion of its system over long periods, especially for its teaching

on the creation and building of the world, on the primeval state of man, and on the origin and nature of sin. Accordingly, the Old Testament continued to remain in honor, in the church of the Reformation not less than before, and down to modern times. Now all this is changed. In the face of searching investigation of the Scripture, many messianic prophecies had to fall, and the rest received a new, a merely relative, significance. The theory of inspiration, of absolute and literal divinity, of the language of Holy Scripture has fallen to the ground before historical criticism, and can never rise again. Metaphysics we have put aside, and the investigation of the universe and its development we resign without regret to other sciences to whose success we give our blessing. The gospel has become, for us, completely independent, and the person of Jesus Christ the essence of our religion. By all this the Christianity of the nineteenth century grew in concentration and inner strength, and accordingly in legitimate self-consciousness; but in the same degree did the Old Testament retreat into the background and lose value within the theological framework. It was but a natural consequence of this that a party not to be overlooked maintained that the Old Testament was completely and entirely cast aside. Indeed, within the theological faculties themselves doubts now and then arose as to whether the Old Testament should be permitted to retain its position of equality with other departments of the theological course.

We need not fear that such views will prevail. On the eve of the twentieth century there came a revolution for which we living Old Testament men had for some decades been energetically preparing. Even lay circles now hear that theology is being viewed and treated from the standpoint of the history of religion. The name might, however, be better chosen; it is not a matter of the history of religion, but of the comparative study of religion, and this study tends to and aims at a physiology of religion; or, to use the right word, at a biology of religion.

We have learned to consider everything called religion as forming a separate department, and an exceptionally large one, of pulsating life within the realm of human existence. All its phenomena enter into the closest mutual relations; none of its almost innumerable manifestations can be separated and isolated from the others. It is

a frequent experience that most unexpectedly between the apparently lowest and the very highest forms there appear mysterious relations which warn us neither to despise nor to neglect even the most insignificant among them. By this Christianity can only win, not lose. Indeed the more we extend the range of observation and the deeper we penetrate into details, the more evident will it become that the reality of religion is incontestable and its vitality indestructible. The more numerous the inner relations running through the whole body, the more certainly will everything be traced back to the one central point, to the living God, who had fanned this spark; and we Christians joyfully accept, notwithstanding all our conscious weaknesses, the test of spirit and power for the fact that Christianity is, among all religious individual organisms, the highest and the most perfect, the aim and the end of the whole process.

Looked at from this point of view, the Old Testament comes quite of itself to new honor. For, however all religions are correlated, and all their phenomena organically connected, Jesus Christ, the Founder and essence of our religion, was certainly a Jew of the Jews. However unique and creative the power and efficacy of religious genius manifested in him, the preliminary conditions for this appearance are, nevertheless, furnished by the Old Testament. Just as the genius has his father and mother as well as the most ordinary earthling, so Jesus always and unhesitatingly recognized this his relation to the Old Testament; in fact, he made for himself no greater claim than that he was come for its fulfilment. To destroy this relation would be not merely ruthless, it would also be simply impossible. Therefore, the more the Christian and the theologian cares for an organic conception of his religion, the more has the Old Testament to say to him.

The relation of the Old Testament to the New is, however, not such a one—if supposable—as that borne by insignificant parents to their highly gifted son. The Old Testament, on the contrary, is unusually rich in phenomena important for the history of religions. The more clearly research separates the characteristics and important stages of the phenomena of religion from the confusing mass of single facts, the more evident it will become that the Old Testament contains within itself an unusually large number of important stages which

have been passed through successively or simultaneously. It is only with this result attained that the earnest and self-denying critical work done during the past century upon our Old Testament is brought to a close, and at the same time celebrates its triumph. For in agreement with these results all those various manifestations of religious action, feeling, and thought are successively or simultaneously disclosed; so that wherever literary criticism has distinguished different sources from each other, there are also disclosed various stages of religious perception, and each of these stages finds within the broad realm of religion corresponding phases of religious thought, more or less related. Whoever stands in the midst of the matter, and has learned to think and to feel with the Old Testament, will not let himself be led astray. Again and again the attempt has been made to derive the whole of the phenomena found in the Old Testament from one and the same source, from this or that great civilized nation of antiquity. It is true that ancient Israel had about her, on the right and on the left, the religious second-hand shops of over-civilized peoples from which syncretic temerity could easily derive whatever it liked. But one who does not merely stand outside and look over the hedge into the Old Testament knows that the religion of Israel, however manifold and however wise its crossbreedings, is, nevertheless, grown from the kernel. We Old Testament students are, therefore, not at all in the fortunate, or at least comfortable, position of being able to limit our study of comparative religion either to the lands on the Euphrates and the Tigris, or to a small group of civilized countries in Hither Asia; for we have repeatedly learned that the most primitive forms of religion afford striking and exceedingly useful points of comparison for the Old Testament.

Now, these facts have an important bearing upon the position of the Old Testament in the academic program. Of late the cry sounds ever louder that the department of the history of religion is indispensable to the theological faculty, and that the subject absolutely must be added to those already presented; indeed, this is in many cases already an accomplished fact. I do not know whether this is to be considered an unqualified advantage. The familiar definition of theology as the science of religion I consider wide of the mark. Theology is, as I have already stated, not a pure but an applied science, busy with

life within sharply defined limits. To penetrate to the depths of the general history of religion, within the time which is allotted to the study of theology together with the enormous range of subjects already included, is an absolute impossibility.

A short summarizing lecture might do harm rather than good, because it leads the student to think that he possesses genuine knowledge, whereas the subject-matter could hardly be made to include much more than nomenclature and dates. More valuable, but at the same time incomparably more difficult, would be a lecture upon what is customarily called the philosophy of religion, but which should be termed the biology of religion; upon the regularly recurring manifestations of the life of religion. The preparation for this, the actual exercise—and that is the most important part—has long been everywhere offered by Old Testament science; just because the Old Testament is so exceptionally rich in most varied religious phenomena. Here it is possible to penetrate to the depths and to study the life itself; something necessarily denied to one in the case of a summarizing treatment of the whole field. Therefore as substitute, as proxy for the general history of religion, as the science of *one* religion outside of Christianity, which gives us the training to enter into the mysteries of our own, Old Testament science will in the future more firmly than in the past maintain its position within Christian theology.

But not alone in the relation of our department to the whole organism of theology has there lately come a decided change, the boundaries of the department itself have also been extended, and the gap which separated it from its sister-discipline, New Testament theology, has been closed. For the church the Old Testament was only the collection of canonical books of the synagogue, because they were alone believed to be inspired of God. Besides these, only the so-called apocrypha taken from the LXX enjoyed an esteem, which was variously graduated from a degree nearly equaling that given to the Holy Scriptures, down to a decided distrust and rejection. We know today that the belief in inspiration is nothing more than an error—to be sure, an easily explainable error—a lifeless form of the belief in revelation, which is itself indispensable to religion; and we now know that divine revelation in the right sense, always relative, always through human mediation, and in the most varied shades of intensity,



exercises its quickening influence through the whole wide world. With this the barriers fall, and all the phenomena of religion of the people of the Old Covenant, wherever set down, become valuable material for Old Testament theology. This is particularly true of the whole extra-canonical writings, which in recent times have received such manifold and unexpected additions. So far as these belong to pre-Christian Judaism, they fall to the share of the Old Testament department, and thus appreciably enlarge the field of our duties and of our tasks; indeed, they so greatly enlarge it that we must ask ourselves whether we are in a position to meet these increased demands without loss of thoroughness. But even before the question is settled whether the bulk of the blame for this is due to our incapacity or to our apathy, necessity comes to its own rescue. All that extra-canonical literature belongs to the last pre-Christian centuries, which are, indeed, not without representation in the Old Testament canon, but only by way of exception, and contrary to the opinion and intention of the synagogue. Now, since this body of writings is not only in point of time nearest neighbor to the New Testament, but emphatically its cradle, it has, naturally enough, attracted much more attention from our New Testament colleagues than from ourselves. Under the unattractive name of New Testament contemporary history, it has developed as an independent branch, and a whole school of New Testament students have devoted themselves with zeal and thoroughness to this inter-Testament time and literature. We Old Testament men ought not to lose touch with this branch; in fact, it is greatly to be desired that there shall always be some of us who bend our chief energies toward its particular investigation. But its complete incorporation into our department has been prevented by the facts, and, moreover, the study of Israel of the earlier time will long make such demands upon our undivided strength that it will employ by far the greater number of our workers.

In another direction the necessity for division of labor seems even less open to question, but rather fundamentally justified. Only uncertain boundaries naturally separate that body of popular writings, the so-called apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, from the literature of talmudic Judaism, in which alone the Hebrew language, together with the Judaic-Aramaic, continued to exist and to develop. The roots of

this body of writings stretch back into the pre-Christian period, and thus reach as well into the fields of Old Testament science. What is therein handed down to us is absolutely indispensable for the reconstruction and exposition of the canonical books; indeed, the form in which we possess them is simply that of the synagogue. The insight into post-Christian development is also of great value for us, because in this connection lines are running on which trace their beginning to pre-Christian Judaism, in the Old Testament, so that they must serve as guides to the full recognition of the possibilities contained in the Old Testament. All this does not invalidate the truth that our peculiar task is ended when talmudic Judaism has fully developed and gained the mastery. For us it is not a matter of our own territory, but of frontier lands. Here, too, Old Testament science *has* worked and has given contributions of the greatest importance, and it always *will be* to our advantage, as well as to that of the science of Judaism, to send to that camp from ours some workers who will there perform their chief labor. Most of us will have to be content with much less in order really to accomplish something in our own particular field.

But the Old Testament has not spent its life and its influence solely in its original language, and among the people from which it sprang, but, as a component part of the sacred book of Christianity, it has been translated into the language of all Christian peoples, where it has gained a new life deeply influenced by the peculiar nature of such new homes. Through these translations, most of all through the Latin, the Old Testament has through all succeeding centuries influenced and fructified the development of civilization among all the Christian nations, and this, moreover, not only in the religious field, but through its whole extent and compass. The literature and the art of the Middle Ages show at every stage deeply incised traces of this influence, which become the more intricate and the more complicated because of the venerable antiquity and mysterious heterogeneousness of the Old Testament to those who searched it. So the Old Testament gains a new life, a second existence; its original being is doubled by translation and exegesis, by the whole wide field of tradition. That here, too, obligations rest upon us is not in the least to be denied, for only one who is master of the original

meaning will be in a position fully to disclose the maze through which thought and imagination have wandered with these texts. Often enough I stood ashamed that I could give no satisfaction to philologists, historians, and students of the history of art who turned in all confidence to me with burning questions from the field of tradition. One needs a particular talent to be able to cultivate this field with success: a taste for miscellaneous peripheral investigation, comprehensive learning based on a tenacious memory, a liking for psychological labyrinths, and for turning up forgotten old trash. I have in mind today one learned man in particular who possesses this equipment in abundance, and gives many valuable proofs of it; but he should be able to devote to it all his time and have many assistants in order to cover this need. It is not necessary that all should be of us, but all must have gone out from us. Thorough Old Testament study would furnish a worthy equipment for close research in nearly all fields of the Middle Ages. On the other hand, for this task, far from fruitless in itself, the majority of Old Testament specialists must admit their incapacity.

In returning to the central point, whence we followed a longitudinal cut through the ages, we find that there lies in the breadth of our territory on all sides such an enormous amount of work to be done that upon it we unquestionably need to concentrate our energies. Of neighbors—no, of co-workers—beyond the borders of theological science we have an unusual number.

The Old Testament worker is, first of all, a linguist; as such he represents an independent branch of the Semitic linguistic stock, the Hebrew, in particular the old Hebrew, language. This is not the place to speak of its relation to other branches of the same stock. It goes, however, without saying that to make a thorough study of these tongues is the duty of the Old Testament worker, in order to gain a foundation for the real mastery of his peculiar linguistic domain. This task alone is very comprehensive and difficult, and has become increasingly so since to the Arabic and Aramaic linguistic stock, with its ramifications, the magnificent discoveries on the Euphrates and on the Tigris have added the Assyro-Babylonian. The majority of us older men, whose period of growth coincided with the beginnings of these new studies must, in our relation to them,

content ourselves with the rôle of outsiders. But even for the younger generation one may be permitted to ask the question whether it is necessary—yes, whether it is salutary—to strive for citizenship in the whole domain, now so expanded, of the Semitic languages. The almost invariable result will be that one of the principal fields will be decidedly favored. In fact, those representatives of the Old Testament who are linguistically well prepared for their task are already separating into those grounded in the Arabic and those grounded in the Assyro-Babylonian language. And thus it must remain, if linguistic preparation is not to flatten out into an encyclopedic polymathy—an unfortunate condition which is already too frequently noticeable. Today it may not be superfluous to emphasize two points in particular: first, that the Semitic language of the cuneiform inscriptions is not called to supplant the other dialects as a foundation for Hebrew; second, that in the study of the dialects the unique quality of the Hebrew is never to be forgotten or neglected. Because the bulk of the writings is but slight, and the vocabulary and constructions correspondingly meager, Hebrew is by no means incidentally, as it were in leisure hours, to be acquired thoroughly. Often enough a miserable failure has resulted when capable Semitists of reputation, knowing themselves thoroughly at home in Arabic, Syriac, or Assyrian, thought that as Hebraists they could also speak a decisive word. It is and always will be a life-work to acquire a living sense of the genius of the Hebrew language, and it will be better, if the choice is offered, after once a solid linguistic foundation has been laid, to neglect, in the further plan, the outposts rather than to reject the full mastery of the Hebrew.

Moreover, our linguistic equipment is not even completed with the inclusion of the Semitic languages; the old versions already mentioned as the vehicles of tradition, as the transmitters of the content of the Old Testament to different periods and to different civilized countries, are our indispensable aids to the philological discovery of its original wording. Today an Old Testament worker without a thorough familiarity with the idiom of the Septuagint is inconceivable, and the identification and purification of the text of the Septuagint require a knowledge of nearly all languages of the Roman *orbis terrarum*, at least of its larger eastern portion and of its

neighboring countries. Especially since Lagarde's telling work a special Septuagint science has grown up, and will not for a long time to come lay down its authority.

With this we are standing in the midst of philology, to which in its whole range, as to a sister-science, we also lay claim. Even the authentication of the text, in the case of our literature, meets with very unusual difficulties. For, as is well known, all that work on the versions must be directed solely toward securing a single independent text-form, apart from that one which, since the second century A. D., has been handed down by the synagogue in stubborn exclusion and to the destruction of all variants. Even the best-preserved of the books—no one today doubts this—still demand a high degree of philological work; the condition of the others is simply lamentable. The amount of help which the versions, especially the Septuagint, offer varies widely. With such meager outward evidence everywhere, the inner evidence must be drawn out as a decisive factor, and conjectural criticism here opens up a wide field in which, besides much chaff, also much good fruit has been gathered.

Another branch of philological activity has been employed in textual criticism and has attained special prominence in recent years. I refer to metrics. Indeed, the Hebrew metric exerts so strong an attraction that even distinguished representatives of quite other linguistic departments have applied themselves to it with great enthusiasm and industry. Here too, as in textual criticism, we are in a worse plight than the majority of our colleagues; for here too we lack the most essential foundation—there is no tradition at all handed down to us. When, in the light of the sad condition of our text, there is an attempt to use metrics in their widest sense for the reconstruction of its original form, then, in the face of this lamentable state of affairs, the *circulus vitiosus* is evident. This method is not to be opposed from principle, for its legitimacy is indisputable, and is, moreover, proved by certain definite results; but we must again urge the greatest caution, since the standard itself by which the correctness of the text is to be measured—I mean the system of metrics—can be gained only through the strongest participation of the critic's own subjectivity. The very foundations of the structure are still in question; let us carefully avoid piling up hasty air-castles.

Of *exegesis* almost nothing need be said; its laws are universally the same, as are also the particular demands made upon it by individual periods. In the Old Testament, as well as elsewhere, the historical, psychological, and æsthetic sides of the task are today much more strongly emphasized than in the past. But surely it is well deserved to call particular attention to the mighty service which has been done for the Old Testament in the last one hundred and fifty years by *literary criticism*. Seldom will such difficult problems be assigned to it, and seldom will such complete, safe, and far-reaching solutions be returned. The history of this work, especially of the Hexateuch criticism, taken at a bird's-eye view, where persons with their weaknesses and their limitations vanish, affords a truly classical example of methodical procedure. Notice the possibilities, the application of fundamentally differing, yes of antagonistic, critical methods, and the repeated tests for the same results. And throughout all this, Old Testament science worked without prototype; indeed, it offered incentive to all other fields of literature, and served them as prototype. The final and complete victory was won by a combined attack upon the whole line by the union of the criticism of men like Reuss and Vatke and the formal criticism of such as Astruc and Hupfeld. Abraham Kuenen and Julius Wellhausen were the winners. Everything essential now stands so fast that the dilettante attacks from outsiders who come up from the right and from the left give no cause for fear. Nowadays the realistic criticism, essentially founded upon facts of the religious history of Israel, holds the foreground, while the battle chiefly rages about the prophets. Here now and then the same bold sallies of discovery are undertaken as formerly for the investigation of the historical books. It may be questioned whether we shall here ever attain to equally positive results in details; over the whole we already see with sufficient clearness.

The advance from the abstract analysis of former times, which produced only negative results, to the living synthesis, the insight into the political and religious conditions of every writing, makes it now also possible to produce, instead of the old-fashioned introduction to the Old Testament, a *history* of Old Testament literature, proceeding in chronological order and showing the organic development of the spirit of Israel. The work which Eduard Reuss planned a half-century ago, and carried out in a genial experiment a quarter-

century ago, we, with our better equipment, should not now hesitate to take hold of anew. Such a genuine history of literature would with necessity demand to be incorporated into the whole history of the people and therewith we ourselves enter the ranks of the *historians*. In fact, the task rests upon *us*, and upon no one else, of writing the history of that nation, in itself petty, but for the development of humanity extraordinarily important, of old Israel during the one and a quarter millenniums of its pre-Christian existence. The unusual difficulty of clearing up the sources makes our department as good as inaccessible to a student of ancient history who has not been trained in our school. This is sufficiently proved for the past generation by such examples as M. Duncker and L. Ranke; and the present, especially the Assyriological school of historians, seems to rival them in further proofs of the same. On the one side the attack is made by the exponents of tradition, who apply everything discovered from the monuments to the biblical department in order to prop up the old ecclesiastical tradition now become a dogma which they themselves have not outgrown. From the other side the onset is made by the mythologists, who endeavor in this way or that to resolve the plain historical facts into dull monotonous trains of thought. They will all offer us an occasional contribution; but in the main their work will be vain, because they lack training for the right use of the sources, as well as comprehension of the spirit of the Old Testament. Therefore we intend to hold on to our task of writing the history of the people of Israel in its whole extent, and to perform this task increasingly well. In this connection we make grateful use of all that the related sciences of every kind have to offer—geography, ethnology, archæology, and all the rest; indeed, we feel ourselves everywhere as fellow-workers, and hope to do our duty to the utmost of our power. We follow with particular interest the prodigious progress in the excavations on the ruined sites of those nations which lived at the same time as Israel, and, in part, long before; the new branches of science which have sprung up from these researches astonish us with their magnificent results. We are often reproached with the contrast to all this, with indifference and apathy, and the consequent stagnation and retrogression in our own work. But our legitimate caution does not deserve such censure. Joyfully as we hail everything which comes forth from the excavations, we still have no desire to fill the

yawning trenches with our present possession, with the books of the Old Testament. Such things as are there brought up are at first riddles, sphynx-forms; what we have in our hands speaks to us a plain language incapable of misconception. We gladly accept the correct interpretation of the monuments as a substantial enrichment of our own possessions; but the groundwork for an understanding of the people of Israel we must always derive from what has been handed down by this people. Overwhelmingly great as was the physical and intellectual power of the world-empire on the Euphrates and the Tigris; superior as was the kingdom on the Nile, and many another, in comparison with the petty kingdom of Israel, we still have here, in spite of all influences from the most diverse directions, to do with an independent folk-individuality, and with one so energetic and so vigorous that it ultimately set up for itself its own laws and its own aims.

This is pre-eminently true (to return to the kernel of the matter and to the beginning of this survey) of the *religion* of Israel, in which its life reached its supreme and exhaustive expression. Supported by such presuppositions and preliminaries as are here developed, we can, I dare say, with greater confidence than at the beginning of this statement of accounts, associate ourselves and our department with the representatives of the general science of religion; and this in spite of our Christian-theological stamp, which we neither can, nor desire to, disclaim. We strive, in fact, to understand the remarkable, the unique appearance of the religion of Israel as such in its historical development; we are determined to overlook no characteristic which is likely to distinguish it and to make it more possible of comprehension. That this task offers the greatest difficulties does not terrify us; that it brings us into contact with so many branches of science makes us proud. But we need many associates, and they must be of very differing qualities. The compass of the work is so great that it demands division of labor. No one should be accused of one-sidedness if he carefully tends his own particular part of this great field, and really promotes our work. But let no superficial dilettantism find place among us. As we older men slowly withdraw from the scene of action, may the men of the new generation escape the danger of scattering their forces, and strive with success to concentrate on every point, however small, the ablest possible scholarship!



## CRITICAL NOTE

### THE ZURICH ANABAPTISTS AND THOMAS MÜNZER

The letter of Conrad Grebel and his friends at Zurich to Thomas Münzer, of which a translation is here presented, was published by Professor C. A. Cornelius in his *Geschichte des Münsterischen Aufbruchs*, Book II, p. 240 (Appendix I), 1860. It is often referred to as one of the most important sources of information about the Swiss Anabaptists in their earlier stage, but, so far as I have seen, no really adequate use has been made of it. For English and American students of Anabaptist history its use is hedged about with several difficulties. The book of Cornelius is becoming rare. The German of the text not only presents the usual difficulties of literal reprints from the first quarter of the sixteenth century, but it is filled with Swiss idioms, so that even those who read German fluently might find it hard to get more than the general thought.

In my translation I have aimed chiefly at exactness. It would have been easy to polish the style, but I have tried to preserve the somewhat uncouth directness of Grebel's German. In a few places I was in doubt and have indicated it. Repeatedly the grammatical construction changes in the course of a sentence and the meaning cannot be construed with entire certainty. The translation reproduces this uncertainty. Sentences in parentheses ( ) are thus inclosed in the original text. Phrases in brackets [ ] are explanations of the translator.

The translation is followed by comments, in which I have tried to sum up the results to be gained from the document.

May peace, grace, and mercy from God, our Father, and Jesus Christ, our Lord, be with us all. Amen.

Dear Brother Thomas: For God's sake do not marvel that we address thee without title, and request thee like a brother to communicate with us by writing, and that we have ventured, unasked and unknown to thee, to open up intercourse between us. God's Son, Jesus Christ, who offers himself as the one master and head of all who would be saved, and bids us be brethren by the one common word given to all brethren and believers, has moved us and compelled us to make friendship and brotherhood and to bring the following points to thy attention. Thy writing of two tracts on Fictitious Faith [*von dem erdichten glauben*] has also caused us to do so. Therefore we ask that thou wilt take it kindly for the sake of Christ our Savior. If God wills, it shall serve and work to our good. Amen.

Just as our forebears fell away from the true God and the knowledge of Jesus Christ and of the right faith in him, and from the one true, common, divine word, from the divine institutions, from Christian love and life, and lived without God's law and gospel in human, useless, un-Christian customs and ceremonies, and expected to attain salvation therein, yet fell far short of it, as the evangelical preachers have declared, and to some extent are still declaring; so today, too, every man wants to be saved by superficial faith, without fruits of faith, without baptism of test and probation, without love and hope, without right Christian practices, and wants to persist in all the old fashion of personal vices, and in the common ritualistic and anti-Christian customs of baptism and of the Lord's Supper, in disrespect for the divine word and in respect for the word of the pope and of the anti-papal preachers, which yet is not equal to the divine word nor in harmony with it, in respecting persons and in manifold seduction there is grosser and more pernicious error now than ever has been since the beginning of the world. In the same error we, too, lingered as long as we heard and read only the evangelical preachers who are to blame for all this, in punishment for our sins. But after we took the Scriptures in hand, too, and consulted it on many points, we have been instructed somewhat and have discovered the great and hurtful error of the shepherds, of ours too, namely, that we do not daily beseech God earnestly with constant groaning to be brought out of this destruction of all godly life and out of human abominations, and to attain to true faith and divine institutions. The cause of all this is the [policy of] false caution, the hiding of the divine word, and the mixing of it with the human. Aye, we say it harms all and frustrates all things divine. There is no need of specifying and reciting.

While we were marking and deploring these facts, thy book against false faith and baptism was brought to us, and we were more fully informed and confirmed, and it rejoiced us wonderfully that we found one who was of the same Christian mind with us and dared to show the evangelical preachers their lack, how that in all the chief points they are acting with a false caution and set their own opinions, and even those of anti-Christ, above God and against God, as befits not the ambassadors of God to act and preach. Therefore we beg and admonish thee as a brother by the name, the power, the word, the spirit, and the salvation, which has come to all Christians through Jesus Christ our Master and Savior, that thou wilt take earnest heed to preach only the divine word without fear, to set up and guard only divine institutions, to esteem as good and right only what may be found in pure and clear Scripture, to reject, hate, and curse all devices, words, customs, and opinions of men, including thine own.

We understand and have seen that thou hast translated the mass into German and hast introduced new German hymns. That cannot be well, for we find nothing taught in the New Testament about singing, no example of it. Paul scolds the learned Corinthians more than he praises them, because they mumbled in meeting as if they sang, just as the Jews and the Italians chant their words song-fashion. Secondly, since singing in Latin grew up without divine instruction and apostolic example and custom, without producing good or edifying, it will still

less edify in German and will create a faith consisting in mere outward seeming. Thirdly, Paul even clearly forbids singing in Eph. 5, and Col. 3, since he says and teaches that they are to speak to one another and teach one another with psalms and spiritual songs, and if anyone would sing, he should sing and give thanks in his heart. Fourthly, whatever we are not taught by clear passages or examples must be regarded as forbidden, just as if it were written: "This do not; sing not." Fifthly, Christ in the Old and especially in the New Testament bids his messengers simply proclaim the word. Paul, too, says that the word of Christ profits us, not the song. Whoever sings poorly gets vexation by it; whoever can sing well gets conceit. Sixthly, we must not follow our notions; we must add nothing to the word and take nothing from it. Seventhly, if you want to abolish the mass, it must not be done by supplanting it with German singing, which perhaps is thy device, or comes from Luther. It must be rooted up by the word and command of Christ.<sup>1</sup> 9. For it is not planted by God. 10. The supper of fellowship Christ did institute and plant. 11. The words found in Matt. 26, Mark 14, Luke 22, and 1 Cor. 11 alone are to be used, no more, no less. He who serves [as leader] from among the church shall pronounce them from one of the evangelists or from Paul. 13. They are the words of the instituted meal of fellowship, not words of consecration. 14. Ordinary bread shall be used, without idols and additions. 15. For [the latter] creates an external reverence and veneration of the bread, and a turning away from the internal. An ordinary drinking-vessel, too, shall be used. 16. This would do away with the adoration and bring true understanding and appreciation of the Supper, since the bread is nought but bread, by faith the body of Christ and the becoming one body with Christ and the brethren; only it must be eaten and drunk in spirit and love, as John shows in chap. 6 and the other passages, Paul in Cor. 10 and 11, and as is clearly learned in Acts 2. 17. Although it is simply bread, yet if faith and brotherly love precede it, it is to be received with joy, since, when it is used in the church, it is to show us that we are truly one bread and one body, and that we are and wish to be true brethren with one another, etc. 18. But if one is found who will not live the brotherly life, he eats unto condemnation, since he eats it without discerning, like any other meal, and dishonors love, which is the inner bond, and the bread, which is the outer bond. 19. Since also it does not call to his mind Christ's body and blood of the covenant of the cross, so that for the sake of Christ and the brethren, of the head and the members, he may be willing to live and suffer. 20. Neither is it to be ministered by thee [i. e., ritually, as in the mass]. That was the beginning of the mass that only a few partook. Whereas the Supper is an expression of fellowship, not a mass and sacrament. Therefore none is to receive it alone, neither on his deathbed nor otherwise. Neither is the bread to be locked away, etc., for the use of a single person, since no one shall take for himself alone the bread that belongs to those in fellowship; unless he is out of fellowship with himself, and no one is so, etc. 21. Neither is it to be used in

<sup>1</sup> Grebel forgot to number his 8th and 12th points.

temples according to all Scripture and example, since that creates a false reverence. 22. It is to be used much and often. 23. It is not to be used without the rule of Christ in Matt. 18, otherwise it is not the Lord's Supper; for without that rule every man will run after the externals; the inner matter, love, will be passed by, if brethren and false brethren approach or eat it. 24. If ever thou wouldst serve it, we wish it would be done without priestly garment and vestment of the mass, without singing, without addition. 25. As for the time, we know that Christ gave it to the apostles at the Supper and that the Corinthians had the same usage. We fix no definite time with us, etc.

[Let this suffice], since thou art much better instructed about the Lord's Supper, and we only state things as we understand them. If we are not in the right, teach us better, and do thou drop singing and the mass, and act in all things only according to the word, and bring forth and establish by the word the usages of the apostles. If that cannot be done, it would be better if all things remained in Latin and without changing and accommodating. If the right cannot be established, then neither do thou minister according to a usage of thine own or the priestly usage of the Anti-Christ, and at least teach how it ought to be, as Christ does in John 6, and teaches how we are to eat and drink his flesh and blood, and has no regard for the apostasy and the anti-Christian caution, of which the most learned and foremost evangelical preachers have made a regular idol and have propagated it in all the world. It is much more desirable that a few be rightly taught through the word of God, believing and walking aright in virtues and customs, than that many believe falsely and hypocritically through adulterated doctrine. Though we admonish and beseech thee, we are in hopes that thou wilt do it of thine own accord; and we admonish the more willingly, because thou hast so kindly listened to our brother and confessed that thou too hast given way too much, and because thou and Carlstadt are esteemed by us the purest proclaimers and preachers of the purest word of God; and if you two rebuke, and justly, those who mingle the words and customs of men with those of God, you must by rights cut yourselves loose and be completely purged of the benefices of the priesthood and all new and ancient customs, and of your own and ancient notions. If your benefices, as with us, are supported by interest and tithes, which are both true usury, and if you do not get your support from an entire church, we beg that you will give up your benefices. Ye know well how a shepherd should be supported.

We have good hopes of Jacob Strauss and a few others, who are little esteemed by the slothful scholars and doctors at Wittenberg. We, too, are thus rejected by our learned shepherds. All men follow them, because they preach a sinful sweet Christ, and they lack clear discernment, as thou hast set forth in thy tracts, which have taught and strengthened beyond measure us who are poor in spirit. And so we are in harmony in all points, except that we have learned with sorrow that thou hast set up tablets, for which we find no text nor example in the New Testament. In the Old it [the Law] was to be written outwardly, but now in the New it is to be written on the fleshly tablets of the heart, as the comparison of

both Testaments proves, as we are taught by Paul, 2 Cor. 3, Jeremiah 31, Hebrews 8, Ezekiel 36. Unless we are mistaken, which we do not think and believe, do thou abolish the tablets again. The matter has grown out of thine own notions, a futile expense [?], which will increase and become quite idolatrous, and spread into all the world, just as happened with the idolatrous images. It would also create the idea that something external always had to stand and be set up in place of the idols, whereby the unlearned might learn, while in fact only the external word is to be so used according to all example and commandment of Scripture, as is declared especially 1 Cor. 14 and Col. 3. It is true that this learning from the one Word might in time lag, [the connection is not clear] but even if it [the setting up of the tablets] would never do any harm, yet I would never want to invent and set up anything new and to follow and imitate the slothful and misleading scholars with their false caution, and from my own opinion invent, teach, and establish a single thing.

Go forward with the word and establish a Christian church with the help of Christ and his rule, as we find it instituted Matthew 18 and applied in the epistles. Use determination and common prayer and decision according to faith and love, without command or compulsion, then God will help thee and thy little flock to all sincerity, and the singing and the tablets will cease. There is more than enough of wisdom and counsel in the Scripture, how all classes and all men may be taught, governed, instructed, and turned to piety. Whoever will not amend and believe, but resists the word and doings of God and thus persists, such a man, after Christ and his word and rule have been declared to him and he has been admonished in the presence of the three witnesses and the church, such a man we say, taught by God's word, shall not be killed, but regarded as a heathen and publican and let alone.

Moreover, the gospel and its adherents are not to be protected by the sword, nor are they thus to protect themselves, which, as we learn from our brother, is thy opinion and practice. True Christian believers are sheep among wolves, sheep for the slaughter; they must be baptized in anguish and affliction, tribulation, persecution, suffering, and death; they must be tried with fire, and must reach the fatherland of eternal rest, not by killing their bodily, but by mortifying their spiritual enemies. Neither do they use worldly sword or war, since all killing has ceased with them; unless, indeed, we are still of the old law; and even there (much as we consider it) war was a misfortune after they had once conquered the Promised Land. [Neither the text nor the meaning of the last sentence is quite certain.] No more of this.

On the matter of baptism thy book pleases us well, and we desire to be further instructed by thee. We understand that even an adult person is not to be baptized without Christ's rule of binding and loosing. The Scripture describes baptism thus, that it signifies the washing away of sins by faith and the blood of Christ (to him that is baptized, changes his mind and believes before and after it); that it signifies that a man is dead and ought to be dead to sin and walks in newness of life and spirit, and that he shall certainly be saved if by the inner baptism he lives

his faith according to this significance; so that the water does not confirm or increase faith, as the scholars at Wittenberg say, and how it gives very great comfort and is the final refuge on the deathbed. Also that it does not save, as Augustine, Tertullian, Theophylact, and Cyprian have taught, dishonoring faith and the suffering of Christ in the case of the old and adult, and dishonoring the suffering of Christ in the case of the unbaptized infants. We hold according to the following passages, Gen. 8, Deut. 1, 30, 31, and 1 Cor. 14, Wisdom 12, 2 Peter 2, Rom. 1, 2, 7, 10, Matt. 18, 19, Mark 9, 10, Luke 18, etc., that all children who have not yet come to discernment of the knowledge of good and evil, and have not yet eaten of the tree of knowledge, that they are surely saved by the suffering of Christ the new Adam, who has restored their vitiated life, because they would have been subject to death and condemnation only if Christ had not suffered, but have not yet grown up to the infirmity of our broken nature, unless, indeed, it can be proved that Christ did not suffer for the children. But as to the objection that faith is demanded of all who are to be saved, we exclude children from this and hold that they are saved without faith, and we do not believe from the above passages [that children must be baptized], and we conclude from the description of baptism and from the accounts of it (according to which no child was baptized), also from the above passages (which alone apply to the question of children, and all other Scriptures do not refer to children) that infant baptism is a senseless, blasphemous abomination, contrary to all Scripture, contrary even to the papacy; since we find that for many years after the apostolic times believers and unbelievers were baptized together by Cyprian and Augustine, for six hundred years, etc. Since thou knowest this ten times better and hast published thy protests against infant baptism, we hope that thou art not acting against the eternal word, wisdom, and commandment of God, according to which only believers are to be baptized, and art not baptizing children. If thou or Carlstadt will not write sufficiently against infant baptism with all that applies, as to how and why we should baptize, etc., I (Cunrat Grebel) will try my hand, and I have already begun to reply to all who have hitherto (excepting thyself) misleadingly, and knowingly, written on baptism and have deceived about the senseless, blasphemous form of baptism, as for instance Luther, Löw [Leo Judae], Osiander, and the men at Strassburg, and some have done even more shamefully. Unless God avert it, I and we all are and shall be surer of persecution on the part of the scholars, etc., than of other folks. We pray thee not to use nor to receive the old customs of anti-Christianism, such as sacrament, mass, signs, etc., but to hold to the word alone, as beseems all ambassadors, and especially thee and Carlstadt, and as ye do, more than all the preachers of all nations.

Regard us as thy brethren and take this letter as an expression of great joy and hope toward you through God, and admonish, comfort, and strengthen us as thou art well able. Pray to God the Lord for us that he may come to the aid of our faith, since we desire to believe. And if God will grant us also to pray, we too will pray for thee and all, that we all may walk according to our calling and estate. May God grant it through Jesus Christ our Savior. Amen. Greet all

brethren, the shepherds and the sheep, who receive the word of faith and salvation with desire and hunger, etc.

One point more. We desire an answer, and if thou doest publish anything, that thou wilt send it to us by this messenger and others. We also desire to be informed if thou and Carlstadt are of one mind. We hope and believe it. We commend this messenger to thee, who has also carried letters from us to our brother Carlstadt. And if thou couldst visit Carlstadt, so that you could reply jointly, it would be a sincere joy to us. The messenger is to return to us; what is lacking in his pay shall be made up when he returns.

God be with us.

Whatever we have not understood correctly, inform and instruct us.

Given at Zurich on the fifth day of the Harvest Month [September] in the year MV<sup>c</sup> and XXIII [1524].

Cunrat Grebel, Anderesz Kastelberg [auf der Stützen], Felix Mantz, Hansz Oggenfüß [Ockenfuss], Bartlime Pur, Heinrich Aberli, and other brethren of thine in Christ, if God will, who have written this to thee, wish for thee and us all and all thy flock till further message the true word of God, true faith, love, and hope with all peace and grace from God through Jesus Christ. Amen.

I, C. Grebel, meant to write to Luther in the name of all of us, and to exhort him to cease from his [policy of] caution, which he uses without [authority of] Scripture and which he has established in the world, and others after him. But my affliction and time would not permit. Do you do it according to your duty, etc.

Address:

To the sincere and faithful preacher of the gospel, Thomas Münzer at Altstett in the Harz, our faithful and beloved brother in Christ.

Dearly beloved Brother Thomas. When I had subscribed all our names in a hurry and had thought this messenger would not wait until we wrote to Luther, too, he had to bide and wait on account of rain. So I wrote to Luther, too, on behalf of my brethren and thine, and have exhorted him to cease from the false sparing of the weak, who are [really] themselves. Andreas Castelberg has written to Carlstadt. Meanwhile Hans Huiuf of Halle, our fellow-citizen here and brother, has arrived who recently visited thee, [and brings] a letter and shameful tract by Luther, which no man ought to write who wants to be a leader [?] like the apostles. Paul teaches differently: *porro servum Domini*, etc. I see that he wants to have thee outlawed and deliver thee to the prince [Frederick of Saxony] to whom he has tied his gospel, even as Aaron had to hold Moses as his god. As for thy tracts and Protestations I find thee without guilt, unless thou doest reject baptism entirely, which I do not gather from them, but [I understand] that thou doest condemn infant baptism and the absurdity of baptism. What "water" means in John 3 we shall examine carefully in thy book and the Scripture. The brother of Huiuf writes that thou hast preached against the princes, that they are to be attacked with the fist. Is it true? If thou art willing to defend war, the tablets, singing, or other things which thou doest not find in express words of Scripture, as thou doest not find the points mentioned, then I admonish thee by the common

salvation of us all that thou wilt cease therefrom and from all notions of thine own now and hereafter, then wilt thou be completely pure, who in other points pleasest us better than anyone in this German and other countries. If thou fallest into the hands of Luther or the duke [George of Saxony], drop the points mentioned, and stand by the others like a hero and champion of God. Be strong. Thou hast the Bible (of which Luther has made Bible, Bubel, Babel) for defense against the idolatrous caution of Luther, which he and the learned shepherds in our parts have propagated in all the world; against the deceitful, weak-kneed faith, against their preaching, in which they do not teach Christ as they should, although they have just opened the gospel for all the world that people may or should read for themselves; but not many do it, for everybody follows their authority. With us there are not twenty who believe the word of God; they trust the persons, Zwingli, Löw [Leo Judae], and others, who elsewhere are esteemed learned. And if thou must suffer for it, thou knowest well that it cannot be otherwise. Christ must suffer still more in his members. But he will strengthen and keep them steadfast to the end. May God give grace to thee and us. For our shepherds also are so wroth and furious against us, rail at us as knaves from the pulpit in public, and call us *Satanas in angelos lucis conversos*. We, too, shall in time see persecution come upon us through them. Therefore pray to God for us. Once more we admonish thee, and we do so because we love and honor thee so heartily for the clearness of thy word and hence write thee trustfully and foolishly [?]: do not act, teach, or establish anything according to human opinion, your own or that of others, and abolish again what has been so established; but establish and teach only the clear word and practices of God, with the rule of Christ [on church discipline], unadulterated baptism and unadulterated Supper, as we have touched upon in the first letter, and upon which thou art better informed than a hundred of us. If thou and Carlstadt, Jacob Strauss, and Michael Stiefel do not give sincere diligence to it (as I and my brethren hope that you will do), it will be a sorry gospel that has come into the world. But you are far purer than our men here and those at Wittenberg, who flounder from one perversion of Scripture into the next, and daily from one blindness into another and greater. I think and believe that they propose to become true papists and popes. Now no more. God, our captain, with his Son Jesus Christ, our Savior, and with his spirit and word be with thee and us all.

Cunrat Grebel, Andresz Castelberg, Felix Mantz, Heinrich Aberli, Joannes Pannicellus [i. e., Hans Broedli], Hansz Oggenfusz, Hansz Huiuf, thy countryman of Halle, thy brethren, and seven new young Münzers against Luther.

If thou art permitted to continue preaching, and if nothing happens to thee, we will send thee a copy of our letter to Luther and of the reply he will send us. We have admonished him and our [preachers] here, too. Thus, unless God prevents, we mean to show up their deficiency and not fear what may happen to us on account of it. We have not kept any copy except of the letter which we wrote to Martin [Luther], thy adversary. Therefore receive kindly our unlearned



and uncouth writing, and be sure that we have done it from love since we are at one in word and affliction and adversaries, although thou art more learned and stronger in spirit. On account of this harmony we have talked and written so much to thee. If God permits, greet all thy Christians from us and write us all jointly a long letter. Thou wilt give us great joy and increase our love for thee.

Address:

This letter also belongs to Thomas Münzer at Altstetten in the Harz.

#### I. THE SITUATION

The first of the two letters was written on September 5, 1524, probably somewhat in a hurry, and was to be taken by some man on the point of leaving for the north. Grebel had intended to write to Luther also, but lack of time and ill-health prevented him. But rain kept the messenger from leaving, and the opportunity was used by Grebel to write the intended letter to Luther, and by Andreas Castelberg (who is probably identical with Andreas auf der Stülzen) to write to Carlstadt. Grebel then added the second letter to Münzer, in which he used additional information which had just come to them about Luther and Münzer.

The letter to Carlstadt seems to have reached him. He was then pastor at Orlamünde, but was banished from there in the same month and went to southern Germany. He replied cordially to the letter of the group in Zurich, sent his friend Westerbürg to visit them, and came to Zurich himself. What became of the letter to Luther we do not know. The writers kept a copy of it, and, in case Luther answered, they intended to make polemical use of the correspondence. The letters to Münzer appear not to have been delivered. The originals in Grebel's handwriting are at the Bürgerbibliothek at St. Gallen. Probably the messenger failed to find Münzer, brought the letters back to Grebel, who kept them among his papers, and at his death they may have passed into the possession of his brother-in-law Vadian at St. Gallen. Münzer had left Alstedt on August 7, 1524, and had gone to Mühlhausen. From there he was expelled September 28, 1524, and went to southern Germany. In October and November he spent several weeks at Griessen, near Waldshut and Schaffhausen in Switzerland, and the Zurich Anabaptists visited him there.

#### II. RELATION TO THE REFORMERS

Most of the men composing the Swiss Anabaptist group had been earnest supporters of Zwingli in his earlier advance movements. They began to part company with him when he declined to support the protest of the radical wing of his party against the support of the church by compulsory tithing and against the large remnants of Catholic practices in the Lord's Supper. The rupture was completed by the public disputation

held October 26, 1523. The state church of Zurich was organized and turned its edge against the men who disputed its right to exist. They in turn withdrew from it. Separate meetings probably began about that time, and the theory of a church of believers rose to importance in their minds as they made trial of it in actual experience. These letters mirror the state of feeling ten months later.

They recognize that the "evangelical preachers," meaning the Wittenberg and Swiss Reformers, have performed useful service in exposing the general apostasy from true Christianity in the old church, and that to some extent they are still continuing that service. But no satisfactory condition of Christian life has yet been reached. The faith about which so much is said among the Reformers is an external and deceptive faith, without fruit in conduct; men persist in sinful life, and there is no church discipline; Catholic ceremonies are maintained in baptism and the Supper; the authority of the Bible is neutralized by the excessive authority of the Reformers. The chief cause for the lack of purity in worship and organization is the policy of caution—*das falsche Schonen*, the false forbearance at Wittenberg and Zurich. Luther interposed when the people at Wittenberg under Carlstadt's leadership began to make a clean sweep of the old worship and its appurtenances, and he did so ostensibly on behalf of the weak who were not yet ready for such action. Zwingli had urged similar motives. The real motive with both men probably was political sagacity. They knew the extent of opposition among the influential elements at home, and the danger of interference from outside, if conservative religious sentiment was too boldly outraged. If they crowded on more canvass, the little craft of the cause might founder. Zwingli as a religious man was quite ready to go forward, but as a Zurich politician and as a Swiss statesman he held it wise to stop for the present.

The group of the Brethren met this prudent, but shifty and calculating, policy with the bold idealism of absolute obedience to principle. They were the root-and-branch party of the Swiss Reformation. They acknowledged the express commandments and example of the New Testament as the only authority in church practice. The adulteration of the divine Word by the admixture of human notions and prudential considerations was their chief charge against the Reformers.

It is interesting that Zwingli's name is mentioned only once. The usual reference is to "our shepherds," "our learned shepherds." But the feeling is strained. The Brethren are being denounced openly from the pulpit and called "devils masked as angels of light." They look forward to persecution as bound to come.

### III. THEIR RELATION TO MÜNZER

The immediate occasion of the correspondence was the satisfaction of the writers with two tracts of Münster, which they had evidently just read and which were full of fresh stimulus to them. They were: "Protestation oder empietung Tome Müntzers von Stolberg am Hartzs seelwarters zu Alstedt seine leren betreffende vnnd tzum anfang von dem rechten Christen glawben, vnnd der Tawffe," and "Von dem getichten glawben auff nechst Protestation aussgangen Tome Muntzers Selwerters zu Alstedt." Both had been published early in 1524. But this was not their first knowledge of him. They speak of a conversation between Münster and one of their brethren, in which Münster had conceded that he had been too yielding. They also know of his efforts for the reconstruction of church worship, and the translation of hymns and liturgy into German. Münster published three tracts on this subject in 1523-24, and was ahead of Luther in his efforts to supply the new needs of the people in church worship.

What appealed to the Zurich Brethren was the daring radicalism of Münster. He at least showed none of the sinful leaven of prudence, at least not in his teaching. He was not hampered by political anxiety about the princes, nor by excessive veneration for the Reformers. In so far he was a man after their heart. One of the few touches of humor in the letters is the signature of the second letter: "thy brethren and seven new young Münzers against Luther."

But the enthusiasm with which they hail his bold criticism of the Reformers and of their policy of adaptation does not imply that they surrender their independence to Münster. They immediately proceed to criticise him for introducing singing into church worship, which they hold to be without New Testament authority and fraught with spiritual dangers; for endeavoring to supplant the mass by a German substitute which leaves some of the ritualistic character of it intact; for setting up tables of the Decalogue in church; and for sanctioning forcible resistance against oppression and persecution. They also disapprove conditionally his attitude on certain points on which they have no trustworthy information. If he and Carlstadt in their pastoral positions at Alstedt and Orlamünde are deriving their income from enforced tithes or interest, they object. A pastor should be supported by the voluntary offerings of his church. They suspect that he has not yet organized a true Christian church with discipline according to Matt., chap. 18, and they encourage him to make the venture. They are evidently doubtful if his practice on infant baptism corresponds to his theory, and admonish him not to baptize infants. Their suspicion was

correct, for Münster continued to baptize children when presented for baptism. They do not raise the question of his own rebaptism, for they themselves did not come to that point for several months more.

It is noteworthy that there is no response in their minds to the social spirit of Münster's writings. Their interest is solely in religion and the church. Where they touch on his views about forcible resistance, they are evidently not thinking of the social oppression of the common people, but of persecution on account of religion. It may be that their failure to vibrate in response to this strident note in Münster's writings was simply due to their spokesman Grebel. He wrote the letter; the others assented to it; its matter and manner were naturally determined by him. In later days there was a stronger communistic spirit among the Swiss Anabaptists. It has been suggested that their later interview with Münster may have affected them.

#### IV. THEIR DISTINCTIVE IDEAS

The outward canon of their thinking is the sole authority of the New Testament; its inner aim is the creation of genuine spiritual life. An external, deceptive faith is the danger which they see dogging the path of the Reformation. Singing, the use of wafers in communion, its celebration in temples, the setting up of external tablets of the Law, infant baptism—these things create an illusive sense of reverence, a dependence on externals, a contentment with outward performances, which all militate against true religion. This is the noble aim which dignifies some of the trivialities on which they lay stress.

Their reasoning against singing in worship seems especially superficial. The New Testament gives no instruction or example about it, they say. This silence implies a prohibition. The nearest approach to singing was the inarticulate mumbling of the glossolalia, for which Paul has little good to say. His advice to use psalms and spiritual songs refers only to their didactic value; the singing is to be done in the heart. The gospel is to be spread by speech and not by song. If Latin singing has been useless, German singing will even more promote a deceptive religion. All this is rabbinical reasoning, caused by the necessity of finding purely scriptural arguments. The only touch of nature and of free thinking is the remark that those who cannot sing get vexation out of it, and those who sing well get conceit. We must remember, however, that singing as they knew it was largely performed by clergy and choir, and that they were not alone in their objection to it. Choir-singing was abolished in Zurich in the following year. The use of the organ, which had served for artificial music, was stopped both at Zurich and Basel, and in 1527 Zwingli stopped

even congregational singing for fear that the sensuous would hinder the spiritual. And this in spite of the fact that he was both a poet and a musician.

The enumeration of arguments against singing passes directly into arguments against a ritualistic conception of the Lord's Supper (7-25), showing that the two things were intimately connected in Grebel's mind. The mass is not to be reformed, but abolished (7-10). The simple words of institution alone are to be used and read from the gospels or from Paul (11). They have no consecrating efficacy (12). Common bread and a common drinking-vessel are to be used, which will assist in checking superstitious veneration of the elements (14, 15). Vestments, hymns, and all that belongs to the old religion are to be avoided (24). The bread is simple bread, yet to faith it is the body of Christ, and the Supper itself unites us to the mystical body of Christ and to the brethren. Its essential is fellowship. But it can be properly received only if the spiritual qualifications exist in the recipient (16, 17). If a man is living an unbrotherly life, he eats unto condemnation and dishonors the inner bond of love and the outer bond of the bread (18, 19). It must always be a meal of fellowship, and is not to be taken by the minister alone, nor by the sick alone (20). The twenty-first point seems to mean that it is to be celebrated in small gatherings in private houses, because the celebration in churches produces *eine falsche Andacht*. In opposition to the frequency of the mass in Catholic worship, the churches accepting the Reformation tended to decrease the frequency of the communion service. The church at Zurich provided for it at Christmas, in the Passion Week, and at Whitsuntide. Grebel and his friends believed in its frequency, and among the Anabaptists it was a frequent and spiritually very important part of their meetings. They hold that the right use of the Supper presupposes church discipline. The essential of love will be surrendered, if the Supper is shared with those in whose Christian character there is no confidence. It will result in mere external performance (23). Precedent points to the evening as the proper time, but they make no law of that (24).

It is noteworthy that the doctrinal question of the bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament, about which so serious a controversy was just breaking out between the German and Swiss Reformers, is not touched upon. The elimination of superstition, the avoidance of everything perfunctory, the expression of brotherly love, and the intensifying of the spirit of fellowship—these are their chief concern.

Their conception of the church is evidently that of separatism and congregationalism. They began by asking Zwingli to separate the manifestly wicked from the church by church discipline; they ended by sepa-

rating the church from the world. The church is to be kept pure by continued spiritual discipline, according to Matt., chap. 18, and in connection with the Lord's Supper. They hope that Münster will dare to create a true church of that kind. There are to be shepherds, pastors, and they are to be supported by free-will contributions of the flock. They oppose tithing and interest. That was one of the live questions at Zurich. It had been agitated during the year preceding. The mediæval church had drawn a parasitic income from vested funds and enforced tithing. Now that many of the institutions thus supported had fallen, and public thought had been intensely awakened to the uselessness of the church and to its exactions, the demand for the abolition of these methods of levying on the labor of the people grew strong. But as no other system of supporting the state church was in sight, the council resolved to maintain it, and Zwingli supported the council. On this point the radical group at Zurich expressed the voice of the common people.

In regard to baptism they feel at one with Münster, except that they insist that infant baptism shall cease at once. It is, however, a question not merely of the age of the recipient, but of his spiritual qualifications. Christ's rule of binding and loosing—that is, the judicial function of the church in determining the spiritual status of the individual—is to apply to baptism. Baptism signifies that the sins are washed away, but only if the recipient has "changed his mind" (*μετανοεῖν*) and lives in faith before and after baptism. It signifies death to sin, newness of life, and the certainty of salvation, provided that a man lives out by "the inner baptism" what the outer baptism signifies. They object to Luther's praise of baptism as a prime confirmation and consolation of faith. They deny the doctrine of the Fathers that baptism saves. To ascribe saving efficacy to baptism belittles the faith of man and the passion of Christ, in which alone salvation rests. They had to meet the objection that, since children cannot believe, baptism is the only method by which they can be saved. Luther met that by asserting that children do believe. Grebel and his friends met it by asserting that children need not believe. A number of undeveloped thoughts are packed together in this passage. They seem to be: that the common life of the race is disfigured (*verschimpft*) by sin; that, apart from the sufferings of Christ, children, too, would be subject to death and condemnation; but that Christ, the new Adam, restored the racial life; that he suffered for infants, too; and that as long as they lack the discernment of good and evil, and do not consciously sin, his sufferings avail for them without their individual faith, by a racial relation.

From all Scripture passages which really apply to the question (evidently they repudiate many of the proofs adduced), they conclude that baptism is senseless, blasphemous abomination (*ein unsinniger gottloser greuel*). It is not only against the practice of apostolic times, but against that of the Catholic church, for believer's baptism continued to some extent for six hundred years. The arguments by which Luther, Leo Judae, Osiander, and the Strassburg preachers have defended infant baptism seem to them consciously untrue and misleading. Münzer hitherto is the only exception. Grebel has begun a book on the subject and intends to go on with it, unless Münzer and Carlstadt do justice to the subject.

Grebel and his friends regard nonresistance as the unquestionable Christian duty against oppression and persecution. They feel trouble impending. They face the thought of suffering and death with a spiritual exaltation that thrills. They are the little flock among wolves and must suffer in meekness. Here they clash with Münzer. He was the angry voice of the new coming social democracy, and his religion only served to make him angrier and bolder. They, on the other hand, utter the thought of the gospel and of the mediæval sects.

There are a few phrases which indicate an opposition to force on humanitarian rather than religious grounds. "They use neither wordly sword [i. e., in civil government] nor war, for with them *ist das töllen gar abgetan*;" killing is completely abolished with them. Apart from the conquest of the Promised Land, war was an affliction even in the Old Testament. In speaking of church discipline, they say that the obstinate sinner is to be treated as a heathen and publican, but is not to be killed. No one would expect their little circle to kill a recalcitrant member. The phrase slips in because their mind was full of the protest against killing.

In general, the letters create respect for the moral and religious qualities of the writers. Evidently Grebel was not nearly so well at home in German as in Latin. His Latin style is flowing and fine. But his German style has the faults created by a crowding of ideas, rather than the faults of poverty. The frequent use of the "etc." shows that he was conscious of not stating completely what was in his mind.

It cannot be denied that some of the arguments used are feeble and rabbinical. But they are not more so than those of other men of that time. Men were seeking their proof from the Bible, but they had not yet learned the larger historical use of the Bible. Moreover, a strict biblicism always shackles the free march of the mind and compels short and laborious steps.

But the direction of thought with these Zurich radicals is steadfastly and bravely toward reality in religion. They fear and fend off any substitute for personal experience in religion; e. g., illusive ritual, the purely æsthetic pleasure of music, and the impressiveness of ecclesiastical vestments and utensils. They despise political prudence and trimming; they dare to trust God and the truth. They are willing to pay the price of blood which that policy demands. Neither will they trust in the worldly help of the sword; God alone shall bring their cause to victory. It is a brave and high attitude of mind and we can easily understand how this same group of men a few months later took the last step in realizing their convictions and dedicated themselves to death by rebaptism.

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## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

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### AUTHORITY AND FAITH IN RELIGION

The admirable book here under review<sup>1</sup> is admirably translated, and puts into reachable form the positions that in the theological mind separate the old from the new. To the modern student of theology it will be a most attractive, though somewhat diffuse, setting forth of positions long familiar, and now regarded as fundamental. To many, even well-informed men, the volume will be especially useful as gathering up in an attractive manner much of recent advance in religious philosophy. To many whose minds are still balancing the issues here discussed it will give light on positions that are either vaguely held or vaguely repudiated, and enable them to draw the lines more definitely for themselves.

The volume has three books. The first sets forth "The Roman Catholic Dogma of Authority;" the second book deals with "The Protestant Dogmas of Authority;" and the third book has as its theme "The Religion of the Spirit." These are prefaced by an excellent Introduction on the main problem involved, and an Appendix gives a hint of the great amount of accurate, careful reading that enters into the treatise.

The style of the book is admirably caught in the translation. The author of this review read the book on its appearance in French, but has not the original at hand to make comparisons to test verbal fidelity. The impression of the whole, however, is one of great success in reproducing the lively, virile, clear style so often missed in speculative and theological books, particularly when in the German language.

The author plunges at once in his introductory remarks into the very heart of the controversy. He shows that the antagonisms between modern thought and traditional theology is a deeper one than any differences of outcome; that it is essentially a difference of method. The mind is autonomous, which does not mean that it is lawless, but does imply "that the consent of the mind to itself is the prime condition and foundation of all certitude." It is in the false method of traditional theology that its weakness lies, and for this reason "she is always in distress." Most inter-

<sup>1</sup> *Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit*. By Auguste Sabatier. Translated into English by Louise Seymour Houghton. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co. 410 pages.

estingly and truly does Sabatier then trace the social function of authority, and shows how the development of individuality "does not exhaust the phenomenon of consciousness," but that solidarity becomes increasingly "a moral ideal, a holy obligation." Authority has "its roots in the organic conditions of the life of the species, and its end is the formation of the individual." "Hence authority should labor to render itself useless." The outcome is the only possible one for anyone who has breathed the free air of the modern scientific method. "Authority, in its true conception, is and can be no other than relative." Sabatier goes on to apply this principle boldly and justly to theological thinking. "The ancient fathers wrested the Bible and the church from history, and, misapprehending their relative and conditioned character, erected them into immediate divine authorities and infallible oracles," whereas they should have been simply school-teachers to help the child to think for itself.

In this spirit of bold and fearless historical research Sabatier begins the study of the Roman Catholic dogma of authority. The three stages of the doctrine of infallibility—from the aristocratic republic of bishops, to a constitutional monarchy, and thence to the tyranny of an infallible pope—are set forth. The critique does not seem to the writer either extreme or unjust. The logical outcome of the action of the Vatican Council is a deified pope, but this position will be denied by "progressive" Catholics, and the infallible authority of the pope can be reduced to a simple "formal principle" to which traditional and personal experience gives content, as set forth in a recent article by a devout Roman Catholic in the *Hibbard Journal*. And, moreover, as infallible pastor the pope can only control the submission of the faithful.

In the discussion of the Catholic notion of the church Sabatier hardly makes sufficient allowances for the undoubted shiftings and confusions that mark its definition. The doctrine, as Sabatier sets it forth, may be found in germ from the beginning, but "Cyprian, Augustine, Bossuet, and Leo XIII" did not hold the same doctrine of the church. The initial confusion of the church with the reign of God is common to all, but their doctrine of the actual sacramental institution undergoes a considerable process of evolution. In the same way, while accepting in broad outline Sabatier's description of the rise of the Old Catholic church, the reviewer thinks Jesus himself had broader views of the meaning of his mission than those which it is now the fashion to attribute to him. We dare not interpret the teachings of Jesus exclusively in the light of eschatological teachings which bear on the face of them a later origin, and may mark the natural later interpretations of Jesus' death.

The account of the rise of the Græco-Roman church is substantially that familiar to every student of Hatch, Ritschl, and Harnack, but is marked by keen insight and some very just discrimination. The thoroughly Hebrew character of Paul is one of the sound positions which save Sabatier from some mistakes into which even Ritschl falls, even after he had formally rejected Baur. For the Tübingen school injected far too much Greek thought into Paul's writings, and in this Pfeiderer, Holsten, and Schmiedel remain true to their intellectual ancestry.

In the discussion of the genesis of the Catholic theory of tradition the criticism of Sabatier is sharp and pungent. Even the ardent Protestant, however, may perhaps remember the tremendous task before the ecclesiastical organization. It was the only one with sufficient weight with the proletariat to save society, and to reorganize that society some sort of external unity seemed absolutely necessary. And this seemed so not only to fanatic bishops, but to such politicians as Constantine. Dogma was the fighting platform for a militant organization. The sad and disastrous outcome of this dogmatic development, the gradual separation of the hierarchy from the great priesthood of all believers, and the saddening monopoly by the few of what belonged to all, is admirably traced. Sabatier reminds us of the words spoken by Louiez, the Jesuit general: "Sheep are animals destitute of reason, and in consequence they can have no part in the government of the church." In a final word our author sums up the conflict:

The Roman Catholic church has thought to save her authority by investing it with the supernatural: she has killed it. A supernatural authority in the exterior order necessarily becomes first a political authority, and afterward an oppressive authority. . . . The forms of authority which are suited to humanity in its infancy and minority are exasperating to an adult and enlightened humanity. (P. 144.)

The second book is a most useful repetition of the grounds upon which Protestantism stands in refusing to identify the books of the Bible with the "Word of God." The only complaint against Professor Sabatier might be his too easy concession of the name Protestantism to the scholastic dogmatists of the seventeenth century. As Sabatier himself rightly remarks:

Then, having founded a new church, they were naturally left to give it, in the letter of Scripture, an external infallible authority, which should be in nothing inferior to that on which the rival church plumed herself. Thus their successors could say in their scholastic language that they had founded evangelical Protestantism upon two principles, one material, i. e., justification by faith; and one formal, the authority of the Scriptures. *In reality the early Reformers knew nothing of this dualism.*\* (P. 164.)

\* Italics ours.

As between the rival claims of Roman Catholicism and scholastic Protestantism, Sabatier quite correctly says that Catholicism is preferable (p. 187).

It was born and grew up in the very thick of the human conflict, rendering services to modern humanity, and bringing upon it evils and dangers alike extraordinary.

Compared with this historic machine, the Protestant authority is weak and unattractive. In fact, "the Protestant dogma of the infallibility of the Bible is not only inconceivable to thought—it is also useless in fact." (P. 187.)

The account of the rise of a new Protestantism of the spirit is very satisfactory, although of necessity it is a mere sketch. The services of Lessing may be somewhat overrated (pp. 206-8), but, on the whole, the narrative commands a general assent, and the appreciation of Schleiermacher is most just. Sabatier shows also how impossible it is to take refuge from the storms of historical criticism in the words of Jesus, for these very words are themselves the battle-ground of criticism. Sabatier then proceeds to examine the historic notion (pp. 235-40) and the religious notion (pp. 240-44) of the Bible, and finds a synthesis.

The letter of the Bible, then, is no longer the infallible rule of religious thought, the oracle of absolute and eternal truth. But none the less does the Bible continue to discharge a double and essential function in the life of churches, families, and individuals. It is no longer a code, but it remains a testimony; it is no longer a law, but it is a means of grace. It does not prescribe the scientific formulas of faith, but it does remain the historic fountain of Christian knowledge. (P. 247.)

In the third book, "The Religion of the Spirit," Sabatier is at his best. The first chapter is a dialogue with "Adelphi," who is not willingly convinced that authority and religion are not one and the same thing, or that one is not inseparably bound up with the other (pp. 255-83). The range of objection is the familiar plea that the modern view admits of unlimited subjectivity, and to this Sabatier replies by summing up briefly the arguments already advanced, closing with the words of Vinet:

Protestantism is for me only the starting-point; my religion is beyond. I may, as a Protestant, hold some Catholic opinions, and who knows that I do not? *That which I absolutely repudiate is authority.* (P. 283.)

The volume then traces the religion of the spirit to Jesus Christ.

Jesus was entirely aware of the revolution which he was setting in operation. Of all his utterances there is not one which is farther removed from the mode of thought of his time, and consequently more authentic, than this: "The rulers of

the gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones exercise authority over them. Not so shall it be with you; but whosoever would become great among you shall be your servant." (P. 284.)

And, on the same page, in reference to Matt. 23:8-12:

Jesus was not considering merely names and titles whose use is regulated by the sense in which they are employed. He was attacking and condemning the very principle of a religious hierarchy, which in the earlier religions had divided men into two classes, putting the consciences of one class under the tutelage of the other. What he proclaimed was fraternal equality, the spiritual independence of Christians, founded upon their filial relation to the heavenly father.

Most admirably does Sabatier describe the character of Jesus' teaching:

Jesus' method of teaching is then the opposite of that of the scribes, that is, the method of authority. It is rather a sort of divine maieutic, tending to give birth to a new life in the heart, to create the spiritual man in the carnal and animal man. (P. 287.)

Thus Jesus arouses to independent relations to God and to truth. The use Jesus makes of the Old Testament is always religious, and his freedom in the use of it is unbounded. "I say unto you" is directly opposed again and again to the express word of Scripture. Jesus "always wanted his disciples to understand what he was doing," and "the general principle which inspired his acts" (p. 291).

But this principle was drawn, not from heaven nor from any supernatural authority, but from the very depths of the human consciousness, so that, once it was proclaimed, conscience must recognize it as its own, and could not let it go.

In the same way the authority of Jesus is not based upon any metaphysical proposition, supported by any series of passages from canonical writings, but upon "the mysterious power which in his consciousness and by his word subjugates our souls and makes them his. This is the authority of God himself, it is "the spirit of truth, of love, and of holiness" (p. 293). For Sabatier this authority is sovereign and "absolute as that of God himself, in the domain of the religious experience" (p. 294). Nor is Sabatier afraid to carry out the full consequences of this conception:

It is a mistake to think that Jesus introduced a new doctrine of God, his essence and attributes, and of the intra-divine life. His notion of God is that of the Old Testament. (P. 297.)

So that "we are Christians just so far as the personal deity of Jesus, the sense of divine sonship, is reproduced in us" (p. 298). So, too, Sabatier asserts that "the dogma which made the Holy Spirit a metaphysical entity paralyzed and killed his dynamic influence in the Christian life" (p. 299).

The Spirit is the living Spirit of the Father abiding in us, and known by the fruits of moral sincerity and unreserved love for our fellow-men.

Thus we find traced to the pentecostal enthusiasm the beginnings of the religion of the Spirit, with its liberty and often fantastic excesses.

The church and theology have singularly fallen from this high position. Having reduced inspiration to the theory of intellectual infallibility, they have separated it from the Christian life. (P. 305.)

No chapter is finer or more really discriminating than that on "The Pauline Notion of Inspiration" (pp. 305-9). Short as the passage is, it is luminous and invaluable. Sabatier is on firm ground in his insistence on the Old Testament character of the Pauline doctrine of the Spirit.

It is not enough to represent the Spirit of God as coming to the help of man's spirit, supplying strength which he lacks, an associate or juxtaposed force, a supernatural auxiliary. Paul's thought has no room for such a moral and psychological dualism, although popular language easily admits it. (P. 307.)

The action of God's Spirit is thought of as essentially moral and regenerating, and is felt by all the faculties of soul and body, by the intelligence as much as by the will. Thus for Paul "inspiration is the essence of faith" (p. 308). And the state of inspiration is the common and permanent privilege of all believers. This inspiration is, however, love and holiness, and thus its reality can be judged by the outcome.

Less satisfactory is the exposition of the doctrine of the fourth gospel. It, the present reviewer thinks, must also be understood as the protest of Judaism against any metaphysical translation of the facts of an indwelling life. In this light it is clear, and there is no more difficulty with the apparent dualism of word and spirit than with that of Paul's body and spirit. Beautifully, however, does Sabatier dwell on the living character of the Johannine doctrine of the Spirit, but he seems either to miss, or perhaps did not accept, the character of the fourth gospel as a polemic against Gnosticism, much as the Priestly document (Gen. 1-2:3) is a polemic against mythological explanations of the world.

Thus we see the primitive church emerging as a religious democracy.

Monarchy and oligarchy with their gradations in rank have given place to a religious democracy, to the republic of fraternal souls, to the fundamental equality of citizens in the kingdom of God. (P. 313.)

The natural and the supernatural are no longer valid distinctions for the religion of the Spirit. All things are supernatural, and all the supernatural is natural. Thus the way is cleared for a really pious science, and a scientific piety—"inward piety the conscience of science, and science the legitimate expression of piety" (p. 318).

Again, our author is not only sound, but clear and convincing, when on the subject of liberty and determinism. "Everything that exists is determined, because everything that exists is conditioned" (p. 320). Liberty is a quality of spirit, and it is of the nature of spirit to determine itself according to the character of its being. This and this alone is liberty. "This is why law is liberty. In morals, its necessary content and its law is duty" (p. 320). To be free is to obey the law of one's being; servitude is just the opposite of "servitude to another." Bravely and logically this thought is carried out.

Thence it follows that it is impossible for a moral being, that is, a being who knows and consents to the law of his being, not to be in some measure religious, the religious sentiment being at bottom nothing other than the sentiment of the relationship between the moral being and the law that governs him. (P. 321.) Never was this relationship more perfectly expressed than in Jesus. "Never was will more submissive to the will of God, never was will more autonomous" (p. 323).

Equally clear and convincing is the discussion of salvation:

To believe in Christ, to be united to him by the influence of his word and work, is in fact nothing else than to believe the gospel, or, more properly speaking, to receive it as a living principle and realize it in ourselves. (P. 333.)

The only unpardonable sin is the persistent contempt and neglect of the witness of God in the consciousness. Jesus is the way, the truth, and the life, but one way to find Jesus essentially, even if misapprehending and even standing aloof from him, is to follow and to love truth as Jesus did. Yet we cannot afford to misapprehend or stand aloof from Christ. The heart of every Christian is bound to Jesus Christ, and must ever be so bound. We abide in him that we may find the truth and the Father.

In an important section our author points out, all too briefly, that as traditionalism threatens the Roman communion, a false and disintegrating individualism is at work in Protestantism. In a social Protestantism alone can we find real safety (pp. 339-41).

The closing chapters are mere outlines dealing with scientific theology, its method and spirit, and the proposed organization of the Christian doctrine, with an outline of the system.

Altogether it is a notable book, and of profound significance in its clear and comprehensive statement of modern Protestantism, as it is more and more coming to be understood. There is throughout the work a holy enthusiasm which is never content with any merely destructive analytical process. A great passionate life has gone out after God's truth, and the gleanings are a fair and really splendid harvest. The religion of the Spirit is

finding ever more articulate voices. Men are at last seeing that unity cannot be found in intellectual analyses of beliefs, however keen; nor can we ever again bow our heads, even nominally, to a central authority. Our unity must be in the divine organizing purpose of God, as that purpose is revealed in the historic Christ.

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### A HARMONY OF THE HEXATEUCH

Professor Kent's *Beginnings of Hebrew History*<sup>1</sup> is not a history or a critical introduction, as its name would seem to indicate, but is a harmony of the Hexateuch and the book of Judges. A work of this sort has been needed so long that it is a pity that it is not given a title which at once indicates its scope. Ever since the days of the Jewish rabbis the fact has been recognized that there are duplicate narratives in the Pentateuch, and various attempts have been made to bring these into harmony with one another. In 1554 Calvin published a harmony of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, in which he perceived that the history and the legislation of Deuteronomy are largely parallel to the history and the legislation of Exodus-Numbers, and placed the similar sections in juxtaposition. Modern criticism of the last century has demonstrated that the duplication of material in the Pentateuch is far more extensive than the older commentators supposed. Not merely does Deuteronomy represent a tradition independent of the middle books, but Genesis-Numbers is found to consist of a compilation of three parallel narratives—the Jehovist, the Elohist, and the Priestly Code. As a result of this compilation nearly every episode of early Hebrew history is narrated in two variant forms, and many episodes are narrated in three or even four forms. The same sort of composition is found to be characteristic of the other historical books, so that most of the incidents of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel, are narrated in at least two different ways. Criticism has now advanced so far that it is able to recognize with reasonable certainty the limits of the several documents that enter into these historical books, and even where the sources cannot be named with certainty a duplication of material may frequently be detected. These facts make it desirable that we should have a book in which the parallel narratives of the Hexateuch and the other histories are

<sup>1</sup> *The Student's Old Testament*: Vol. I, *Narratives of the Beginnings of Hebrew History*, By Charles Foster Kent. New York: Scribner, 1904. xxxv + 382 pages. \$2.75, net.



placed side by side after the familiar manner of a harmony of the gospels. A beginning in this direction was made by Carpenter and Harford-Battersby in the admirable table on pp. 272-79 of their *Hexateuch*, but Professor Kent is the first to carry out this idea to completion. For the successful execution of this task all students and all teachers of the Bible owe him a debt of gratitude.

The aims of the *Student's Old Testament* are thus formulated by the editor: (1) a logical classification of the material; (2) a comparative presentation of parallel narratives; (3) a clear modern translation; (4) a paragraphing that will bring out the literary form; and (5) a presentation of the reasons for the critical analysis in introductions and explanatory notes. The only one of these aims that is open to objection is the first. A logical classification of material means that all history must be put into one compartment, all poetry into another, and all law into a third. In the volume before us only narratives are given, while legislation and poetry are relegated to other volumes that are to appear later. The attempt to carry out this plan leads to many practical inconveniences. When, for instance, the Blessing of Jacob in Gen., chap. 49, is omitted, in order that it may be inserted later in the volume on poetry; or the Decalogue in Exod., chap. 20, in order that it may be given in the volume on legislation, this is as awkward as it would be to drop out the parables or the miracles from a harmony of the gospels, in order that they might be inserted in other volumes in which all the parables and all the miracles of the Bible were brought together. Again and again the author is compelled to break through a logical classification and to give poetical passages and laws without which the narrative would be unintelligible. Much of the Priestly document, such as the account of the circumcision of Isaac in Gen., chap. 17, is really legislation under the thin veil of historical narrative, and yet it is inserted in this volume. A careful study convinces me that the attempt to make a logical analysis alongside of a literary analysis is unwise. The two heterogeneous aims lead only to confusion. It would have been better to exhibit the Hexateuch harmonistically without regard to a logical distribution of its contents.

The critical analysis on which the assignment of passages to their respective sources rests is evidently the result of careful and independent study. The best recent authorities have been consulted, but no one has been followed slavishly. The author belongs to that advanced school which believes, not merely that it can discriminate between J, E, and P, but also that it can recognize two or three distinct layers in each of these documents, and can tell precisely which of the numerous redactors effected the patching

together of two extracts. There is a certainty in the assignment of many passages that does not correspond with the present state of critical knowledge and that is likely to create a false impression in the mind of the immature student. In such chapters as Gen., chaps. 15, 30, 31, 32, 34, and much of Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua, one needs only to compare Kent with Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, or with any other critic, to see how far we are from a consensus of opinion. It would be wiser in all these doubtful passages to point out the fact that they bear evidence of being composite, but to refrain from attempting an analysis that represents merely the private opinion of the author. Such a frank admission of difficulties would serve only to emphasize more strongly the consensus of opinion in other cases.

Apart from the omissions due to an injudicious application of the principle of logical classification, this harmony is admirable. It is arranged in numbered sections in chronological order after the manner of a gospel harmony, and the parallel narratives are placed in columns alongside of one another. This is the best form, and it is hard to see why in a few cases the author has departed from it. Thus J's account of creation in Gen. 2:4b-24 should have been printed parallel to P's account in Gen., chap. 1, and not following it. The Early Judean narrative of the patriarch's deception in Gen., chap. 26, should have been placed alongside of the Later Judean and Early Ephraimite narratives, and not at the bottom of the page. Such departures from the regular practice serve only to confuse the reader. There are one hundred and fifty sections in all, and of these ninety-two contain double, triple, or quadruple accounts of the same events. Nothing could exhibit more strikingly the necessity for a critical analysis of the narrative portions of the Hexateuch and the book of Judges. When the volume on the laws is published, this will add several hundred to the list of doublets.

In no case has the author placed sections together that are not fairly regarded as parallels, but numerous parallels might have been given that are omitted from his comparison. Like many other persons, he seems not to see that contradictions are nothing but one form of parallelism. Two diametrically different versions of an incident should be placed side by side in a harmony quite as much as two slightly different versions. Failure to recognize this fact accounts apparently for the omission of notice of a large number of doublets. Thus in Gen. 4:26 we are told that Enoch was the first to call upon the name of Yahweh, while in Exod. 6:2 we are told that God was not known by this name to the patriarchs, but that he first revealed himself by this name to Moses. These independent conceptions of the origin of Yahweh-worship should be brought together in a harmony; but

this has not been done by Professor Kent. The Early Judean document in Gen. 9:25 f. gives the sons of Noah as Shem, Japhet, and Canaan; P gives them as Shem, Ham, and Japhet. These divergent traditions should be placed in comparison. In Gen. 10:7 Sheba and Havilah are given as sons of Ham. This should be placed parallel to Gen. 10:26-28, according to which Sheba and Havilah are sons of Shem. The two conceptions of the origin of the altar at Bethel in Gen. 12:8 and 35:7; the three conceptions of the meaning of the name Ishmael in Gen. 16:11, 17:20, and 21:17; the three interpretations of the origin of the name Isaac in Gen. 17:17, 18:12, and 21:6; the three explanations of the meaning of the name Beer-sheba in Gen. 21:31, 26:33, and 21:15-17; the two explanations of the name Jacob in Gen. 25:26 and 27:36; the three explanations of the origin of the name Bethel in Gen. 28:19, 28:22, and 35:15; the two explanations of the origin of the name Mahanaim in Gen. 32:2 and 32:7; the meeting with angels in Gen. 32:1 and 32:24; the two accounts of the origin of the name Israel in Gen. 32:28 and 35:10; the two conceptions of the name of Moses' father-in-law in Exod. 2:18 and 3:1; the two representations of what Moses did with his wife at the time of his return to Egypt in Exod. 4:20 and 18:2—are all cases of doublets, and should have been placed in parallel columns of the harmony. The value of a harmony consists in its giving a *complete* presentation of the duplicate or triplicate passages, and the omission of these and other doublets that might be mentioned is a serious defect in this work. It is to be hoped that in the volume on the laws all the parallels will be given down to the smallest details, even if this involves the insertion of a passage two or three times as it is looked at from one or another point of view.

The third aim of the author, to give a critical modern translation, is worthy of all praise. In these days when so many commentaries and introductions simply reprint the text of the Revised Version, or even of the King James Version, it is refreshing to find a work in which the text has as great exegetical value as the notes. Here we are spared the annoyance that so many authors inflict upon us of being compelled to read one translation at the top of the page and of being told in fine print at the bottom that the Hebrew means something entirely different. Professor Kent's translation is fresh and vigorous, and represents the best results of modern textual criticism and historico-philological exegesis. In every respect it is superior to the Revised Version, even in its slightly improved American form. Students of the Bible who do not understand, or do not believe in, the analysis of the Hexateuch will still derive much help from this lucid modern version. One wishes that the author would give it to us in a con-

secutive form with the sources indicated by letters in the margin, after the manner of Driver's *Genesis*. The harmonic form, while admirable for special students, is not adapted to the Sunday school or to the general reader.

The fourth aim, of exhibiting the literary form of the material, is praiseworthy and is well carried out. The division into short sections serves to emphasize the originally disconnected character of the stories that have been gathered into cycles, and the paragraphing corresponds with the logical divisions of the subject-matter. Poetic quotations are indicated by printing in poetic form with more consistency than is the case in the Revised Version.

The fifth aim, of providing critical notes necessary to explain and justify the analysis, is also good, and in the main is well executed. The notes at the bottom of the pages are admirable, and call attention to all the chief phenomena on which the partition of the sources rests. For the student who has the eyesight to read the microscopic print they will be instructive. The introductory chapters on pp. 1-48 seem to me less well adapted to their purpose. They discuss (1) "Israel's Heritage of Oral Traditions;" (2) "Their Transmission and Crystallization into Literature;" (3) "The Present Literary Form and Contents of Israel's Early Records;" (4) "Characteristics, Dates, and History of the Different Prophetic and Priestly Narratives." In this discussion the critical analysis is assumed, and a history of the beginnings of Hebrew literature is based upon it; but what the student who takes up such a book needs is a justification of the partition of the Hexateuch. The proper preface to a harmony of the Hexateuch and the Book of Judges would, I think, be a brief critical introduction to these works. Dr. Kent's discussion is good and interesting, but it does not prepare the student for what follows; in fact, he is not ready for this treatise until he has worked through the material in the body of the book. If it had been printed as an appendix rather than a preface, it would have been in a more logical position.

The typographical execution of this book must have been difficult, and in general a high degree of accuracy has been attained. The principal difficulty that I have noted is a lack of correspondence between the Table of Contents and Classification on pp. xiii-xxxiv and the body of the book. Thus Gen. 10:21 is omitted from the table on p. xiv, but on p. 70 is assigned to the Later Judean narrative. On p. xv a number of verses are assigned to J without the parenthesis that indicates a later stratum of the document, but on pp. 82, 83 these verses are given to the Later Judean source. On p. xvi Gen. 27:4-27 is a mistake for 27:24-27. Gen. 27:36b is a

mistake both in the table and in the body of the book, since the whole of vs. 36 is assigned to E. Gen. 29:24 is designated as secondary on p. 110, but not on p. xvi. On p. xvii Gen. 37:13 is given as a whole to J, but in the analysis on p. 127 vs. 13a is given to J and vs. 13b to E. The table gives Gen. 40:1-23 as all E<sup>1</sup>, but pp. 130 and 131 give vss. 3b and 15b to E<sup>2</sup>. In like manner 41:14b, 35b, and 42:28a are not designated as secondary in the table of contents. Gen. 41:46 is marked in the table as wholly secondary, but in the analysis vs. 46b is given to E<sup>1</sup>. On p. xviii Gen. 48:8a should read 48:9a, and Exod. 1:7b-12 is inaccurate because in the parallel column vs. 7c is given to another source. Exod. 12:21 (p. xix) should be put into a parenthesis. Exod. 15:19-21 is assigned by the table to P, but in the analysis only 15:19 is given to P and vss. 20, 21 to E. Such discrepancies cause serious inconvenience to the person who wishes to use the harmony-table for ascertaining quickly the assignment of a particular verse to its source. The differences between the table and the body of the book are so numerous that one finds that he cannot trust the table, but must in every case hunt up the passage in the body of the book in order to be sure of the author's view. One is disposed, however, to excuse such minor inaccuracies in view of the enormous labor that Dr. Kent has evidently put upon this book, and the great service that it is sure to render in popularizing Old Testament criticism.

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## SOME NEW TESTAMENT PROBLEMS

Another attempt has been made, this time by Wrede,<sup>1</sup> to explain the fourth gospel as a theological polemic. If Baldensperger<sup>2</sup> could make a fairly reasonable argument for his unreasonable theory that the gospel was directed against the disciples of John the Baptist, we ought to expect Wrede to make out a much stronger case for his theory that the Jews were the enemies of the Christian church combated by the author. For if this book was written with a definite class of people in mind, whose claims the writer intended to discredit, then Wrede is right. If this book is a polemic, it is a polemic against the Jews. We are, however, convinced that the condition is contrary to fact. Wrede has read the gospel with much insight.

<sup>1</sup> *Charakter und Tendenz des Johannesevangeliums*. Von W. Wrede. Tübingen und Leipzig: Mohr, 1903. iv+71 pages. M. 1.25.

<sup>2</sup> *Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums*, 1898. See *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, 1900, p. 522.

To him the book is no patchwork of sources but a clearly defined unity. Is it permissible to agree with Wendt that the discourses of the book are early documents, and then to adopt Wrede's conclusion that the book is a unit, and so quote two respectable critics in favor of the early origin of the whole gospel? Why not? Neither critic would, of course, agree with our final result, but has not each laid himself open to such use?

Wrede at least shows much discernment in his reading of the gospel. He does not hesitate to discover Christology of a high character. He perceives that the author's chief interest is in the teaching of Jesus, and that the incidents and miracles are introduced for the sake of the teaching they contain or lead up to. He sees the *significant* character of the gospel—how much of what is written is written to show how more was intended by the Holy Spirit in what was said and done than the actors and speakers realized at the time. He emphasizes the infatuation of the Jews in their opposition to Jesus, by reason of which they could not understand the plainest teaching. Wrede, however, explains all this as the later reflection of a dogmatist who wishes to make it appear that the opinions and teachings of a recent time were those of Christ's own day. He finds a heightening of the miraculous—an attempt to glorify Jesus by representing him as triumphant over the worst cases of disease. The blind man had been *born* blind; Lazarus had been dead *three days*. Such details are introduced for a purpose—to emphasize the *reality* of the sign, and so to prove his claims; e. g., only he who has actually raised the dead can claim to be the Life.

Wrede finds this evidence of the polemic character of the gospel also in the interest of the writer in the theological bearing of even his historical parts. In several cases where narrative matter is introduced we are convinced before we have finished reading that it was not history but dogma that influenced the selection of the incident.

Another proof of the dogmatic intention of the book is in the oft-noticed character of the discourses. No matter who speaks, no matter to whom Jesus speaks, one is, after all, the real speaker, viz., the evangelist, who is also the author of the first epistle.

Once more, the unreality of the historical parts is a witness for the tendency of the book. This author could not have been a spectator of any of these scenes. The situations are pale and colorless. No answers are given to many of the most obvious questions which occur to the reader. A deputation comes from Jerusalem to ask who Jesus is. Who sent it? We do not know. What happens when Jesus gives his answer? We are not informed. To whom does John say, "Behold the Lamb of God"? There is no answer. Wrede's explanation of these facts is that the author is writ-

ing at a distance of time from the events, and introduces them at all only to give an appearance of reality to the discourses of Jesus in which he teaches about himself. For it is the Christology of the gospel which reveals its purpose. In fact, all other forms really disappear behind the picture of Jesus in his supernatural majesty. He is a divine Being who walks like a stranger over the earth, and whose humanity is transparent in order to let the divine light stream through. He was not a real person, but is presented quite in the docetic manner.

Wrede's conclusion is that only a second-century opponent will explain the facts which he has observed. Who is this dreadful enemy whose face is so fearful as to cause so complete and yet so transparent a misrepresentation? Answer: The Jewish school and church of the time of the gospel. Judaism at this time had long been cast off by Christianity, and this writer has his part in the inheritance which the sub-apostolic church, in relation to Judaism, owed to Paul. Going through the gospel with this theory in mind, what signs of a polemic can we find? Foremost, of course, is the representation, consistent throughout, that Jesus was the Son of God. The evangelist seeks to overcome the Jewish objection that Jesus had died, and so could not be the Messiah and Son of God. The gospel gives reasons in prophecy why he did not save himself from death. It was divine necessity that led him to death, and so was not unnatural. Moreover, this evangelist lays great stress on the fact that Jesus suffered willingly, so that no Jew could speak of the defeat of Jesus. In view also of the charge that he had died as a malefactor, it is expressly emphasized that he was innocent.

It will be seen from this rapid survey of the course of the argument of Wrede's book—in which his own words have frequently been used—how summary is his treatment of the evangelist. It was unnecessary for him to disclaim a belief in the apostolic authorship of the book. The great objection to the theory is its unexpectedness. Surely a polemic would make some profession of its character. No man reading the gospel without prejudice and for the first time would gather the slightest hint that it was a party writing, a disingenuous, not to say dishonest, attempt to win doubtful honors for his religion by misrepresenting his adversaries. We cannot feel that the case has been made out. Wrede has observed facts which others have failed to see; he has real insight. But he sees too much, and when he comes to account both for what he sees and for what he thinks he sees, he goes far astray. The fourth evangelist's real interest is in the doctrine and not in the history, yet he has provided us with certain historical data without which we should be very much at sea in reading the other gospels. As for his representations of doctrine, they provide us with the

real atmosphere in which to construct the history presented as history in the synoptics. Let his own statement of motive suffice. The gospel is a positive and not a negative writing. In the sense that all statement of truth is in itself the contradiction of error, the gospel is a polemic; and, if so, a polemic against just the forms of error prevalent when it was written. Wrede admits that there may be other opponents besides the Jews combated in the book. Jews, heathen, especially Gnostics and the disciples of John the Baptist, may come in for a share of the author's counter-arguments. Well, these are just the ones whom a writer, say at the close of the first century, would desire to convince that Jesus was the Son of God, or at least with respect to whom he would wish to fortify his Christian readers. In this way we would construe the facts which Wrede urges in favor of the polemic character of the gospel. For a late date for the writing we cannot see that he has made a single point.

Dr. Lepsius is editor of a monthly magazine for the understanding and spread of the gospel—*Das Reich Christi*. To this periodical he is himself a frequent contributor. The pamphlet here noticed<sup>3</sup> is a reprint of an article published in the July and August numbers, 1902. It is an attempt to explain the variations of the gospel accounts of the resurrection of our Lord. According to Matthew and Mark, aside from the one appearance of Jesus to the women at the sepulcher, we know of only one appearance of Jesus, and that in Galilee; and this is described as the first which the apostles experienced. Luke and John, on the other hand, record that first appearance to the apostles as taking place in Jerusalem. One account or the other is right. Which, therefore, is correct? Most critics nowadays choose the Galilean horn of the dilemma because in that way the "empty grave" can be explained as legend and the belief in a resurrection of the body can be escaped. But Loofs, who takes the other alternative and brings the weighty testimony of Paul to bear in favor of the Lucan-Johannine narrative, must do so at the expense of the Matthean-Markan account. Is there now any other way of saving also the trustworthiness of the latter story? Lepsius thinks there is, and the present brochure is his solution. It rehabilitates Hofmann's generally rejected theory that here and in the half-dozen or more places in the resurrection-history the Galilee referred to is not the region intended elsewhere in the gospels, but is a small place on the Mount of Olives. His argument is briefly this: Christian literature knows of a Galilee on the Mount of Olives. The Acts of Pilate speak of a place of Judea named Galilee, understanding thereby a moun-

<sup>3</sup> *Reden und Abhandlungen*. 4: *Die Auferstehungsberichte*. Mit einer Tafel. Von Johannes Lepsius. Berlin: *Reich Christi* Verlag, 1902. 45 pages. M. 1.



tain near Jerusalem. Tertullian, Lactantius, and Chrysostom know of such a place. Accounts of pilgrims from 530 A. D. on tell of a place or caravansary on the northernmost spur of Olivet called Galilee. But may these witnesses have been misled by the monks? Yes, of course, unless we can show that this place had a pre-Christian existence. Such proof is reached in the following manner. Galilee in the LXX is the Greek translation of either Galila, Gilgal, Galil, or Geliloth. In the Old Testament there were several Galilas or Gilgals: (1) Gilgal or Galil in the north, after which the region of Galilee was named; (2) Gilgal on the Jordan (Jos. 4:19; Judg. 2:1; etc.); (3) Geliloth of the Philistines (Jos. 13:2); (4) a place on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin (Jos. 15:7). What, now, does *Galil* mean? Lepsius gathers that it was the name of a thing before it became the name of a place; that it represented a mass of stones set up for purposes of worship. The stones were twelve in number, representing the signs of the Zodiac—the protecting angels of the twelve tribes. A *Galil* then is a place which served for purposes of worship. There were four of these places originally, and one of them was in the neighborhood of Jerusalem. The one which was on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin, Lepsius identifies with the Galilee of the Matthean-Marcian account. Having then proved that Galilee was even before Christ known as a place on the Mount of Olives, our author proceeds to reconstruct the resurrection-history in accordance with his find. All the other differences between the two accounts are the natural results of different points of view. "Each evangelist would tell just the events to which his readers had some relation."

This exceedingly simple explanation of the varying accounts of the gospels satisfies Lepsius. We doubt if it will satisfy the historical critic. Aside from the doubtful fact of the actual presence of such a place known as Galilee in Jesus' day, even if it were nothing but an inn, a caravansary; and aside from the identification of Galilee with Gilgal, the theory presents insuperable difficulties. There would be no mention of it anywhere else by the evangelists, though by the theory it was a familiar place of resort for Jesus and the disciples. The evangelists make no explanation of the two senses in which the word was used. Even the paths of harmony, devious and treacherous as they seem to Lepsius, appear to the present writer safer than this perilous way.

The pamphlet of Dr. Eberhard Nestle<sup>4</sup> presents studies which formed

<sup>4</sup> *Sals und Licht: Vorträge und Abhandlungen in zwangloser Folge.* 8: *Vom Textus Receptus des griechischen Neuen Testaments.* Von Eberhard Nestle. Barmen: Verlag der Wuppenthaller Tractat-Gesellschaft, 1903. 55 pages. M. 0.80.

the basis of an address delivered to a conference of pastors in Barmen in August, 1903. Nestle is probably as well informed on the shortcomings of the *Textus Receptus* as anyone living; and it is, indeed, hard to see, after reading his *Einleitung* and his contributions to the periodicals, not to speak of the present pamphlet, why there should still be prejudice in favor of so corrupt a text. It is matter for congratulation that our own Bible Society has already adopted the Revised Version as the basis for its future publications.

The emphasis which von Soden in his great work places on the minuscules will no doubt serve to rescue from obscurity in the libraries many manuscripts of noble paternity, in whose faces may be seen, though marred and distorted, some of the features of their ancestors. Schmidtke was one of the Berlin professor's lieutenants in gathering, arranging, and estimating his materials. In the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, among the manuscripts noted and described by the Abbé Martin in 1884, a curious codex<sup>5</sup> crossed his vision. Catalogued as gr. 97 in the library, cited as 743 by Martin, as ev. 579 by Gregory, it has fallen into its place in the elaborate scheme of von Soden as ε 376. The Abbé Martin said of it: "If it were known, it certainly would be celebrated." Schmidtke has determined to give it its chance. The result justifies the attempt as well as the prediction. The history of the manuscript appears to be as follows: It was made in the thirteenth century at the order of an abbess called Olympias. Some hundred years thereafter it was acquired by a certain Konstantinos, and up to the sixteenth century remained in the church of the martyr Theodoros, where it was used by the priests as a church and family register. The situation of this church, as well as the place of the origin of the manuscript, is judged to have been either Syria or Egypt. Schmidtke prefers the latter. After various vicissitudes it arrived in Paris. A curious feature marks it. The gospel of Matthew is a true reproduction of a late copy in the ordinary text. The other three gospels are written from dictation by an unskilled and ignorant scribe from an uncial manuscript of an early date, the dictator himself being little better furnished with Greek. The difficulties of these two amateur copyists are strikingly illustrated. The reader mistakes A for Λ and Δ for Ν, etc. He does not understand abbreviations, but reads κε (κυριε) as και, and transforms ις ιδουσα into the curious word ισιδουσα; τουτο ις becomes τουτοις; etc. No doubt the manuscript was hard to decipher, but many of his errors argue ignorance. The writer was no

<sup>5</sup> *Die Evangelien eines alten Uncialcodex, nach einer Abschrift des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts.* Herausgegeben von Alfred Schmidtke. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. xi+116 pages. M. 4.

less a tyro. A modern Greek could confuse vowel-sounds no more hopelessly than did this man. ι, ε, η, α, αι have all the same sound to him, or else he is thoroughly confused. In the late Greek softening of γ by his reader that letter frequently drops out, even in so familiar a word as κηρυγμα. The date of the prototype is to be determined by several data. The confusion in letters experienced by the reader, the length of the lines, etc., lead Schmidtke to place the origin of the codex somewhere in the fifth century. The text of this prototype, called OL—in honor of the abbeß—has certain characteristics which ally it with the B group. “From the agreement between OL and B in otherwise very seldom shared readings and in not a few peculiarities completely isolated in the chaos of recensions, mixtures, translations, and quotations,” Schmidtke infers “the identity of a near predecessor of B in an ancestor of OL.” One striking peculiarity of OL is the division of the text into chapters or sections which fairly correspond with the paragraphs of B. Other manuscripts, as N and E, have the same peculiarity more or less marked. Consequently Schmidtke thinks that it was a feature of all the texts which resulted from the recension which, according to Bousset (whom Schmidtke follows), Hesychius, the Egyptian bishop, made about 300 A. D. But now, what was the source of Hesychius’s division of the gospels into sections? After a careful examination Schmidtke concludes as follows:

Hesychius for his edition received ready made the chapters and synoptical divisions of a work containing Matthew and parallels, and in imitation of that standard divided the other three gospels into chapters, and, so far as it was demanded, in the case of the sections not accompanied by Matthew, into subdivisions, without, however, in the latter case accomplishing the synoptic intention of the model.

But the first one to furnish Matthew with the synoptical parallels was a fellow-countryman of Hesychius—Ammonius. Hesychius improves on Ammonius, however, in this respect. The latter sacrificed much of the material to harmony and separated the sections which he used from their connections. The former, while retaining the Ammonian divisions, yet gives all the material, and seems to have no interest in the parallel portions nor in the peculiar sections of the individual gospels. This is an important fact, if it is true. Is Hesychius’ disregard of Ammonius’ harmony scheme intentional, arising from its manifest faults? Or is he using the text which underlay Ammonius’ Diatesaron? Schmidtke shows that the text of the sections which Ammonius presented is different from the text of those sections which Hesychius was obliged to get from other sources; a further most interesting discovery

which, if maintained, will justify Bousset's remark that the B (and now OL type) of text, while not the original gospel text, may yet have very ancient documents as its ancestors. After the Introduction (in forty pages) above outlined, the text of ε 376 is presented, purified from its transcriptional errors. Schmidtke's book is a most scholarly piece of work and well deserves the recognition it is receiving from students of textual criticism.

One cannot speak with such enthusiasm of Dr. Janssen's work<sup>6</sup> on Nonnus' Paraphrase. It was, to be sure, not an easy task which Professor Blass set this aspirant for a doctorate. But perhaps an easier task better done would have yielded more fruitful results. Nonnus of Panopolis in Egypt was a Greek poet who wrote about 410 A. D., among other things, a μεταβολή τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἀγίου εὐαγγελίου (Migne, 43:749). Janssen undertakes to determine the text which underlay the paraphrase. He makes Nestle his standard and makes free use of his edition. Too free indeed, for in places where the paraphrase has nothing to correspond there appears Nestle written out fair. It is quite useless to speculate what might have been Nonnus' reading when *per lacunam* there is no equivalent in the original. Janssen's method is to print the hypothetical text of Nonnus at the top of the page, and to present at the bottom, occupying about one-third of the page, his "ausführlicher Apparat." This apparatus relates the text thus reconstructed to the manuscripts, versions, and Fathers, especially Chrysostom. Special work has been done on the Latin Fathers, and of the versions the Lewis Syriac has been carefully studied, the results being embodied in the apparatus. But when all praise has been allowed for this good work, we must say that Janssen has apparently little sense of the importance which his results might have for textual criticism. He has not indicated by a word what affinities his text seems to have, nor has he given the material by which others can do this. His citation of manuscripts seems often to have been made quite at random, for he frequently omits to cite the very witnesses which, assenting or dissenting, would be significant. Nor does he distinguish in his reconstructed text between possible and probable conjectural readings. One would expect the editor to indicate at least the affinities of Nonnus's text with the Egyptian group of manuscripts and versions. An introduction would also have been a welcome addition to his book. Little is known of Nonnus, and the dictionaries give

<sup>6</sup> *Das Johannes-Evangelium nach der Paraphrase des Nonnus Panopolitanus.* Mit einem ausführlichen Apparat. Herausgegeben von R. Janssen. [Texte und Untersuchungen, herausgegeben von von Gebhardt und Harnack; N. F., viii, 4.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. iv+80 pages. M. 2.50.

scant information. Why not have collected in a few pages all that may be known of this obscure old poet? It would have saved at least one reader a wearisome search among the reference-books. Janssen has done some good work, but his results hardly satisfy.

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### A LIBERAL MANIFESTO

Translations of this book<sup>1</sup> by the distinguished French scholar and teacher have been made into Dutch, Italian, German, and now into English. There are five chapters: the first deals with the genesis of liberal Protestantism, viewed as the modern expression of the principle of the Reformation; the second, with liberal Protestantism founded on religious experience viewed as the modern expression of the Christian religion; the third, with liberal Protestantism founded on moral experience (sin, moral solidarity, the work of Christ); the fourth, with liberal Protestantism founded on social experience, or the church in the modern world; the last, with the ideal of liberal Protestantism and its mission in modern society.

The book was written to set forth the essential nature of modern Christianity so clearly and so free from theological and ecclesiastical controversies as to be understandable and illuminating to readers who are not theologians and not familiar with the old Protestant controversies. Yet the book is not popular to the exclusion of scholarship. It really goes to the root of the matter and exhibits the author's whole conception of the Christian religion. He assumes as current coin in the modern kingdom of knowledge such presuppositions as evolution, immanence, and criticism; he does not seek to discredit them with petty and ignorant polemics, nor is he afraid of them. Indeed, he occupies a well-founded philosophical and critical position of his own. These lectures—for such they originally were—fight against two fronts. First, they say to the disciples and defenders of orthodox traditional Christianity: "You must give up your traditionary formulations and views, if you intend to be honorable men of the present time; and you can give them up with a good conscience, for the religious kernel, the really life-sustaining, remains after you have done so." Secondly, they say to those who have given up the Christian religion along with the orthodox theology: "You have 'thrown out the child with the bath,' you

<sup>1</sup> *Liberal Christianity: Its Origin, Nature, and Mission.* By Jean Réville. Translated and edited by Victor Leuliette. New York: Putnam; London: William H. Norgate, 1903. xvi + 205 pages.

must not adhere to your merely negative attitude to religion, resulting in an abbreviated human nature; and you can be Christian with a good conscience, for we offer you a Christianity whose appropriation involves in no particular a *sacrificium intellectus*."

It is a book for the times; and while apologetic and militant, it is yet, without unnecessary sharpness, irenic, clear, and warm.

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### THE MAIN PROBLEMS IN THE LIFE OF JESUS

Of late it has become increasingly evident that New Testament scholars are in substantial agreement in holding that it is impossible at this time to write a Life of Christ. So far as is known, material adequate for such a pretentious undertaking does not exist, and probably never will. The present feeling is that real contributions to our knowledge in this field are to come from the study of special themes, and recent results certainly seem to justify this contention. Professor Barth has followed the letter of this view in the method of his book,<sup>1</sup> even if he departs from its spirit. He aims to select from the life of Jesus the problems important for belief that are at present most beset by doubt. He chooses the following: (1) "Jesus' Preaching of the Kingdom of God" (pp. 32-70); (2) "Jesus and the Old Testament" (pp. 71-105); (3) "The Miracles in the Life of Jesus" (pp. 106-46); (4) "The Prophecy of Jesus Regarding His Return" (pp. 147-81); (5) "The Death and Resurrection of Jesus" (pp. 182-228); (6) "The Self-consciousness of Jesus" (pp. 229-84). These are all questions of first importance, and all of them beset with difficulties. There is not one that does not immediately recall to mind important monographs of recent date devoted to its discussion. Professor Barth devotes small space to the discussion of such works, because he seeks to avoid the merely polemical, and because he has especially in mind a class of readers for whom such matter would have little interest. It is not so much to the investigators that he is speaking as to the pastors, church theologians, and laity. He even pays educated women the compliment of saying he hopes that they will be able to understand him without too much difficulty. His aim is to make clear and intelligible the results of biblical criticism, and to show how these can be accepted without disaster to theology. As

<sup>1</sup> *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu: Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung.* Von Fritz Barth. Zweite, umgearbeitete Auflage. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 1903.

the first edition of this book, which appeared in 1899, was not reviewed in this *Journal*, it may be of service to give some indication of its contents.

I. Jesus' contemporaries spoke of the kingdom of God, but it was really a kingdom of the Jews that they desired. The thought that a moral change was involved in all this was not, indeed, absent, but it was little emphasized. The expression "kingdom of heaven" had primarily an eschatological meaning, and Jesus adopted it because it excluded the thought of merely earthly, human attainment. Mark and Luke use the phrase "kingdom of God," as being more comprehensible to their gentile Christian readers. In contrast to the Jews, Jesus concerns himself especially with the question as to who should enter and have part in the kingdom. He himself is the indispensable mediator, and the kingdom is present by virtue of his presence. What he really purposed belonged to eternity, and there is no evidence that he changed his fundamental conceptions during his public activity. No idea or formula will serve to give unity to his preaching regarding the kingdom, but we are to find this in his person.

II. Jesus' attitude toward the Old Testament was one of reverence and free from prejudice. It is a mistake to invoke his authority in questions of authorship of the Old Testament writings. In such subjects he does not claim a divine omniscience, but tacitly assumes, as a matter of course, the traditional views of his age. His peculiar method of dealing with Scripture was the outcome of his consciousness that his own words originated immediately from the same source as those of Moses and the prophets. His seemingly contradictory declarations regarding the Old Testament cannot be explained by any theory of accommodation, interpolation, or development, but by the unique position that he assigns to his own person. He has bequeathed to us, his disciples, this same attitude toward the Scripture. Not criticism, as such, is hostile to the Bible, but only the exercise of criticism where the standards of judgment are taken from unrelated fields. The real Bible speaks louder than any theory regarding its inspiration.

III. Jesus' miracles must be examined in detail, and it is equally unscientific to champion or to reject them as a whole. His miraculous power was subjectively and objectively conditioned. Objectively, a miracle was consummated only after he had received permission from God, in answer to prayer; and subjectively, on the part of the people, belief that Jesus could and would help, was necessary. The object of believing trust was Jesus himself, and referred to God only in so far as Jesus was

sent and equipped by him. A miracle may be defined as an event that, through its contrast to the usual course of things, directs our attention to the final cause of all things, to God. The analogy of ordinary life justifies the supposition that God employs in miracles also intermediate causes, even when we are unable to trace them. The key to that which we conceive of as miraculous is to be found in the power of personality. We see this operative in others, but in an incomparable way in Jesus. His power to perform miracles lay in his complete unity of will with God.

His view of demoniacal possession was that of his people, since it was not his mission to promote natural science or anticipate the results of physiology. Where inner and outer criticism require, as in the case of the accounts of Peter's walking on the water and the stater in the fish's mouth, we can put a question-mark, because Jesus has done enough miracles that criticism cannot touch, and is himself the greatest of all miracles.

IV. In the prophecies regarding his return, which belong to the latter part of his life, Jesus aims not to depict the future blessedness, but by announcing his appearance as judge to emphasize the ethical side. With reference to the fulfilment of these prophecies, no explanation is satisfactory which does not assume that they were actually spoken by Jesus, and that he set the destruction of Jerusalem as the time of his return; but we must also remember that he expressly disclaimed full knowledge on these points, that he did not speak as an omniscient God on earth, but as a prophetically enlightened Son of man. This gives us the right to judge of his prophecy according to the analogy of other biblical prophecy, which was conditional, and often unfulfilled or only partially fulfilled.

V. After the feeding of the five thousand Jesus makes various veiled allusions to the violent outcome of his life, before his open declaration at Cæsarea Philippi. The prophecies of his resurrection and return, which belong to this same period, must have been originally less definite than they now appear in the synoptists. Jesus was not stoically indifferent to the fate which he foresaw, but in the last days we find him struggling with the question of God's purpose in his life and its sudden interruption. The further question as to the particular manner of his death is answered in the saying in regard to giving his life as a ransom and in the words spoken at the institution of the Lord's Supper. The church teaching concerning the suffering and death of Jesus is objectionable, because of its undue emphasis on the element of punishment; because it puts too much of an idea of substitution and imputation into its conception of the atoning sacrifice; because it proceeds from a one-sided, quantitative estimate of sin and atonement; and, lastly, because it contradicts the actual



course of the passion-history. In the accounts of the resurrection differences exist, and there are, furthermore, certain features in the narrative of Matthew (28: 2 ff., 9 ff.) that are hardly original, but are probably due to inaccurate recollection. In view, however, of the unanimous testimony of the evangelists and Paul as to the great fact of the resurrection, these differences amount to little. Attempts to explain the belief in the resurrection, while disallowing the fact itself, have been unsuccessful. The life of Jesus finds its consummation in his resurrection, and we believe in him, not merely because he rose again, but because he showed himself to be the man that could overcome sin and death.

VI. Our sources show beyond question that it was Jesus' will to be Israel's Messiah. "Son of man" was the title he used when he spoke of the work and fate of his calling, and when he wished to emphasize the task of life committed to him personally. This expression goes back to the Old Testament, and probably we are to find the key to its meaning in Psalm 8. Toward the end of his life, as the thought of his return matured, he gave to it an eschatological significance in passages where the references to Daniel are unmistakable. By the use of this title Jesus puts himself entirely in the class with men, as over against God. On the other side he places himself just as definitely along with God, as over against men. His claims find justification, not in his office as Messiah, but in that which fitted him for this office, namely, his personal relation to God. The consciousness that he was the Son of God antedated his messianic consciousness, the visit to the temple marking the hour of its birth. The deepest insight into this consciousness of sonship is afforded by the exultation on the return of the disciples from their first mission (Matt. 11: 27).

With the fact of the unique life and consciousness of Jesus men have not been content, but have ever raised the question of his origin. By the first Christian generation he was regarded as the son of Joseph, the offspring of David, and the genealogies in Matthew and Luke seek to trace more accurately his Davidic descent, that of Luke appearing to be the correct one. Without doubt, in the primitive church there were many who found sufficient explanation of his messiahship in the belief that God anointed him with the Holy Spirit at his baptism. Further reflection, however, led to the conviction that his consciousness of sonship could be explained only by going back of his earthly life to an origin in God. This conviction found expression in the narratives of the virgin birth and conception by the Holy Spirit. We have here a question that belongs in the domain of historical criticism. It is not at all a question whether such

a miracle was possible, but whether it was a fact; and we must conclude that the evidence is not sufficient to attest it. The inference that the sonship of Jesus is thus brought into question, and the foundation of Christian faith shaken, is mistaken. Equally mistaken is it to hold that it involves the rest of the gospel of the infancy. More valuable for us is another solution of this same problem, which comes from within the apostolic circle, namely, that of the heavenly origin of Jesus. What Matthew and Luke attempted to solve was actually solved by Paul and John.

In this résumé attention has been called to the theological rather than to the critical positions of Professor Barth. It is true that thus the emphasis has not been put where the book itself seems to demand that it should be placed, for it is entitled "A Historical Investigation." It is historical in its method, but it is manifestly impossible to bring in so brief a compass any considerable contribution to what has been already accomplished in this field. That has not been done here. The book serves rather to commend the historical method of study to those who are wittingly or unwittingly hostile to it, to show that this method must be adopted in the interest of right thinking, and that, when adopted, it will prove most helpful in theological thought and in practical living. The discussions all aim to be complete, and are therefore, of necessity, often very summary, one of the most carefully developed being that in the last section.

It is not probable that Professor Barth anticipated finding any reader who will subscribe to all of his critical conclusions. There are many instances of inadequate treatment. To dismiss, for example, the hypothesis of a primitive Mark with the observation that it is unnecessary, and that to accept it is to give over the solution anew to uncertainty, is to confuse and belittle the whole question. Then, again, successfully to maintain against recent objections the Johannine authorship for the gospel, as well as for the epistles and Revelation, on the old ground of development in the thought and style of the writer, demands a much stronger presentation than the one that we find. In fact, throughout the work the treatment of the fourth gospel is unsatisfactory, coming, as it does, from one who aims to stand always on a historical basis. As an example of what seems to me mistaken exegesis, the view may be cited that *ἐν τῷ ἰησοῦ* (Luke 17:21) indicates the presence of the Kingdom in the person of Jesus, where the context clearly shows that these words must refer to the suddenness with which the Kingdom comes.<sup>2</sup> As an illustration of inconsistent reasoning may be instanced the statement that the virgin birth

\* Cf. Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, Vol. II, p. 136.

can be questioned and the remainder of the gospel of the infancy be still retained. The other parts of this are not especially considered by Professor Barth, but had they been, and had the same rigid method of investigation been followed, some of them would have failed to stand the test. There are many similar points that invite adverse criticism. But the reader of the book must allow that a scholar is here doing good service in exhibiting the spirit in which Christian faith should approach the problems of historical criticism, and in showing the new power which it gains in so doing.

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### A SYRIAN PATRIARCH

Mr. Brooks' volumes<sup>1</sup> are the first fruits of the activity of the Text and Translation Society recently formed "for the purpose of editing and translating oriental texts chiefly in the British Museum," and as such they deserve a cordial welcome. It is evident that texts of great value may, if left to private enterprise, go long unpublished, and the service which the Text and Translation Society promises to perform is thus a most important one. These first volumes well illustrate this. They contain the only complete version known of the Sixth Book of the *Select Letters* of Severus, the original Greek of which is lost. This Syriac version was made in the seventh century by Athanasius of Nisibis. The *Select Letters* included but a few hundred of the Patriarch's letters, out of a total of some thousands. From two British Museum manuscripts of the eighth century Mr. Brooks has published the Syriac text of one hundred and twenty of these (Vol. I), accompanying it with a readable translation (Vol. II).

The materials for the study of the life of Severus have recently been enriched by the publication of his biography—extant, like the letters, only in a Syriac version—by Zacharias the Scholastic of Gaza; another life of Severus, preserved in an Ethiopic version, is soon to appear in the *Patrologia Orientalis*; and the contribution made by these letters to our knowledge of his life and relations is even more important. The views of Severus

<sup>1</sup> *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch.* Edited and translated by E. W. Brooks. ("Works Issued by the Text and Translation Society.") In two volumes (four parts): Vol. I (Text), ix+530 pages; Vol. II (Translation), xiv+480 pages. London: Published for the Text and Translation Society by Williams & Norgate, 1902-1904. 30s., net.

on the great question which exercised men of his day are here set forth in his own words, and his methods of dealing with the schismatic and disorderly are constantly revealed. The letters come from the three periods of his life—before, during, and after his episcopate—and their value as documents for the history of the church in that troubled and stormy time is further enhanced by the glimpses they afford of the contemporaries of the great Patriarch. Mr. Brooks' work puts the study of the life and place of Severus upon a new footing.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

This<sup>2</sup> is only one of three instalments, the general title of which is *Sévère, Patriarche d'Antioche* 512-518. The second (third fascicule of Vol. II) will contain Severus' life by John Hegumén, of the convent of Beth-Aphthonia, *plus* miscellaneous notices by other Syrian writers on the famous patriarch of Antioch. An introduction, a commentary, and various indices will form the third and last instalment (fourth fascicule of Vol. II).

Both Syriac text and French translation are given on the same page, one below the other. The Syriac type is the new Jacobite Sertá which was first used for the first volume of Mgr. Graffin's *Patrologia Syriaca*. Vowel-points have been but sparingly employed.

The two biographies of Severus by Zacharias and John were written in Greek, but the originals are lost. The Syriac translations appear now together for the first time from Codex Sachau 321 (both Zacharias' and John's) and Br. Mus. add. 17203 (John's only), the latter rather incomplete. Spanuth, however, had published the text of Zacharias' work,<sup>3</sup> and Abbé Nau had given a French translation of it, together with a summary of the work of John.<sup>4</sup> The present fascicule consequently contains nothing new. Nevertheless, as a pledge of the instalments to follow, it will be welcomed by all amateurs of Syriac literature, to whom, besides, the *Patrologia Orientalis* commends itself for its excellent typographical execution and its very moderate price.

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<sup>2</sup> *Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scholastique*. Texte Syriaque publié, traduit et annoté par M-A. Kugener. Paris: Firmin-Didot et C<sup>ie</sup>. (R. Graffin-F. Nau, *Patrologia Orientalis*, Tome II, Fascicule 1.) 116 pages. 4to. \$0.96 to subscribers, \$1.80 to non-subscribers.

<sup>3</sup> Zacharias Rhetor, *Das Leben des Severus von Antiochien in syrischer Uebersetzung* (Göttingen, 1893).

<sup>4</sup> *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, Vol. V.

RECENT WORKS ON THE NEW TESTAMENT, CHIEFLY THE  
PAULINE EPISTLES

The perennial power of the apostle Paul is attested by every age; not always, however, by some new word of witness, but by a new appreciation of some word already spoken. That historic moment marking the larger conversion of Wesley in Aldersgate Street in 1738, and his singular endowment with well-nigh apostolic power to strengthen the brethren, was struck on the evening of May 24

at a quarter before nine, when the good Moravian brother was reading from Luther's preface to Paul's Romans, where he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ. I felt my heart strangely warmed . . . and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.

In reading the recent reprint of this preface,<sup>1</sup> possibly the strongest impression one receives is that of the entire sanity and balance of the reformer's mind respecting the matter of good works. He recurs so frequently to the subject that it needs to be noted and borne in mind.

O this faith is a living, busy, active, powerful thing! It is impossible that it should not be ceaselessly doing that which is good. It does not even ask whether good works should be done; but before the question can be asked it has done them and is constantly engaged in doing them. But he who does not do such good works is a man without faith.

Luther's notes on chaps. 4 and 5 are especially full and clear to the same end. Again, Luther is right in claiming that Paul desired in this epistle to arrange in brief form the entire doctrine of the gospel and to prepare an introduction to the whole old Testament, "for, beyond doubt, he who has this epistle well treasured in his heart has within him all the light and all the power of the Old Testament."

A flood of light is being thrown in these days upon the early condition under which Christianity developed in Greece and Asia Minor. No single community deserves, or has received, more careful study than Corinth, and no brief study of conditions in Corinth exceeds in value Dr. Hollmann's recent *Vortrag*.<sup>2</sup> It was inevitable that sooner or later the mightiest spiritual force of the future should absorb the mightiest spiritual force of the past. In the Corinthian church the issue between them was conspicu-

<sup>1</sup>*Preface to Paul's Epistle to the Romans, by Dr. Martin Luther (A. D. 1522).* Translated by Charles E. Hay. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1903. iv + 28 pages. \$0.10.

<sup>2</sup>*Urchristentum in Korinth.* Von G. Hollmann. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 32 pages. M. 0.50.

ously joined, and the battle raged all along the line, no quarter being asked or given on either side, until the triumph of the cross was manifest. The thesis of the pamphlet, "die Korinther die Christen warden blieben trotzdem Korinther," is well sustained. Probably no church of the first century was located in a community so thoroughly cosmopolitan, and the diverse elements entering into the problem of its evangelism taxed the genius of the apostle Paul to the utmost. Intellectualism was the leading characteristic of the Grecian mind. The spirit of the age was scientific, and no document ever recognized or met it more ably than the first Corinthian epistle, the subtle cleverness of the apostle in the opening chapters being paralleled only by that employed in his masterly argument as to the possibility and method of the bodily resurrection in chap. 15. The breadth and charity of Paul throughout the intricate involvements of every question raised or suggested are finely set forth, till the climax reached in the thirteenth chapter is recognized as one of the highest notes in the world's literature. The phenomena of spiritual gifts, especially those accompanying the gift of tongues, in its relations to the dogma of verbal inspiration, suggests one of the most original passages of the entire paper.

On the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians nothing has appeared recently more fresh and suggestive than a *Studie* by Professor von Dobschütz, dedicated to his colleague Professor Hilgenfeld, at the University of Jena, on his eightieth birthday, Whitsuntide, 1903.<sup>3</sup> Paul lays down four events as fundamental to the historical discussion of Christ's resurrection—his death, burial, rising again, and manifold appearances. The gospels and the creeds emphasize the first three, and place in the room of the fourth the fact of the ascension. Paul, however, places five times as much emphasis upon the fact of Christ's appearance as upon the resurrection itself, and allows the ascension to fall entirely into the background. The stress of discussion follows these facts, making much of the evidences which Paul presents from his three double groups of witnesses to whom the Savior appeared. It is noteworthy that these appearances were in every case to those closely allied to Jesus and "not unto the world." Moreover, it is strangely true that the friends of Christ were much slower of heart to believe in the fact of the resurrection, though it was borne in upon them in every possible way, than were his enemies, when once the latter received the truth though at second hand. The apostles' groups are dominated in each case by a great personality. Peter is supported by the Twelve; James is backed by the church of the circumcision; while Paul stands as first-

<sup>3</sup>*Ostern und Pfingsten: eine Studie zu 1 Korinther 15.* Von E. von Dobschütz. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 54 pages. M. 0.80.

born, though as one out of due time, of the gentiles. The testimony to the fact that Christ was seen after his resurrection by many men of diverse sorts still stands unmatched and unbreakable.

The early date and Pauline authorship of the epistle to the Galatians have again been questioned and again satisfactorily settled.<sup>4</sup> The present-century hypotheses of the Netherland school so far outstrip those of the nineteenth-century Tübingen that the righteous soul of Pastor Schultze is sorely vexed. But while his spirit glows, his mind muses to good effect, and he adds telling blows to those of Schmidt and Gloël. He insists that the Paul of the Galatians must precede the Paul of the book of Acts; that the conditions subsisting in the Galatian churches belong to the earliest period of their development; that no one, unless Paul, short of "an angel from heaven" could have dealt so authoritatively and completely with them; and that the supposition of other origin, and that in the third decade of the second century, lays far too great strain upon right reason. Such a genius could in no wise have remained anonymous nor have restricted his talents to so narrow a field. Our author is confident that not only was Galatians written prior to Acts, but to almost every other book of the New Testament, including the epistle of James. His most ingenious contention, however, is that the farewell address of Paul to the elders of the church of Ephesus, as it appears in Acts 20:13 ff., is a mosaic woven together from scattered expressions taken out of First Thessalonians and other Pauline writings, thereby meeting, as he thinks, the opposite opinion, the use of *ἐπισκόπους* in Acts 20:28 for *προϊσταμένους* in 1 Thess. 5:12, among other things, clearly favoring his view.

Paul's epistle to the Ephesians has called forth another new commentary based on a fresh translation and interpretation of the Greek text.<sup>5</sup> It is a brief, well-poised, and scholarly handbook written with a view to helping practical Bible teachers and students. Superintendent Krukenberg holds that this letter could not have been written from the Cæsarean imprisonment, since Paul evidently had no opportunity while in Cæsarea to preach the gospel openly as at Rome (*cf.* Eph. 6:19, 20). Though intimately related to the epistle to the Colossians in time of writing and in contents, yet it differs from that epistle in its lack of all personal greetings and of criticism of heretics or heretical teachings. These facts are held to go well with the opinion that the Ephesian epistle was intended by Paul to serve as

<sup>4</sup>*Die Ursprünglichkeit des Galaterbriefes: Versuch einer Apologie auf literar-historischem Wege.* Von Hermann Schultze. Leipzig: Wölpke, 1903. 88 pages.

<sup>5</sup>*Der Brief Pauli an die Epheser: Der griechische Text übersetzt und erklärt.* Von Emil Krukenberg. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1903. 117 pages.

an encyclical for the circuit of churches in the vicinity of Ephesus. The epistle divides into two nearly equal parts, chaps. 1-3 being doctrinal, and chaps. 3-6 hortatory.

An interesting fragment of a New Testament Greek-Latin text, containing a good part of the first two chapters of Ephesians, has just been published.<sup>6</sup> It consists of two sheets and was accidentally discovered by Professor Schultze in the state archives of Mengerlinghausen wrapped about a package of seventeenth-century manuscript notices of a local shooting club. The finder's plausible speculations as to its checkered career are equaled only by his scientific conclusions as to its paleographical relationships. These latter he shows to be most intimate with Codex Claromontanus of Paris and Codex Sangermanensis of St. Petersburg. The collation indicates the closest kinship with the ninth-century redaction of Claromontanus, and in this conclusion Professor Schultze quotes the favoring opinions of Professor Gregory, of Leipzig, and M. Henri Omont, of Paris.

Nothing is so calculated to stir the admiration of the careful student of the New Testament text for its original writers as their constant habit of quotation from the Old Testament both in Greek and in Hebrew. It is paralleled only by the painstaking labors of some German *Pfarrers*. Five years ago Pastor Dittmar brought out the first half of his unique work on the Old Testament in the New, covering the gospels and Acts. Now he completes his praiseworthy task.<sup>7</sup> It is at least a curious fact that Paul the apologist quotes from the Old Testament not quite so frequently in Romans as does Matthew the evangelist in his gospel, though each quotes forty-five and fifty-nine times, respectively, in the first seven chapters of the books named. Every Old Testament book is freely quoted in the New, but Isaiah is far the favorite, being followed by the Psalms, Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy in that order, the Pentateuch as a whole about twice exceeding the Psalms and nearly twice Isaiah. Of Paul's epistles only Philemon fails to use the Old Testament, while among the other New Testament epistolary writers Peter and James present data most worthy of study. A useful flood of light, and one that has not been made enough of, is thrown upon such questions as composite origin and authorship of New Testament books, notably in the case of the Johannine writings. As would be anticipated, the Apocalypse is especially indebted to the Old Testament.

<sup>6</sup>*Codex Waldecensis (Dr. Paul)*. Herausgegeben von Victor Schultze. München: Beck, 1904. 23 pages; 8 plates.

<sup>7</sup>*Vetus Testamentum in Novo: Die alttestamentlichen Parallelen des Neuen Testaments*. Von Wilhelm Dittmar. 2. Hälfte: "Briefe und Apocalypse." Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903. iii-vii + 285 pages. M. 5.80.



Professor Gustav Krüger during the past year has filled the office of rector to the University of Giessen, and at his installation, in July last, delivered an utterance which has called to itself wide attention.<sup>8</sup> Starting from Harnack's *Chronologie*, he shows that the tendency of modern criticism, in the matter of New Testament literature, is distinctly conservative, despite the peculiarly slipshod delivery of Ernst Häckel, "der im Ton des Diktators aller Welt verkündet, die neue Kritik halte nur drei Briefe des Paulus für echt, die an die Römer, die Galater und die Korinther!" Häckel's oversight or ignorance of the fact that there are two letters of Paul to the Corinthians extant and included in every Bible is quite akin to the fatuous and final conclusion of certain Holland professors that not one book of the New Testament belongs to the first Christian age. The threadbare theory that Christianity was the free creation of Græco-Roman antiquity, and the later contention that it sprang from an apocalyptic Judaism, are alike set aside by the true historian. Evangelical and apostolic tradition has its seed within itself, implanted from above, and can be adequately explained on no other theory. The trenchant and uncompromising tone of Rector Krüger is characteristically seen in his salutation to his earthly lord: "Wir schauen hinauf zum Thron und rufen: Landgraf, bleibe hart!"

Ernst von Dobschütz is one of the strong, untrammelled present-day writers in the field of primitive Christianity. He claims for his opinions a perspective and balance which have not characterized all modern historians. He thinks that the strictly literary side of critical problems is destined to fall somewhat into the background, while new recognition is paid to the spontaneity and naturalness of the early records. The tendency factor has been greatly overworked. A course of five lectures delivered between semesters at Hannover in October last has just come to hand.<sup>9</sup> The titles suggest the scope and progress of the thought developed: (1) "The Origin of the Primitive Church;" (2) "Jewish Christianity and Judaism," (3) "Gentile Christianity and Paganism," (4) "The Relation of Jewish to Gentile Christianity;" (5) "Early Christianity and Catholicism." The question as to the origin of the early church has been rarely, if ever raised, much less fully discussed. It has been taken for granted and taught that Jesus founded the church, and that Pentecost was the church's birthday in the sense that the already organized society on that day stepped forth full-fledged and endowed with the spirit for a militant career. But

<sup>8</sup>*Kritik und Ueberlieferung auf dem Gebiete der Erforschung des Urchristentums.* Von Gustav Krüger. Zweiter Abdruck. Giessen: Ricker, 1903. 32 pages. M. 0.60.

<sup>9</sup>*Probleme des apostolischen Zeitalters.* Von Ernst von Dobschütz. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. 138 pages. M. 2.70.

we find, on reading the gospels, no account of any such action on the part of Christ, and only twice does he use the term *ἐκκλησία* at all. Jesus' entire teaching was concerning the kingdom of God; with the actual founding of the church he had nothing to do. As Batiffal finely expresses it: "Jesus promised the kingdom; the church, however, came." Whitsuntide was the birthday of the church only in the sense that a great national festival brought together and welded into one an unusual number of believers, and strengthened thereby their influence upon their time and people. As to the nature of Judaism, and so of Jewish Christianity, we have had but little real knowledge hitherto. But now, thanks to Schürer, Dalman, Schlatter, Kautzsch, and others, the treasures of rabbinical life and lore have been brought to light and the Judaism of Jesus' day is revealed. But the relation of the early church to Judaism is still only dimly realized, and here our author raises questions and brings his researches to bear with striking effect. Facts rather than philosophy are of first importance with him. But the common opinion that paganism was inoperative, if not dead, in the first century is especially combated by the late finds in the papyrus heaps and tomb inscriptions of Mediterranean lands. A flood of confirmatory light is thrown thereby upon the experiences of Paul in his tours through Cyprus, Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece. Paul did not find paganism dead or dying, any more than he did Judaism, but his method of meeting it was entirely different. The fourth lecture, that on "The Relation of Jewish to Gentile Christianity," is one of the strongest discussions of that subject yet written. Here again the center of the whole situation is Paul. Himself a Jew of the strictest sect, tradition, and training, who could be Jew to Jews and yet *persona grata* in the most exclusive gentile communities, he had "learned the secret" and "knew how to become all things to all men that by all means he might save some." Here fall such questions as the character of the early Roman church, the influence of Essenism, the epistle to the Hebrews, and all the intricacies involved in the diaspora; while the writing and spread of the New Testament books and their relations to Jewish and pagan literature are also ably handled. Finally, the historical development of primitive Christianity into catholic Christianity is traced with rare skill. The death of James in 62 A. D., of Paul in 63 A. D., and of Peter in 64 A. D. marked the passing of the first generation. The death of John marked the passage of the second generation, and the war of Barkochba the passage of the third generation and the end of the first epoch of Christian history. Catholic Christianity first gained the right to a local habitation and a name about the end of the second century. An unworldly enthusiasm was the chief characteristic

of the early epoch; ecclesiastical organization and a ritualistic system of worship were the keynote of the period which followed. In the place of the Lord arose the gospels; in the place of the apostle, the epistles; and in the place of the spirit, the letter.

The New Testament has always possessed great advantage over the Old from the fact that in the field both of the lower criticism and of external evidence it has rested upon a much broader basis; and it would appear from the frequency and importance of the discoveries made during the last few decades in these same lines as though it were not to be robbed of its pre-eminence. New light is constantly breaking upon the New Testament, and that it is having its inevitable effect is manifest from the attitude of the writings just passed in review. For the inquiring novice an excellent book has been written focusing the principal contributions of these last days, by a Maryland pastor.<sup>10</sup>

Frederick Palmer has written a much-needed "appreciation" of the Apocalypse.<sup>11</sup> With this as with every other book of the Scripture canon, only more so, a recognition of the literary and political circumstances of its time is essential to any right knowledge of its meaning or message. A large percentage of the problems of biblical criticism would be self-solved if the western world could only learn once and for all that it is dealing with an oriental literature. But to attempt to square the apocalypse of a prophet with the ideas and ideals of an occidental logician is of all things most preposterous. Professor Moulton's dramatic scheme is in some respects preferable to Mr. Palmer's, but the subjects of the six preliminary studies of the latter—and these comprise the body of his book—have nowhere been more strongly and sanely developed.

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## THE BOOK OF GENESIS

There is perhaps no other book in the Old Testament which, in regard to the modern view of it, interests laymen and students alike as much as the book of Genesis. It presents peculiar problems which demand the attention of all educated people; for those ancient questions are ever asked again: How was the world created? What is the origin of sin and

<sup>10</sup>*New Light on the New Testament.* By Parke P. Flournoy. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1903. xxi+193 pages.

<sup>11</sup>*The Drama of the Apocalypse.* By Frederick Palmer. New York: Macmillan, 1903. viii+192 pages.

misery?—to say nothing of the deluge and Abraham and the patriarchs. What position shall we take, in the light of modern science, physical and historical, in regard to these problems? Can the Old Testament still be regarded as giving dogmatic and absolutely reliable information about all these things?

In view of the many problems which, to modern readers, the book of Genesis suggests, it will be a satisfaction to me if I may have succeeded in making my volume a contribution, however slight, to that adjustment of theology to the new knowledge of the past which has been called a "crying need" of the times.

Thus says Driver in the Preface to his new commentary on Genesis (p. xi).<sup>1</sup> That he has succeeded in this, and has made an *important* contribution, need hardly be said; for we have here again a ripe fruit of years of patient, painstaking research, characterized by that same calm and deliberate weighing of evidence for which Driver is famous. He is never hasty, always accurate, and invariably sane.

The starting-point of the whole work is stated in the Preface, p. xi.

The critical and historical view of the book of Genesis—which extended to Scripture generally appears to me to be the only basis upon which the progressive revelation contained in the Bible can be properly apprehended, and the spiritual authority of the Bible ultimately maintained—has been assumed throughout.

Now, there is no book which teaches the student the main principle of modern Old Testament study better than the book of Genesis—the one great principle, that we must determine, first, what the Old Testament itself says, independently of our own religious convictions; secondly, what our own conceptions are; and, thirdly, in how far the Old Testament ideas and our own ideas can be brought into relation, and if possible harmony, with each other. Let us take as an illustration the story of creation. The first duty of the exegete is to get a clear idea of the teaching of the first chapter of Genesis, and as vivid an impression as possible of the biblical idea of the universe and of how it came into existence. When this is done, he ought to recognize frankly that the modern scientific conception is entirely different from this biblical conception, and that the two cannot be harmonized. If he now tries to relate the two, he is confronted by several problems. The first is that we have two accounts of the creation in the book of Genesis, the one in chap. 1, the other in chap. 2, not to mention here the various hints in other Old Testament books which point to a still different story. He recognizes that Hebrew tradition is not entirely

<sup>1</sup> *The Book of Genesis, with Introduction and Notes.* By S. R. Driver. London: Methuen & Co., 1904. xxii, lxxiv, 420 pages. It belongs to the "Westminster Commentaries" series, edited by Professor Walter Lock.

harmonious in regard to the creation, and that the first chapter of Genesis is the great end of a long development of speculations as to the creation of the world. The second is that the Old Testament conception, as far as the scientific part of it is concerned, is essentially the conception which the Semitic world in general possessed, and that it is not peculiar to the Hebrews. The Hebrew picture of the universe is the same as, for instance, that of the Babylonians, in whose literature we find important parallels. The natural science of the Old Testament is then the science of its own time; its astronomy, its geography (I refer here to Gen., chap. 2), and its ethnography belonged to the ancient world. There is no "inspired" natural science in the Old Testament authoritative for all time. If this is once seen, the strife between natural science and the Old Testament is at an end. In scientific matters the Old Testament had *its* ideas—i. e., those of its own times—and we have *our* ideas—i. e., those of modern science. The earth was not created in seven days; the sky is not a firmament, a heavy expanse; etc. These ideas are antiquated and no longer tenable.

But the very comparison with other literatures which has brought us to this conclusion forces upon us another profound impression, namely, that of the uniqueness of the religious element in the story. Over against polytheism, with its mythology, we have here monotheism. God is the creator and ruler of the universe, and is deeply interested in its welfare. We marvel at the power of this religion which could transform such material in this way. We recognize that we modern Christian people still believe this to be true. It is no matter of scientific controversy; natural science proper has nothing to say on this point. It is a matter of theistic belief, a metaphysical problem, a question of theism over against pantheism, materialism, etc. But modern theists agree in this question with the Old Testament. The religious element, therefore, has a permanent value. One must, of course, not jump to the conclusion that this religious truth was really all that the author of Gen., chap. 1, meant to teach, or that the scientific part was altogether nonessential to him; for he certainly wished to teach, not merely the creatorship of God, but also the mode and order of creation. We may not easily be too precise on this point. Thus, for instance, Driver says in another connection:

The account given of the formation of woman is, naturally, not to be understood literally; but under a symbolical form, it teaches . . . the deep ethical and social significance which underlies the difference between the sexes. (P. 56.)

This statement may easily be misunderstood. The *narrator* meant it literally; he believed that woman had been created thus and in no other way. For him it is no symbol. *We* do not believe so any more. But

we still believe in "the deep ethical and social significance which underlies the difference of the sexes." The dress changes, but the underlying truth is permanent. It is significant that it is the religious element which is unique in the Old Testament; it is that which the other nations did not possess. The exegete need, of course, not answer the question where the author got this eternal truth. After he has shown which element the Old Testament has in common with the records of other nations and pointed out its own unique element, his task is done; for that question is not an exegetical, but a theological one. The theologian must answer it, and his answer will depend on his own individuality—whether he believes it to be due to revelation, or to the peculiar fitness of the Hebrew, in the evolution of religion, for carrying religion farther and higher. But even though we do not any more believe that the Hebrews had a monopoly of religious truth, we must declare, as the result of purely historical study, that the central line of the religious development of the race runs through Israel. The religious supremacy of Israel is unimpaired. How the above considerations have affected our ideas of inspiration is well known. Driver has golden words on this topic in sec. 4 of his introduction on "The Religious Value of the Book of Genesis."

If we take as another illustration the famous fourteenth chapter, we find two different historical elements—the world-historic and the Abrahamic element. Now, granted for the moment that the monuments had proved that this confederacy of kings made this campaign against the cities of the plain—and I believe we shall some day find that all of this is historically correct—we should have here painted on this true historical background the romantic figure of Abraham conquering the army of great empires with but 318 men! It is this Abrahamic element that is historically the most troublesome, for, according to our modern historical conception, that part of the story is simply impossible. Now, whether we bring it into harmony with our modern ideas by trimming it as Driver does, or by resolutely regarding it as a late romance intended to glorify Abraham, the essentially religious element we Christians still believe to be true: with God we can conquer the whole world. That truth holds good, whether it is taught here in a romance or in exact history.

Truth is unchangeable, though it ever varies in the form in which it is expressed. But truth is not given all at once. Men learn little by little. The profoundest and most fundamental is, paradoxically enough, the simplest, and becomes axiomatic after it is once seen. But it takes a long time till men see it. "Progressive revelation" is the theological phrase for this. The truth is seen at first dimly and expressed in such forms as men use at

the time. The great spiritual seers do not consciously adapt their message to the capacity of the people, as if they knew the truth far better than they now state it; they express it in the best way of which they are capable. The expression is often clumsy, and to our mind even wrong. We should not shrink from stating this frankly, that even in the spiritual element we have to repudiate a good deal as being, to our minds, untrue. But there is always somewhere a ray of truth—very little it may be—even in the crudest belief. What could seem to us more simple than that God cannot be pleased by animal sacrifices? But what a long, long time it took before the great seers even recognized this! The little ray of light is here, the great religious conviction—but how crude and how misdirected! It is therefore not merely the scientific and historical part that is affected by “progressive revelation,” but the religious element as well. The progress of truth is still going on. A hundred years from now men will wonder, not only at the amount of truth we possess, but also at the amount of contradictions implied, which we do not perceive as such. But they will be grateful, no less than we, that some of the profoundest and most fundamental truths have been seen so clearly and expressed so finely already in the book of Genesis, and that they have been lights in the history of human endeavor, pointing men upward and leading them onward to the Truth itself.

Driver has earned the gratitude, not merely of theologians or theological students, but of everybody interested in modern religion, by frankly looking at the various problems, and stating the results of his investigation in his usual calm and dignified manner. That he has “always endeavored, as occasion offered, to point out the main religious lessons which the book of Genesis contains, and the position taken by it in the history of revelation,” even though “the commentaries in the present series are not intended to be homiletic or devotional” (Preface, p. xi), will be valued very highly. This is usually not done, but it is really just the thing that students need; for it is so easy for them to get lost in the mass of literary and historical questions that they are prone to overlook the religious. None can help admiring the marvelous power of the Hebrew religion when he has once seen it at work in transforming the crudest conceptions and mythological tales into deeply ethical and theistic stories.

A great deal of wisdom has been displayed in the selection of the material.

A minute discussion of critical questions has not seemed to me to be necessary. (P. xi.) It has been my endeavor, while eschewing theories and speculations, which, however brilliant, seem to rest on no sufficient foundation, to place the reader, as far as was practicable, in possession of such facts as really throw light

upon Genesis, and in cases where, from the nature of the question to be solved, certainty was unattainable, to enable him to form an estimate of the probabilities for himself. (P. ix.)

This evidently accounts for the omission, e. g., of Stade's interesting suggestion in regard to the sign of Kain, and of so many of Gunkel's daring propositions. Sometimes, indeed, one rather regrets this, and may be inclined to feel as if Driver were too cautious; but when, for instance, his treatment of Jacob's struggle at Penuel is compared with Gunkel's, one is grateful for his wise moderation. In a commentary like this such speculations would defeat the aim of the author.

The Introduction, pp. i-lxxiv, contains four important essays. The first section on the "Structure of the Book of Genesis, and Characteristics of its Component Parts" is as masterly and concise a treatment as can be found anywhere. I do not know how it is in England, but in this country the impression prevails among many theological students that the separation of the different sources is extremely difficult and can be made only by expert Hebraists. It is recognized well enough that there are doublets and contradictions which lead one to the conclusion that the narrative is composite, but that is about all. In view of this, it would seem as if it might have been a capital thing if Driver had expanded his remarks in the Introduction, say on the deluge story, and had shown in detail how to go about separating the entire narrative. It would at once remove the impression that the whole procedure is extremely subjective and arbitrary, and that scholars differ much when it comes to the detail work of separation. For a man will not be thoroughly convinced until he has made the experiment himself, at least at some one given point, to his own satisfaction. I do not mean to say that Driver has not given all the material for this, but nothing is better than an example, just as in mathematics a problem is all the more readily grasped by the student if an example is given which shows him exactly how to go to work.

In the second section "The Chronology of Genesis" is shown in detail to be of no historical value. The third section treats the "Historical Value of the Book of Genesis" in two divisions—(a) the prehistoric period, (b) the patriarchal period. In the former, Driver states the conclusion as follows:

The writers to whom we owe the first eleven chapters of Genesis *report faithfully what was currently believed among the Hebrews* respecting the early history of mankind . . . yet there was much they *did not know, and could not take cognizance of*: these chapters . . . contain no account of the *real* beginnings either of the earth itself, or of man and human civilization upon it. (P. xlii.)



The second division is an extremely careful and valuable résumé of Driver's position on the important questions of the historicity and the tribal character of the patriarchs. On the latter he concludes with characteristic frankness and caution:

The explanation may be adopted reasonably in particular instances (pp. liv, lx); but, applied universally, it would seem to create greater difficulties and improbabilities than it removes. (P. lvii.)

On the former he says:

Although . . . the evidence for the historicity of the patriarchs is not such as will satisfy the ordinary canons of historical criticism, it is still, all things considered, difficult to believe that *some* foundation of actual personal history does not underlie the patriarchal narratives. And, in fact, the view which on the whole may be said best to satisfy the circumstances of the case is the view that the patriarchs are historical persons, and that the accounts which we have of them are *in outline* historically true, but that their characters are idealized, and their biographies not unfrequently colored by the feelings and associations of a later age. (Pp. lvii, lviii.)

That this is the most satisfactory view is also my conviction. The fourth section, on "The Religious Value of the Book of Genesis," will undoubtedly for some be the most valuable part of the Introduction; and, indeed, it should be read by everybody, no matter how many other essays on the subject are not read.

Only a few of the many "Additional Notes" which are scattered all through the book can be named. They are on such subjects as the cosmogony of Genesis, the sabbath, the cherubim, the historical character of the deluge, Nimrod and Babylon, Ur and the Hebrews, the angel of Jehovah, circumcision, land-tenure in Egypt, etc. At the end of the volume there are two full excursuses: (1) on "The Names of God in Genesis," pp. 402-9; (2) on "Gen. XLIX. 10 ('Until Shiloh come')," pp. 410-15. Everything is characterized by that thoroughness, clearness, and fairness which stamp all of Driver's work.

When it is considered that no real commentary on Genesis has appeared in English since 1882, it is a matter of profound gratification that this new commentary is one of the first rank, and that it leaves no reasonable demand unsatisfied. It does what it aims to do: (1) explains the text of Genesis, and (2) acquaints the reader with the position held by the book, in accordance with our present knowledge, from both a historical and a religious point of view (p. ix). And it does it admirably.

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### RECENT BOOKS OF PREACHING AND PASTORAL THEOLOGY

Mr. Campbell<sup>1</sup> is the successor of the late Joseph Parker in the City Temple, London. This of itself is sufficient to compel attention to his published utterances. Then, Mr. Campbell made a tour of this country, preaching in the principal cities, and made a favorable impression by the earnestness of his address and the fine spiritual quality of his manner. To those who have seen and heard Mr. Campbell, and have felt the subduing quality of his personality, it is easy to imagine the immediate interest of these discourses. But of themselves they are not remarkable; there are poorer sermons which read much better. These need the personality of the man to give them their proper value. It is a mistake to think that a great preacher is necessarily a great sermonizer. Whitefield was unquestionably one of the greatest preachers that ever lived; but his sermons give no hint of it. Martineau is one of the greatest of sermonizers; as witness his "Endeavors after the Christian Life;" but he had no popular following whatever. These sermons of Mr. Campbell deal with fundamental things: "What Is God?" "What Is Man?" "Personal Communion with God;" "Can God Answer Prayer?"—these are specimen titles. Here is a characteristic utterance:

Prayer is that in which the soul looks up; it must be the expression of nobleness in the man who prays. You stand upon the tableland of character when you pray. It is the utterance of the soul's highest to God. He will be content with nothing less.

Mr. Campbell prefaces his volume with some views of the mission of the pulpit and the conditions of successful preaching. He thinks, and truly, that the day for mere cleverness in the pulpit is over, and that the prevailing temper in the audience is that of

a hunger for something strong, and deep, and true, suggestive of heaven and holiness and the living and loving Christ. The more direct and simple the style and the more rich and real the spiritual experience of the preacher, the more the people welcome the message.

Lovers of Robert Louis Stevenson (and who that has read him has not become a lover?) will have large gratitude for Mr. Kelman's interesting and thoroughgoing presentation of their favorite's serious vein.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Kelman's endeavor is to show that Stevenson had a conscience about

<sup>1</sup> *City Temple Sermons*. By R. J. Campbell. Chicago: Revell, 1903. 286 pages. \$1, net.

<sup>2</sup> *The Faith of Robert Louis Stevenson*. By John Kelman, Jr. Chicago: Revell, 1903. 298 pages. \$1.50, net.

everything—work, reading, recreation, etc.—and that Stevenson steadily maintained this to be religion itself. That Stevenson could not be classed with current religious schools is not to the point. The real issue is whether he viewed life as the providential opportunity for the development of high character under the sense of responsibility to God. Religion has to be studied in its twofold aspect: the *individual* aspect as between the man himself and God, concerning which all human judgments are precarious; and the *formal* or official aspect, as between a man and religious institutions. As related to the second aspect, Stevenson is not to be regarded as a model. His temper toward institutional Christianity is cool, often cynical, at times unworthy. Nor is this offset by the literary beauty and devotional quality of his Vailima prayers, his tender and moving references to early religious teachers and associations, his actual but fitful Sunday-school teaching. Taken as a whole, Stevenson's work must be reckoned at the best but a negative quantity in this regard. If he has not actually weakened respect for institutional Christianity, he certainly has not quickened or promoted it. As related to the other, the individual aspect, the balance is all in Stevenson's favor. Stevenson, being Scotch, could hardly help being religious, even theological. Preaching is in the blood of all Scotchmen; Stevenson is always reminding us that he "would rise from the dead to preach." Deeper and worthier than this, however, is Stevenson's richly optimistic view, nourished by the belief in God's personal ordering of the universe to righteous ends. Out of this comes his characteristic message of love and joy. No writer of our day, not even the professional writer of devotional books, has more persistently urged the cultivation of these essentially religious tempers. In the spirit of abounding gratitude with which he regards the common mercies Stevenson is a model for any Christian. To see the day break or the moon rise, to meet a friend, or to hear the dinner-call when he is hungry—all these things fill him with surprising joys. Read his prayers—than which, if we abate some traces of conscious literary effort, there is scarce anything more exquisite out of Scripture—and one finds there recurring catalogues of the daily happenings which are cause for gratitude—work, friends, food, and laughter. Moreover, it must be remembered that Stevenson's was not an easy or comfortable life. During his early manhood he fought single-handed and uncomplainingly against poverty; all his days he bore the depressing burden of ill-health. And yet, as Mr. Kelman says and shows, "the duty of joy, the ethical value of happiness," that is, *par excellence*, the message of Stevenson. "Not that one may himself be happy, but that he may make others happy." "Gentleness and cheerfulness," says Stevenson,

"are the perfect virtues." Again, "the kingdom of heaven is of the child-like who are easy to please, who love and give pleasure." Again:

There is an idea abroad among moral people that they should make their neighbors good. One person I have to make good—myself. But my duty to my neighbor is much more nearly expressed by saying that I have to make him happy—if I may.

If it be asked why a book like this be treated as "pastoral theology," the answer is simple: It shows the working of a typical human heart to understand which is the first duty of the preacher. Every man reflects something of the spirit of the time in which he lives; the man of genius reflects it in greater degree. Biography has all the value of an experience meeting. The preacher who understands men best will be best understood of men, and this is a prime condition of any successful ministry.

Dr. Perren's work<sup>3</sup> merits attention for one thing. It has brought together the experience of many successful evangelistic workers whose teaching ought to carry weight. Many a well-intentioned pastor fails for lack of a little suggestion as to method. Sincere as he may be, he is not as resourceful as some of his neighbors; but, given a hint, he can work the suggestion out. There is, of course, nothing so perilous as trying to fit oneself into another person's method. A man is at his best only as he is working his own gifts in a thoroughly congenial way. Nevertheless, many a man has found himself through another man's experience, and the wise man is never above learning from his neighbor. In addition to this matter which is good, Dr. Perren has brought together a lot of other matter not quite so good. In the section given to anecdotes and other kinds of "illuminating" material there is little that is fresh or original. A man of ordinary parts could do better for himself by reading the daily papers with a pair of scissors and an analogical eye. The selection of sermons has been made with reference to distinct classes, adults and youth, and serve well enough for models of the kind of preaching they are intended to represent. If a man must have helps of this kind, Dr. Perren's book is as good as any and better than most; but the best of such books is a poor substitute for the power and joy of original creation.

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<sup>3</sup> *Outline Sermons and Plans for Evangelistic Work*. By S. Perren. Chicago: Revell, 1903. 473 pages. \$1.20, net.

<sup>4</sup> *The History and the Use of Hymns and Hymn Tunes*. By David R. Breed. Chicago: Revell, 1903. 364 pages. \$1.50, net.

broad lines the history of hymnody from the song of Miriam (Exod. chap. xv) to the hymns of Frances Havergal. From the period of the Reformation the treatment is chiefly biographical, and that, too, with special reference to the authors of hymns which have become historically famous. A chapter is given to the consideration of qualities essential to a good hymn. According to Dr. Breed, the good hymn is scriptural, devotional, lyrical; in proof of this he cites the list of "Best Hymns" compiled by Dr. Benson, from those appearing in the largest number of standard hymnals. If one were to criticise this analysis it would be to mark the absence of the *literary* quality, which in our age is as necessary as that of the other qualities mentioned. We venture to say that it is this quality which most strongly marks the difference between the hymns of our day and those of the earlier period. It is not now enough that a hymn should be piously worded and metrically sure; it should have that quality of literary distinction to which our generation has been disciplined by the poetry of Wordsworth and Tennyson, Lowell and Longfellow. The unusual feature of Dr. Breed's book is the history of the tunes. Concerning the origin and history of these there is no such popular knowledge as about the hymns. The information is, of course, in circulation; but it is scattered through many works. Apart from Mr. Butterworth's *Story of the Tunes*, we know of no other work which pretends to make this information generally accessible. From Dr. Breed's account one learns how important a part the tune plays in securing popular attention to the hymn; and how important, too, the tune is, as an aid to remembering and interpreting the hymn. The subject of hymnody is one to which the pastor can well afford to give special attention. Psalmody has a place in every public devotional service, and many a service has had its power abridged by a careless and unintelligent selection of hymns. A careful reading of Dr. Breed's readable and interesting work will be a means of grace alike to the pastor whom it instructs and the people who will benefit by the pastor's instruction.

There is a fine, bracing, militant smack to the title of Dr. Clay Trumbull's volume of sermons.<sup>5</sup> One takes up the book with a degree of eagerness. Dr. Trumbull was for years editor of the *Sunday School Times*. Under his supervision it became the best thing of its kind in print, and a distinct force in religious journalism. Not least among its attractions were the editorial paragraphs, and certain applications of the lesson, both from Dr. Trumbull's pen. Their pungency, wit, and searching truthfulness

<sup>5</sup> *Shoes and Rations for a Long March*. By H. Clay Trumbull. New York: Scribner, 1903. 353 pages. \$1.50, net.

gave them a quotable value which brought to the paper widespread recognition and fame. It was, and everybody felt it to be, ideal paragraphing. A selection with Dr. Trumbull's name attached was sure, everywhere, of a reading. Remembering this, one could not but be eager to read Dr. Trumbull in more formal discourse. Well, the sermons are of his own selection; they represent him on occasions when he was likely to give the best he had; the circumstances of their delivery are duly set forth, so that one has, in a measure, the atmosphere; but, somehow, the volume does not meet expectations. As the product of almost any other man they would be respectable, quite above the average book of sermons; but one misses the sparkle, the salient wit, the fine compression of statement, the suggestiveness of phrase, which characterized Dr. Trumbull the editor. In a preface Dr. Trumbull apologizes for apparent neglect of homiletic form. The outlines are as formal, and almost as commonplace, as if he had been solemnly molded by the oldest of old-fashioned schools. Take the opening sermon. The title is that of the volume. The text is Deut. 33:25, "Thy shoes shall be iron and brass; and as thy days so shall thy strength be." The introduction elaborates the thought that life is a march and that God promises suitable equipment for the journey. This thought he enforces as follows: (1) All the teachings of nature enforce this truth; (2) the experiences of mankind bear constant witness to it; and (3) the Word of God is pledged in confirmation. In the schools of his day the third point would have been first; aside from that, the categories are stereotyped. If, however, the sermons are not Dr. Trumbull at his best from the standpoint of literary felicity and power, they bear the stamp of his fully earnest spirit. Would that all preachers would learn the secret of his power. For this is it. "I never did," he says, "nor could I ever, preach a sermon except as a truth or a message possessed me which I desired to have possess those before whom I stood."

Mr. William J. Dawson<sup>6</sup> is a sermonizer of a high degree of attractiveness. He has the gift of being interesting—the first gift of all; and then of being interesting to edification and religious profit. Moreover, Mr. Dawson is conscious of having a message to deliver, and he is not above taking pains to present it with what literary charm he can command; which, by the way, is considerable. Mr. Dawson, too, has his own ideas about the content of his message; nor does he seem to be afraid of those ideas just because they are his own. In matters of interpretation, as in his treatment of the Parable of Dives and Lazarus, he "gangs his ain gait;"

<sup>6</sup> *The Reproach of Christ*. By W. J. Dawson. Chicago: Revell, 1903. 281 pages. \$1, net.

but then, who is there to say him nay? In matters which have been hid from the wise and prudent, "babes" must be free to say what has been revealed to *them*. One could not find a better exhibit of the difference between the old and the new school of pulpit exposition, and of ways of religious thinking, than to compare Mr. Dawson's exposition of that parable with that of the late Mr. Finney, who under his first general division—things implied in the text—found specific revelation on nearly every problem of eschatology. Mr. Dawson has not the fear of standards before his eyes; but he is never wanton in what might be considered by his coreligionists as variations from the traditions of the Fathers. On the contrary, he is considerate in a high degree and always makes a fair show of reason in behalf of his contentions. One may not always agree with him—which is a small matter; but one must respect and admire his candor and ability. To this volume a commendatory notice of Mr. Dawson is attached, the writer being Dr. Hillis, of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. The good-will of Dr. Hillis cannot hurt Mr. Dawson, but the sturdy good sense and theological independence of the sermons, together with their freshness and grace of expression, are commendations in themselves.

Dr. Bushnell's was a rare character. He was no less interesting as a man than influential as a theologian, and in theology he is rated as perhaps the greatest single force the American church has yet produced. The present work<sup>7</sup> was originally issued in 1880; its appearance now is due to the desire of the publishers to include it in the centenary edition of Dr. Bushnell's works. It is a liberal education to know such a life even through the imperfect medium of its literary record. The many-sidedness of the man was remarkable; if theology was his ruling, it was not his only passion. Beyond many of the craft he was skilled in mechanics, and was an inventor. He could plan a house and lay out parks, design bridges, and solve puzzling problems of construction. This passion for the practical had its influence in determining his theology. The genius of what is called "Bushnellian" in theology is its ethical efficiency. The atonement in and of Christ means a power in men and women making them better, or it is nothing. It is not a small matter to open the way of holiness; it is a much more important matter to prevail upon a man to walk in the way of holiness. Character is the final end of all suffering, whether in Christ or in Christian disciple. Jesus both showed man the way of holiness and was in man to lead him and keep him in that way. These letters of Dr. Bushnell have manifold suggestion for the ministry of our

<sup>7</sup> *The Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell*. Edited by Mary Bushnell Cheney. New York: Scribner, 1903. 601 pages. \$3.

day. They reveal what should be the temper and spirit of the controversialist. In the most trying days Dr. Bushnell never feared either for God's cause or for himself; and if he said frank and outspoken things, they were against ideas and not men. Bushnell's contention was for the truth wherever found. There is, perhaps, no nobler deliverance in the history of polemics than this from him:

The effect of my preaching never was to overthrow one school and set up the other; neither was it to find a position of neutrality midway between them; but, so far as theology is concerned, it was to comprehend, if possible, the truth contended for in both.

Not enough emphasis has been laid upon Bushnell's gift as a letter-writer. The critics generally have rated him as a preacher first and theologian after; but had his gifts in these directions been much less than they are, he would still have margin enough left for perpetual reputation in his letters. In them he speaks of the deep things of God and in man with a freedom and vivacity, a raciness, relish, and quality of deep emotion, not to be found in his more formal and public utterances. And it is to his letters and not to his sermons that we must go for that sublime declaration of his faith in God which can never be quoted too often. In a letter to his wife he says:

How little do we know, my dearest earthly friend, of what is contained in the word God! We put on great magnifiers in the form of adjectives, and they are true; but the measures they describe, certified by the judgment, are not realized, or only dimly realized, in our experience. I see this proved to me, now and then, by the capacity I have to think and feel greater things concerning God. It is as if my soul were shut in within a vast orb made up of concentric shells of brass or iron. I could hear, even when I was a child, the faint ring of a stroke on the one that is outmost and largest of them all; but I began to break through one shell after another, bursting every time into a kind of wondrous and vastly enlarged heaven, hearing no more the dull close ring of the nearest casement, but the ring, as it were, of concave firmaments and third heavens set with stars; till now, so gloriously has my experience of God opened his greatness to me, I seem to have gotten quite beyond all physical images and measures, even those of astronomy, and simply to think God is to find and bring into my feeling more than even the imagination can reach. I bless God that it is so. I am cheered by it and encouraged, sent onward, and in what he gives me begin to have some very faint impression of the glory yet to be revealed.

The Scottish Church Society must be nearly seven years old; at least its fifth conference was held in 1902, and the charter provides for annual conferences. The special objects of the society, as set forth in the constitution, are twenty-two in number, among them being: the fostering



of a due sense of the historic continuity of the church from the first; the assertion of the efficacy of the sacraments; the restoration of the holy communion to its right place in relation to the worship of the church, and to the spiritual life of the baptized; the revival of the daily service; the reverent care and seemly ordering of churches and churchyards; the deepening of a penitential sense of the sin and peril of schism. The motto of the society is: "Ask for the Old Paths . . . and walk therein." From this one may judge the general direction of the lectures and addresses of the Fifth Conference which appear in a volume<sup>8</sup> with the general title, *The Pentecostal Gift*, or the relation of the Holy Spirit to the ministries of the church as the body of Christ. The lectures vary in value, of course, but there is nothing revolutionary in any of them. The addresses on the sacraments, for instance, where high-churchism is most exacting, contain nothing to which any devout Evangelical could object. Two sacraments are recognized as having been specifically ordained by the Master; but the sacramental character of any agency in which God comes sensibly into the life is recognized.

The inward operations of the Spirit are not ignored, the extraordinary operations of grace are not excluded—in one sense each Christian life is a continuous illustration of them, the grace of God meeting each in a providence wholly peculiar to the individual. But the obvious and habitual method of education and nutrition in the household of God is by ordinance. . . . The efficacy of all ordinances is through the Holy Ghost. In themselves they are channels only; we resort to them only for their content of grace.

In similar spirit and with equal latitude are treated the issues of church continuity and ministerial ordination. Indeed, if we may judge of the work of the society by the tenor of these lectures, it exists only to revive an emphasis upon teachings and practices for which the entire Christian church stands, but from which attention has been temporarily diverted by new and apparently more pressing problems of church life.

Dr. Gladden publishes a series of lectures<sup>9</sup> given at Harvard on the William Belden Noble foundation in 1903. The lectures are six in number and deal with leaders of thought in different fields with a view to showing that each one's life-work was but a confession of faith in God. The characters selected are: Dante, the poet; Michelangelo, the artist; Fichte, the philosopher; Victor Hugo, the man of letters; Richard Wagner, the musi-

<sup>8</sup> *The Pentecostal Gift*. By Various Writers of the Scottish Church Society. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons.

<sup>9</sup> *Witnesses of the Light*. By Washington Gladden. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.25, net.

cian; Ruskin, the preacher. Like all of Dr. Gladden's work, the treatment is intelligent and sympathetic, and the study, while amply sustaining the lecturer's chief contention, is generous enough to furnish a readable and inspiring introduction to the field in which the special "witness" was supreme.

Mr. Bridgman's book<sup>10</sup> is a *Pilgrim's Progress* in terms of the twentieth century. In a simple, straightforward way the author discourses of the Christian way—the start, the foes, the helps, the waymarks, the rewards, the wayside ministries, the Guide, and the goal. The counsels are wise and helpful, moderate in the best sense of that term, interestingly presented, and cogently urged. On the matter of Sunday observance, for example, concerning which much ill-advised sermonizing is done, he says that Sunday should be distinguished from the other days by

the direction which our thoughts take, in the general tone and atmosphere of the home. Jesus and Paul took issue with the Pharisees on the Sunday question because the difference which they made between Sundays and week-days was one of externals only. They were no more open to God, they were no more just and merciful on the sabbath, than on Monday and Tuesday. They were just as crafty, domineering, and hypocritical. Let us change the current of our thinking and of our desires, if we would keep Sunday rightly.

Dr. DuBois' "Natural Way"<sup>11</sup> in moral training is to regard education as "nurture" with its ministries of atmosphere, light, food, and exercise. The analogy is suggestively followed, and the result is a book wonderfully interesting and informing, a perfect mine of illustrative fact and incident, and of judicious and illuminating comment. A chapter of unique interest is that on "Nurture by Atmosphere," in which the author treats of the education of the feelings. Feeling practically "rules the world," and is the fundamental constituent of character. Among the other faculties the feelings occupy a premier place. It is of the first importance, therefore, that they should be so educated that they will exercise their sovereignty wisely. The method, says Dr. DuBois, following Professor John Dewey, is that of indirect approach or development by atmosphere. A child is not to be turned upon himself to analyze or explain his feelings, but is to have put before him on some plane of contact the concrete examples of the things which are true, honorable, lovely, and of good report, and he is to breathe constantly the atmosphere which is rapturous and enthusiastic about

<sup>10</sup> *Steps Christward: Counsels for Young Christians.* By Howard Allen Bridgman. Boston and Chicago: The Pilgrim Press.

<sup>11</sup> *The Natural Way in Moral Training.* By Patterson DuBois. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. \$1.25, net.

the worth of these things. We know of no work which will be more welcome to parents and teachers; if the facts and principles themselves are not new, the method of handling is sufficiently fresh and original to compel an absorbed attention in the work from beginning to end. Without the burden of an academic terminology, the book has the twofold virtue of a popular presentation and a scientific method.

Dr. Mathews is the author of the widely popular work *Getting on in the World*. The same point of view, the same clearness of literary style, and the same prodigality of anecdote and example characterize his latest work.<sup>12</sup> He touches entertainingly and instructively upon the whole round of human expression—energy, thoroughness, decision, self-reliance, pluck, endurance, etc., and he must be an odd genius who does not find a bit of helpful correction and inspiration in these pages. As a “homiletic aid” the work is worth the whole output of so-called cyclopedias of anecdote.

Dr. Matheson's *Representative Men of the Bible*<sup>13</sup> is a study of Bible characters from the standpoint of the artist. Whether historic or not, what do they suggest as they appear in the record? How has the writer portrayed them? This is the question Dr. Matheson asks himself in restricting his mode of treatment. Dr. Matheson puts aside questions of “documents;” he will have nothing to do with critical theories of the record. Luckily Dr. Matheson is an artist. He has imaginative quality of a high order; and these portraits of his, some of them worked out from the most meager of hints, are done with a penetration, fidelity to the material, and delicacy of feeling which put the books in a class by themselves as aids to interpretation. It remains true, however, that one cannot even in such studies altogether ignore the results of criticism. Criticism determines the relative value of sources and points of view. The earlier story of Balaam is a vastly different affair from the later additions and interpretations, and one has to determine whether he will give any value whatever to these latter before he can hit him off as does Dr. Matheson, “Balaam the Inconstant.” So far two volumes of these “studies” have appeared, and both are of standard quality.

Dr. Burrell is pastor of the Collegiate Church on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-ninth Street, New York city. It is a large and important church, and Dr. Burrell has maintained an enviable popularity as minister there through many years. Of recent years Dr. Burrell has taken to

<sup>12</sup> *Conquering Success; or, Life in Earnest*. By William Mathews. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50, net.

<sup>13</sup> *The Representative Men of the Bible*. By George Matheson. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. \$1.50.

publishing his sermons in book form; those given to sermonic reading have become acquainted with his excellences and limitations. The present volume<sup>14</sup> has apparently a controversial emphasis, there being an opening series of three on "The Religion of the Fathers," with these suggestive titles: "A Mummy on its Travels," "Throwing Things Overboard," and "Cutting Down Fruit Trees." Dr. Burrell's doctrinal position is conservative to the point of pugnacity, and he has small use for "mediating" positions. His sermon on the atonement is a contention for the "substitutionary" theory on the ground of its being (a) biblical, (b) rational, (c) effective, (d) simple. The very arrangement of his argument shows how untouched he is by modern methods of investigation. Most men would find it advisable to show that its simplicity and effectiveness made it "rational," and then that reason and Scripture were at one in regard to it. Nevertheless, Dr. Burrell's sermons have form and quality; the style is oratorical rather than conversational; the illustrations are "bookish," but pertinent and memorable; and there is always relish for his sturdy directness of thought and speech.

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### THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

The Lowell lecturer for 1903 was Professor Edward C. Moore, of Harvard University, who has now published his eight discourses without essential change.<sup>1</sup> The work has many of the merits as well as the defects of printed popular lectures. In the first lecture Dr. Moore discusses the "authorities" of the early Christians. Prior to the middle of the second century there were, according to our author, but two; viz., the Old Testament and the Words of the Lord. This is stating the case rather strongly, since Peter, James, and Paul during their active ministry exercised "authority" over the churches which they had founded or where they dwelt; and in a less degree their successors in the various churches—i. e., those whom the churches acknowledged as leaders—were authorities in matters of faith and practice. Witness the Ignatian epistles. And after Paul and the rest had laid down their lives for the faith there is little question but what the letters they had written to this or that church were authorities in the respec-

<sup>14</sup> *Christ and Progress and Other Sermons.* By David James Burrell. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. \$1.20, net.

<sup>1</sup> *The New Testament in the Christian Church.* Eight Lectures. By Edward Caldwell Moore. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1904. 360 pages. \$1.75.

tive communities; else how did these letters come to be canonized? The average Christian made no sharp distinction, for example, between Paul's interpretation of the mind of Christ and the traditional Words of the Lord. Of course, when Justin attempted to argue the case before a pagan or Jewish tribunal, he could not assume that the apostles would be recognized as final authorities. The great undercurrent of Christian life and thought was guided throughout the early generations by apostolic example and precept, as well as by the Words of the Lord and the Old Testament. Dr. Moore recognizes this fact when he says:

It is certain that the formal canonization of the New Testament writings, when it did finally take place, was not felt, in the large, by the Christian worshipers to command anything new and strange. It did but commend and confirm something which was already old and familiar in the attitude and practice of believers concerning the great mass of these writings. (P. 26.)

Indeed, the immediate and main effect of the canonization of the New Testament writings was not to augment the authority of those writings, but to discredit certain other writings which were clamoring for recognition.

Lecture II is entitled "The Witness of the Earliest Christian Literature to the New Testament," but it really consists of a brief description and classification of this literature, inclusive of the New Testament writings. Dr. Moore is in essential accord with Harnack on the points covered by this lecture, the title of which is so misleading.

In the third lecture our author takes as his theme the New Testament at the end of the second century. After characterizing the work of the Apologists in general terms, he describes the attitude of Justin, Tatian, Aristides, Melito, and others toward the writings which were gradually being gathered into a New Testament. Then the Gnostics, Marcion, and the Montanists are brought forward as witnesses. Dr. Moore declares that it is Marcion "to whom is ascribed the first collection of New Testament writings under the apprehension of them as his sole authoritative document for reference" (p. 101). Irenæus, Tertullian, the Muratori Fragment, Clement, Origin, and Theodoret complete the list of witnesses appealed to.

A sketch of the closing of the canon in the West, the closing of the canon in the East, the Renaissance, and the Reformation claims our attention in the next two lectures. In discussing the Muratori canon Dr. Moore asserts that

the author does not perceive, what is to us so obvious, that, in the large, the Christian church accepted these books because of its feeling for their spiritual content, and only afterward reasoned about their authorship, their original destination, and other concrete facts of the same sort.

This statement is hardly true of the whole of the New Testament literature, as, for example, of the undisputed epistles of Paul, whose name and service were never lost sight of. But it is a fair characterization of the instinct that guided the church in its choice of Scripture, though we need not assume that the question of authorship was not likewise a potent consideration.

The sixth lecture, on the canonization and the origin of church government, is one of the best in the book. Dr. Moore accepts Sohm's theory of the organization of the primitive church, but he develops the subject in his own way. He says that Jesus instituted no form whatever of church government, and neither did his apostles, save in a very rudimentary way. The synagogue and the many gentile societies were important external influences, but the real sources of the organization of the church were inward and spiritual. Both the teaching and the executive functions were exercised at the call of God and according to the measure of his grace. But after the opening of the second century courage and faith began to wane, and organization soon came in to supply their place. This was inevitable under the circumstances. The disappearance of the apostles and their coadjutors gave to the presbyters and bishops increasing prestige and power. The presiding officer of the mother-church retained his position of leadership in the city, and the outcome was the monarchical episcopate. It was then only a short step to the federation of the bishops and the consolidation of the scattered communities into the Catholic church.

The lecture on the canonization and the beginnings of the history of doctrine epitomizes Harnack's treatment of the subject and adds nothing new. Indeed, the range of treatment is so wide and the details involved in the discussion are so numerous that the result is confused and confusing. Perhaps this was inevitable under the circumstances. One lecture is scarcely adequate for the presentation of so manifold and intricate a theme.

The final lecture of the series discusses the idea of authority in the Christian church. Our author begins with the word "authority" as used concerning Jesus himself. Mark 1:22 and 12:28 form the basis of the discussion, and we naturally assume that the treatment will be historical. But Mr. Moore does not go on to trace the rise and development of the idea of authority in the Christian church. Instead, he sets about defining the term "authority" as used in connection with the Christian church, the Christian Scriptures, and Christian doctrine. The authority of these, he declares, is that of Christ himself whom they enshrine, or rather of God whom Christ incarnated. "Authority is only and always of persons." "The authorities of Scripture, church, and dogma are operative always and only through persons" (p. 317). It would be fair to ask whether conviction

of truth and acknowledgment of authority ever come from study of the printed page. Can a man embody his teachings and inspiration in a book? Do the epistles of Paul ever work within the reader today an authoritative conviction, such as his words once wrought in his hearers? Can the Christ use a book, a formula, or a rite as a vehicle through which he may transmit his truth and his grace? If such is the case, then authority is detachable from living human personalities, though not from the living divine personality. Dr. Moore would seem to agree with this conclusion, for he says:

It is this authority of God which has seemed to us to lie behind and to be manifested in the authority of sacred books, of Christian institutions, of doctrines and ritual, and, it is no irreverence to say also, of Christ himself. (P. 327.)

Our author goes on to explain the various conceptions of authority that have prevailed in the church, and then takes issue with Professor Briggs in ascribing co-ordinate authority to the Bible, the church, and the reason. This leads to a resurvey of the whole field under discussion, which serves as a final summary.

Dr. Moore filled his appointment to the Lowell lectureship with distinguished success and thereby accomplished his main purpose. The publication of the lectures is of secondary importance. It is impossible to compress within the compass of this book an adequate treatment of so many themes, each one of which is the center of a vast literature.

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## SOME RECENT OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE

The method of teaching Hebrew has been as notably improved as that of any other branch of linguistic science. Each teacher, however, who *is* a teacher, gradually works out the method which he can most effectively use in the classroom. Fagnani<sup>1</sup> says of his book: "The work is a growth; it has been the slow result of ten years of experience in teaching elementary Hebrew." If this volume is to be followed lesson by lesson as herein arranged, the fundamental method is the old one—that of beginning with the alphabet and proceeding through a mass of difficult problems before any reading is done. This was the method pursued forty years ago in teaching Greek and Latin. To most students it is essential that they be given the easiest and most effective method of acquiring the first of the group of Semitic tongues. That method for the large majority of minds

<sup>1</sup> *A Primer of Hebrew*. By Charles Prospero Fagnani. New York: Scribner, 1903. viii + 119 pages.

is the inductive, where the work actually begins, not with a statement of principles, but with the memorizing of a portion of the Hebrew text. From this text the instructor can gather up illustrations of principles which can be so presented as rather to be absorbed than learned by sheer efforts of the memory. While this *Primer* may be an advance over Davidson's *Introductory Hebrew Grammar*, it is not, in our opinion, such a book as modern methods of teaching languages require, nor such as greatly to lighten the task in comparison with the presentations in the older Hebrew grammars. In thus pronouncing our opinion, we do not lose sight of the fact that the most successful use of any method depends almost wholly on the personality and teaching ability of the instructor. For the author, and for those who cling to his methods, the results may justify the scheme though modern pedagogical methods in teaching languages are not adopted. Time and experience with various classes of pupils will determine the questions at issue.

As long ago as 1861 Olshausen conjectured that the upright line found here and there in the Hebrew Scriptures served to point out marginal glosses subsequently interpolated. Ortenberg in 1887 treated the same question elaborately in *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. Others at later dates have discussed the theory at considerable length. Kennedy's book<sup>a</sup> shows that he purposed to make an exhaustive study of the whole problem. With that end in view he noted every occurrence of the upright line, or "note-line," as he names it in his title, from Genesis to Malachi. This line is said to have been introduced long ago by observant and scrupulous scribes who sought to conserve the text of Hebrew Scriptures as correctly as possible. The mere insertion of this line calls attention to some reading that is unusual or peculiar, and to assure the reader that the text before him is what the scribe found in the original from which he copied it. Furthermore, it is thought to have had its origin in pre-Massoretic times, when the text consisted merely of consonants. It seems largely to have lost its significance when the Massorettes did their work, for it was called *Pāsēq*, and, combined with a *Munah*, formed an accent called *Legarmēh*. It was thus incorrectly reckoned as part of the system of accents. We shall mention a few cases only to indicate the comprehensive character of Kennedy's work. This "note-line" may be inserted: (a) with unusual divine names; (b) between the same letter repeated in different but adjacent words; (c) when the same is not repeated, but expected; (d) between two words identical in form; (e) between adjacent words similar in form; (f) with con-

<sup>a</sup> *The Note-Line in the Hebrew Scriptures, Commonly Called Pāsēq, or P'sēq*. By James Kennedy. New York: Imported by Scribner, 1903. 129 pages.



flute readings; (*g*) between similar expressions which are adjacent; (*h*) with superfluities which may be considered variously; (*i*) with omissions; (*j*) peculiar forms of words; (*k*) abnormal constructions in grammar; (*l*) remarkable order of words; (*m*) startling statements, thus noted as questionable; (*n*) anthropopathic expressions; (*o*) suspected readings; (*p*) unsolved difficulties. A very detailed examination of passages under each of these divisions convinces the reader that the classification has sufficient grounds for its existence. The results of the investigation point out particularly that the "note-line" is a sign of textual difficulties of some kind. The careful observance of its presence at any rate must prove of value to the textual critic and the exegete. An appendix gives a complete list of passages in which the "note-line" is found.

Professor Cheyne develops very largely in this number<sup>3</sup> of the *Critica* his views concerning the lost Jerahmeel. The entire history of the Northern Kingdom is practically transferred to the Negeb. Thus Judah becomes the real "Northern Kingdom." The capital of the kings of Israel is Shimron in the Negeb, not Shomeron in the north. We are given a southern Bethel, a southern Ephraim, a southern Gilgal, a southern Aramean kingdom of which Naaman was a native, with many other such discoveries. So also the scene of activity of Elijah and Elisha is transferred to the southern highlands of Jerahmeel. Amanah and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, become Jerahmeel and Perath, rivers of Aram-Cusham, a north-Arabian district. But we confess that our breath is somewhat taken away by the discovery that *Hiddekel*, the river of the "Gan-Eden" is really *Jerahmeel*. "Asshur" lies in this region; also "Ishmael;" it was "a man of Ishmael" whose arrow slew Ahab. But a complete list of the discoveries made by Cheyne cannot be given here. In view, however, of the real need of a careful criticism of the text of the Books of Kings, it could be wished that Cheyne had omitted the pseudo-historical suggestions that occupy the larger part of his space, until he had given us a satisfactory *textus receptus*.

Principal Marshall<sup>4</sup> accepts the general modern view of the composite authorship of the book of Job, though emphasizing unity of purpose. But he does not find reasons for believing the book to be composite in the linguistic peculiarities, or in variations in style, but in the diversity of its theological positions. In the latter there is unmistakable evidence of

<sup>3</sup> *Critica Biblica*. Part IV, "First and Second Kings." By T. K. Cheyne. London: Black.

<sup>4</sup> *American Commentary on the Old Testament: Job*. J. T. Marshall. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. xxii + 131 pages.

much development. Marshall would find in the book every answer that has been offered as a solution of the problem of evil. In some details, the commentator parts company with the majority of critics. Zophar is not the commonplace man he is usually deemed, but the profoundest philosopher of the interlocutors—the true sage. The lost third speech of Zophar he would find in the reconstructed third speech of Bildad, 25; 26: 7-14, while the actual third speech of Bildad he would deem to be 24: 18-21. This is made plausible by its use of phrases and ideas occurring in the other Bildad speeches. Marshall regards Elihu as unfairly treated by most critics. He was the real advocate of the view that moral discipline is the reason for the tribulation of the righteous. This doctrine other recent critics usually find in Eliphaz. "Elihu touches more on the immanence of God than any other Old Testament writer." In the speeches of Jehovah Marshall discovers decidedly more than most can see. They are great expositions of the divine love—to be classed with Hosea. The line of argument found in Matt. 6: 26 ff. is used. It is to be feared, however, that in this interpretation the critic has been influenced by a desire to find in the book all the solutions offered for the problem of suffering. Touching the recognized development of the idea of God in Israel, Marshall seeks to combine old and new. "Ethical monotheism was deeply ingrained into the Hebrew consciousness. By Hosea, Amos, and Isaiah it was resuscitated, not created." Job himself is regarded as an early historic personage whose history was widely known among Semitic peoples, and who thus furnished a figure about which to group late theological speculations. The *terminus a quo* for the composition may be placed in the period of the captivity of the eastern tribes under Tiglath-pileser III. The *terminus ad quem* cannot be fixed; it may be, though Marshall apparently thinks it improbable, as late as Malachi.

The latest volume<sup>5</sup> in the series containing the "Messages of the Bible," edited by Professors Sanders and Kent, of Yale University, contains the Psalms of the Old Testament and the Book of Lamentations, presented in groupings according to subjects and paraphrased according to the plan of the series. The introduction deals with the general divisions of the subject, such as the religious value of the Psalms, the characteristics of Hebrew poetry, and some of the problems of the Psalter. Professor McFadyen has displayed admirable tact and insight in his treatment of these themes. Excellent work has also been done in the groupings of the psalms, where a compromise has been made between the difficult and

<sup>5</sup> *Messages of the Psalmists*. By John E. McFadyen. New York: Scribner, 1904. 329 pages. \$1.25, net.

probably impossible method of chronological arrangement, on the one side, and a purely topical division, on the other. The groups adopted include psalms of adoration, of reflection, of thanksgiving, the celebration of worship, the historical, imprecatory, and penitential psalms, those of petition, the royal psalms, psalms concerning the universal reign of Jehovah, and the Book of Lamentations. At only one point, therefore, has an attempt been made to arrange any of the material in historical order. This is in connection with the psalms of thanksgiving, where three groups are presented—those relating to the deliverance from Sennacherib, those referring to the release from the exile, and those which relate to the Maccabean victories. Each group is preceded by a brief introductory section summarizing its contents and characteristics, and footnotes treat of the more important items of textual criticism or exegesis. In an appendix there are brief hints regarding the superscriptions of the Psalms, an alphabetical arrangement of the material, and a list of helpful books of reference. The work is an admirable modernization of the Psalms, and presents briefly the attitude of modern scholarship toward the collection. Especially good is the work that has been done in the modernization of the language of the Psalms.

A new edition<sup>6</sup> of the Psalms bears the strong commendation of a leading Roman Catholic official in a letter to the cardinal archbishop of Paris, and presents, as its preface, a complimentary note from Cardinal Mathieu. The author has shown his allegiance to the traditions of his church in his treatment of the Psalms. At the same time, the work presents an admirable review of the criticism of the Psalter, and is a serious effort to reach a satisfactory position in regard to it. The Introduction deals with the titles, authorship, dates, literary character, theology, and present value of the book. The positions taken throughout are strongly conservative. The titles are regarded as genuine for the most part, and the date of the collection is placed in the period from David to Ezra and Nehemiah. The Davidic character of a large section of the Psalter is assumed. The work of biblical critics like Vogel, Ewald, de Wette, Olshausen, Reuss, and Cheyne is cited only to be dismissed as unconvincing. Little help for a sound study of the book can be got from such a treatment. Yet there are two features in the volume that are worthy of praise. The section of the Introduction which deals with the literary character of the Psalms is admirable. The author treats his theme in an enthusiastic spirit that kindles a like interest in the reader. Similarly the version into

<sup>6</sup> *Les Psaumes*. Traduits de l'Hébreu par M. B. D'Eyragues. Paris: Lecoffre, 1904. lxiv+427 pages. Fr. 7.50.

which he has rendered the poems is full of dignity and grace, and reveals in an unusual degree the meanings of the original. Without adding much to exegetical material through the footnotes, which leave much to be desired, the translator has reproduced in large measure the spirit and form of the Psalms. Special attention has been given to the metrical nature of the poems, and the results are helpful.

The superscriptions of the Psalms have been a kind of sphinx to biblical students. Their origin and purpose have given rise to many theories and interpretations. Thirtle<sup>7</sup> happily has made a step in advance by an observation that curiously enough has escaped the attention of scholars in all the past. He noted that the third chapter of Habakkuk is preceded and followed by expressions that seem to be united in the superscriptions of the Psalms. "A prayer of Habakkuk the prophet, set to Shigionoth," precedes, and, "For the Chief Musician, on my stringed instruments" follows that poem. The same division of the superscriptions of the Psalms would put a new face on most of the Psalter. When we remember that the Psalms were probably first written continuously without a break of any kind, it is easy to see how the superscription matter was sandwiched between any two. If now the true arrangement of the so-called titles is that now found in Habakkuk, we can see how when the Psalms were separated it was possible for the extraneous matter to be grouped into one mass. That, indeed, is just what took place, for from the first to the last of the Psalter all the title matter stands at the head of each psalm to which any such matter belongs. Now, Thirtle's plan, on the basis of the observation made in Habakkuk, is to split the superscriptions, placing at the end of each preceding psalm generally all the matter placed before the statement of the authorship or literary character, and at the head of each psalm the authorship statement, and the items that follow it. Such a rearrangement quite revolutionizes our conception of the superscriptions or titles. It raises many questions regarding the age of the Psalter, its original composition and transmission, its inner character, the grammar of the psalm titles, and the interpretation of the many whose readings and content have been hitherto a riddle to exegetes. This was a happy observation of Thirtle, and one that promises good results in the future. Some of his own explanations of the obscurities of the Psalter are convincing, while others are still very questionable. The *Al-tashheth* put at the conclusion of Pss. 56, 57, 58, and 74, as descriptive of the one great feature of those documents, is very enlightening. But the proposed explanation of *Aijeleth*

<sup>7</sup> *The Titles of the Psalms: Their Nature and Meaning Explained.* By James William Thirtle. London and New York: Frowde, 1904. viii + 386 pages.

*hash-shahar* (Ps. 21), or of *gonoth elem rehokim* (Ps. 55), gives slight satisfaction. We are convinced that Thirtle is on the right track, and that his discovery will ultimately make for a larger and fuller knowledge of the Psalter. The volume embraces the entire Psalter of the Revised Version, with the titles rearranged on the new basis, and with notes that are helpful in understanding them.

Principal Marshall accepts the theory of the late date of the book of Ecclesiastes,<sup>8</sup> considering that 250-200 B. C. is the most probable period for its origin. The title he regards as chosen with reference to the words "goats" and "stakes" in 12:11. The Revised Version "masters of assemblies" should be read, according to Marshall, "those skilled in gathering." "The Preacher" is a "skilful gatherer" of stimulating and edifying things. Since familiarity with the Greek learning is admitted, it might have been well to consider whether this passage were not a deliberate imitation of a Greek method of announcing a decree or conclusion. In *The Suppliants* of Æschylus the king replies to the demand of the envoys by quoting the law upon the subject, introducing the law thus: "It hath been solemnly decreed by the popular assembly, and the nail hath been driven through that it may remain firmly fastened: it is not in tablets or the folded leaves of books, but you hear it from my mouth" (*Suppliants*, 922 ff.). But Marshall would have us find in the parallel Hebrew passage a veiled warning against much reading of Greek books, coupled with a preference for the oral instruction of Jewish teachers. Marshall thinks the writer actually considered himself as "destined to some extent to live over again the life of Solomon, and thus to be qualified to speak to his contemporaries in the name of Solomon." The literary personation so familiar in Jewish literature does not detract from the value of the book. As to the autobiographical question, the author thinks that Plumptre's work has much that is fanciful, "but I regard it as indisputable that there is much autobiography in the work before us." Koheleth, once rich, and a traveler, had come home old and poor; a species of returned prodigal, though not expressing any penitence for sin. As to the question of the Greek element, Marshall finds himself diametrically opposed to Tyler and others, who think the book is permeated with Greek philosophy; he would consider it designed to conserve Judaism from the tide of Greek influences. But he does not indicate the specifically Judaic things that Koheleth would preserve, nor does he point out passages that assail things essentially and solely Greek. The position taken lacks definition and detail.

<sup>8</sup> *American Commentary on the Old Testament: Ecclesiastes*. By J. T. Marshall. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.

Genung's *The Words of Koheleth*<sup>9</sup> is a fitting companion to his *Epic of the Inner Life*, published some years ago. After a careful consideration of all the arguments for division, the Book of Ecclesiastes is regarded as a unity. Nor does the author share the prevailing views in regard to the pessimistic attitude of the work. It is rather the effort to voice a certain spirit of protest which has come to possess a considerable section of the thoughtful community about 200 B. C., in the time of the later Ptolemies. It utters the dissent of such a group against the prevailing legalism of the age, which was more and more hardening the Mosaic institutes into a fixed and unalterable tradition. Koheleth sets forth first the discouraging features of his age. There is no progress in life. Its force is not sufficiently abundant to overflow its environment and demand freer sphere for its exercise. There is no overplus of vitality—no “profit,” as he phrases it. The round of life reveals no rewarding experiences. Against two tendencies of the time he lifts his voice in negation. The first is to find satisfaction in mere discussion and talk. The second is to postulate a future life for which, as it seems, there is no adequate reason. A future life is worth while only when there is something left over in the present. In his day experience “has not reached the vital exuberance, the spiritual masterfulness whose logic is immortality.” Koheleth's solvent, according to Genung, is the gospel of work, and this thesis is developed with great skill and beauty. None the less, at the end the author is compelled to confess that “after all that reactive and re-enforcing vigor can rescue from a universe of law, the fact of vanity remains as palpable as ever, and the book, one of the bravest books in the world, is one of the saddest.” But that it issues in character is also a part of the contention, and it fitted into its place in the discipline of the last pre-Christian centuries. The second part of Genung's volume is taken up with a new and helpful rendering of Koheleth into English. This is divided into a series of seven surveys with a poem and an epilogue. The structural idea which Genung places on the title-page of this portion is this: “Life is an ultimate fact. It has no equivalent; it will accept no substitute. In whatever allotment of work and wage, in whatever experience of ease or hardship, in whatever seen or unseen range of being, life, utterly refusing to be measured by anything else, must be its own reward and blessedness, or nothing.” Genung's thesis is admirably set forth and strongly buttressed by references to modern literature. But the impression remains that he has rather read into Koheleth a view which one would like to discover there, than revealed the actual

<sup>9</sup> *The Words of Koheleth*. By John Franklin Genung. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904. 361 pages. \$1.25, net.

nature of the book itself. When one turns from these fascinating pages to the book itself, even in Genung's version, its pessimism stands revealed in lines too clear to be misinterpreted. Nor does the view of single authorship seem a satisfactory treatment of the literary problem.

Reviewing the efforts hitherto made to determine the date of the Book of Proverbs, Gasser<sup>10</sup> suggests that the usual data considered are not sufficiently definite, and involve the movement, chronologically, of the entire wisdom literature. Hence the task has proved a veritable stone of Sisyphus; and he proposes that the mountain be attempted from the other side. Knowing the epoch from which the Wisdom of Sirach comes, and the apparent effort of the author to imitate the Book of Proverbs, it may be possible to determine whether the two productions can be at all near each other in point of time. Considering the historical background, the writer finds that the political, civic, social, and cultural circumstances of the two books are totally unlike. The conception of God and the religious elements are also unlike in the two books: Proverbs showing what may be called the classical Israelite idea of God; Sirach a much later and very complex conception. The conceptions of piety and stress of the cult likewise differ. The distinctive cult of Israel hardly appears in Proverbs. There is little trace of a constructive religious philosophy in Proverbs as compared with Sirach. Examination of literary characteristics also points to a wide interval of time between the works considered. References to religious writings and to national history give further aid. Sirach is full of quotations or references to various Old Testament books; it extols various national heroes; the national hope of Israel, the aspirations of the nation, its belief in itself as the medium through which wisdom is to be given to the world—all these things are peculiarly prominent in Sirach, and as notably absent from Proverbs. The latter has no national spirit or atmosphere; nothing that could mark the spirit of the compilation as provincial rather than cosmopolitan. With regard to the essence and development of wisdom itself, the two works differ. The Book of Proverbs seems entirely independent, in all its peculiarities, of any known product of post-exilic literary activity. Sirach, furthermore, does not seem to be the product of partisanship, the portrayal of the views of a single faction or element of society. The writer concludes that the two works come from periods so widely separate historically that we are warranted in questioning whether Proverbs can be even post-exilic. Perhaps the ardent national ideals and aspirations

<sup>10</sup> *Die Bedeutung der Sprüche Jesu Ben Sira für die Datierung des alt-hebräischen Spruchbuches.* Untersucht von Joh. Konrad Gasser. Gutersloh: Bertelsman. 270 pages.

of the religious Jew had not come into the national consciousness at the time of the compilation of Proverbs. Certainly, he thinks, the book cannot be placed anywhere near the Greek period; and, if post-exilic at all, we might expect some trace of complaint at the frustration of national hopes.

A treatise<sup>12</sup> on the historical geography of Palestine in Persian and Hellenistic times by Gustaf Hölscher shows characteristic German thoroughness. It is a perfect mine of information. Its conclusions on a multitude of points will have to be reckoned with, and the facts it contains will be drawn upon by all future students in this field. Unfortunately it possesses neither maps nor index.

Dr. Peters' book<sup>13</sup> consists of a series of lectures delivered at Bangor Theological Seminary in 1903. They are six in number beginning with a presentation of the critical view of the sources of Genesis and discussing in order the origin of the twelve tribes, the patriarchs and the shrines with which the traditions concerning them were associated, the survivals of legend and myth in the traditions, the cosmogony of Genesis and the primeval history, concluding with a discussion of the moral value of early Hebrew story. As a summary of the results of investigation on the frontier line of scholarship the book is of great value. It reveals many difficulties and the hypothetical character of many of the conclusions of recent advanced criticism, and fails to do justice to the historical element in the traditions. It dissects and analyzes, but does not sufficiently reconstruct—a common failing in many books of its type. In his exposition of the moral grandeur of the stories of Genesis the author has done an admirable piece of work. It is clear, evangelical, and inspiring.

A number of important additions have been made by Guthe in the new edition of his history of Israel.<sup>14</sup> It is increased from 326 to 354 pages and enriched by two excellent maps. The changes have been made chiefly in the sections discussing the relation of Israel's religion to the culture of Canaan, those dealing with Assyria's relations with Israel and Judah, and those covering the Persian period. A new section on Winckler's mythological theory of early history is added in which the verdict is "not

<sup>12</sup> *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie*. Herausgegeben von W. Sieglin. Heft 5, "Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit: eine historisch-geographische Untersuchung." Von Gustaf Hölscher. Berlin: Weidmann, 1903. 99 pages. M. 3.

<sup>13</sup> *Early Hebrew Story: Its Historical Background*. By John P. Peters, D.D. New York: Putnam, 1904. 307 pages. \$1.50.

<sup>14</sup> *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*. Von Hermann Guthe. (= "Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften," XIV.) Tübingen and Leipzig: Mohr, 1904. xv + 354 pages. M. 6.



proven." All the changes are necessitated by the new literature which requires discussion. The book remains a model of compactness and sobriety with the added advantage of being up to date.

Dr. Fries, of Stockholm, in a clever pamphlet<sup>14</sup> argues with much cogency for the view that Deuteronomy has nothing to do with the reforms of Josiah, described in 2 Kings, chaps. 22 and 23. That reform did not contemplate the centralization of Jahwe worship, but only the destruction of non-Jahwistic worship. What was found in the Temple was a leaf or two containing directions for the proper keeping of the Passover, warnings against idolatry, and the like. Fries has a theory of the origin of Deuteronomy, and holds that it was made up of the oral decisions of local and traveling judges, chiefly Levites, such as Jehoshaphat is reported to have sent out. These were gathered into the final form in Hezekiah's time. These conclusions are rather revolutionary, but the author presents strong proofs.

The Babel-Bibel controversy has driven many German pens to work on popular lines. Jeremias is one of the practical Assyriologists whose work as a pastor has led him to see the full value of archæology for the study of the Old Testament. We judge from his Preface that German contest led him to project and complete this work.<sup>15</sup> It differs from the third edition of Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* in that it deals with the subject from a popular and picturesque point of view, and includes in its material light from other than Babylonian-Assyrian sources. The first two chapters are rather introductory to the whole volume. They discuss (1) old oriental teachings and the old oriental picture of the world; (2) the chief figures and localities of the Babylonian pantheon. In this second chapter twelve of the prominent divinities of the Babylonian pantheon are discussed, and partially illustrated by cuts of seals and other monumental representations. Thereafter, the author takes up matter parallel with the Old Testament text, beginning with the extra-biblical cosmogonies and proceeding down through the Minor Prophets. The whole book is delightfully illustrated with 145 figures large and small, in half-tones and zinc etchings—all in the text. The author shows that he is strictly up to date in his treatment, for he has several new illustrations representing German discoveries in Babylon, American discoveries at Nippur, and French discoveries at Susa, and his references are to the latest literature on each theme. The character of

<sup>14</sup> *Die Gesetzsschrift des Königs Josia: Eine kritische Untersuchung.* Von D. S. A. Fries. Leipzig: Deichert, 1903. 78 pages. M. 1.80.

<sup>15</sup> *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients: Handbuch zur biblisch-orientalischen Altertumskunde.* Von Alfred Jeremias. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. xiv + 383 pages. M. 6.50.

the book may be just what would meet the needs of a popular audience in Germany, but its detail and numerous references, and broken text, would quite bar it from popular use on this side of the sea. While an American public demands just as high and accurate scholarship, it requires that such material be put in a less broken form, and that the references be transferred from the text either to footnotes or to a special appendix. For semi-specialists, for those particularly interested in archæology and the Old Testament, with the latest utterances, set forth in a matter-of-fact form, this work is both reliable and commendable.

The popularization of the work of specialists is receiving large attention. This kind of service is usually performed in series of brochures or volumes. The work<sup>16</sup> here mentioned is the seventh in *Kleine Texte für theologische Vorlesungen und Uebungen*. Bezold's work is merely a new translation of the creation-legends through the seventh tablet. It follows in time, and hence takes advantage of, the work of Jensen, King, and Winckler. It improves here and there the work of its predecessors, and is, we are gratified to see, marked by that scrupulous care so characteristic of the author. Doubtful passages, or those supplied, are noted by special marks, so that the reader may understand what is in the original text, and what is not. Each new translation of a scholar brings us nearer to the actual thought of the original writer.

The Babel-Bibel controversy has deluged Germany with pamphlet literature of every grade of value. And the flow does not seem to abate. Zimmern is one of those who maintained silence until the mass of brochures by persons who could not speak at first hand threatened to carry the day. This little document<sup>17</sup> does not take up the cudgel and use it on such writers, but does a saner thing. It aims to recite in as succinct form as possible, and often in the very language of Babylonia, the Babylonian and Assyrian light on the Bible. To be explicit, this brochure is a kind of condensation of the author's part in the third edition of the admirable *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*. The topics treated are the deluge, the early patriarchs, the creation of the world, Paradise, the Gilgames epic, cultus rites, the sabbath, hymns and prayers, polytheism, the Christ, Jesus, baptism and the Lord's Supper, the book of life and judgment, predestination, angel and devil, kingdom of the dead, and the belief in the future. In

<sup>16</sup> *Babylonisch-Assyrische Texte*. Übersetzt von Carl Bezold. I, "Die Schöpfungslegende." Bonn, 1904. 20 pages.

<sup>17</sup> *Keilinschriften und Bibel, nach ihrem religionsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang: ein Leitfaden zur Orientierung im sog. Babel-Bibel-Streit*. Von Heinrich Zimmern. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1903. 54 pages.

other words, Zimmern discovers a religio-historical connection, not only between the literature of the cuneiform inscriptions and the Old Testament, but also between that great realm of science and the New Testament. He deals with next to no speculation, but points out the facts in such a simple way as to interest any humble reader. His sane treatment is the best thing we have seen on that blood-heating discussion among the German biblical and archæological students and investigators. A few choice illustrations add to the value of the pamphlet.

König has still another weapon<sup>18</sup> to use in the Babel-Bibel controversy. This is a plea for a scientific treatment of the questions involved. He pleads for the comparative method in the study of all the facts, as the true method of acquiring correct results. He charges Delitzsch with the fault of dealing with fragments of records, and of passing over gaps without even mentioning them. He denies with great vigor the so-called parallel between the Hebrew and Assyrian-Babylonian prophets and prophecy. Again he pleads for the historical method in investigating the relations of those ancient peoples. He would apply the same principles in studying the elements common to both of them that he would use in the pursuit of any similar problem between other peoples. The latter part of the brochure falls into personalities between König and Delitzsch, such as do not quite become the dignity of scholarship. This entire Babel-Bibel discussion is carried on, not only to the weariness of the reader, but to a waste of time, talent, and temper. We shall welcome its passing that readers may not be obliged to waste any more time in following up such endless talk.

Weber's discussion<sup>19</sup> is an attempt to review all the literature on the Babel-Bibel contention. Then he contributes some of his own thoughts to the contention. He thinks that the whole discussion broke out prematurely, that many of the most important issues are not ready for controversy, because of the meagerness of our information about them. Again, the majority of those who have sprung to the front to take part in the discussion are incompetent, so that the real gain for science from all the elaborations is not great. There was great expectation that from the agitation of the question there would be important scientific developments for the treatment of the Old Testament. Assyriology has rather suffered than gained confidence by the vigor of the contentions. But when this storm shall have

<sup>18</sup> *Die Babel-Bibel-Frage und die wissenschaftliche Methode. Zugleich Kritik von Delitzsch's IIIter Babel-Bibel-Schrift.* Von Eduard König. Gr. Lichterfelde-Berlin: Runge. 45 pages.

<sup>19</sup> *Theologie und Assyriologie im Streite um Babel und Bibel.* Von Otto Weber. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. 31 pages.

all blown over, we shall again recognize the real value of the Orient, and not discount it at every step, as have many of the papers that have taken their place in the line of defense of the Bible. Weber's words have a sensible ring to them, and bespeak more coolness and better judgment for such controversies in the future.

The first edition of Jeremias's work was noticed in this *Journal*, Vol. VIII, p. 192 (January, 1904). This edition<sup>20</sup> is slightly enlarged by the insertion of new matter here and there, and by the extension of some of the discussions, especially that comparing the *Torah* with the codex of Hammurabi. Such additions are only marks of the increased emphasis which must be placed upon the Hammurabi code, as scholars look more and more into its merits for the settlement of different critical problems of the Old Testament.

A series of studies with an extraordinary title<sup>21</sup> is devoted to exegetical purposes. The author is energetically seeking to ascertain the facts regarding the sense of some passages in two chapters in Job. To reach this end he compares the Massoretic text, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate; and makes large use of the material and positions of Friedrich Delitzsch in his edition of Job (1902). His real purpose in the treatise, as indicated in the title to the series, is rather biological than philological, for he is searching out the true rendering of the words, *Behemoth* and *Leviathan*, treated separately in the second pamphlet. Kautzsch's translation of 40:1-18 is declared to be so unsatisfactory that it is rejected, and the entire chapter is taken up verse by verse, and with painstaking detail followed through to the end. His conclusion is that *Behemoth* is an anthropoid animal, and a remnant of the early cohabitation of man and animals. In the second part Origen's Hexapla is brought into use, and such quotations as are valuable in the argument are set forth. Other quotations of Scripture that seem to substantiate the idea of anthropoid creatures in the minds and words of the writers are made prominent in the discussion. When we find that "Rahab" (Josh., chap. 2) in Isa. 30:7 is to be understood as anthropoid, and the "sons of Belial" (= "worthlessness") are bastards of men and cattle (p. 105), and that Hab. 2:17 is a proof-text that the beasts therein mentioned are anthropoid, we are ready to consider the proofs of such comprehensive statements. That there were anthropoid animals is inferred

<sup>20</sup> *Moses und Hammurabi*. Von Johannes Jeremias. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 64 pages.

<sup>21</sup> *Anthropozoon Biblicum*. Von J. Lanz-Liebenfels (Wien). Aus *Vierteljahrsschrift für Bibelkunde, talmudische und patristische Studien*, I. Jahrgang, 4. Heft: Job XL und XLI; II. Jahrgang, 1. Heft: Behemoth und Leviathan. Berlin: Calvary.

from the many figures preserved in ancient mythology. But that the writers of the Old Testament refer to them in the many passages cited in these two short treatises is to be doubted. The prohibitions in the laws of Exod., chaps. 21-23, that refer to the cohabitation of man and beast can scarcely have reference to anthropoid animals. After much elaborate argumentation, where assumption plays a large part, he asserts: "Christ was like Daniel and the three children imprisoned in a dungeon, but by his own strength kept off the beasts. For that reason we find Christ in the catacombs as Orpheus charming the animals. For that reason also, Christ as Odysseus bound to the mast is surrounded by seductive sirens." Such far-fetched deductions play quite a rôle in the author's conclusions, and rather discount the better phases of his work. We do not doubt the mythical existence of such beings as he everywhere finds, but must have argumentation with fewer breaks before we can be convinced that they are so numerous as he would have us believe.

Gressmann's pamphlet<sup>22</sup> deals with the origin and character of music among the Hebrew people, and with the instruments which have found place in the services of the sanctuary. The author well insists that Israel was never a master of arts, but rather its place in world-history rests upon its religious and moral interests. He traces the growth of such musical elements as they appear in the history to an origin more or less connected with magic. He would regard, for example, the tinkling bells on the garments of the high-priest as having the value at some remote period of driving away evil spirits. The trumpets employed in the temple services were a sort of echo of the thunder-voice of God. His discussion of the instruments employed in the temple worship throws new light upon the origin of the terms employed. He refers the word *Kinnôr* to a root referring to the lotus tree, and thinks that the Sea of Chinnereth was so named, not from its resemblance to a harp, but from a certain *Lotosstadt* situated near it. Interesting derivations are proposed for other terms.

A pamphlet,<sup>23</sup> by Davies is a reprint from the *Baptist Magazine*. It deals with the important place which music and art have always had in the life of the church, and then proceeds to a brief discussion of the poetry of the Bible, the music of the temple, and the instruments which were employed in the service. The author shows himself familiar with the literature of the subject, and rightly emphasizes the need of a balanced relation between instruction and worship in the conduct of Christian services.

<sup>22</sup> *Musik und Musikinstrumente im Alten Testament*. Von Hugo Gressmann: Giessen, Ricker, 1903. 32 pages. M. 0.75.

<sup>23</sup> *Sacred Music among the Ancient Hebrews and in the Christian Church*. By T. Witton Davies. London: Alexander & Shephard, 1904. 3d.

Professor Arthur S. Peake, of the University of Manchester, delivered the Hartley lecture<sup>24</sup> last year. His subject was the old problem of suffering. His book is divided into eight chapters, which trace the problem from its rise at about the time of Josiah's reformation, down to the end of the Old Testament period. The ground traversed is familiar, and the conclusions reached do not differ materially from those held by most Old Testament students. The mystery of suffering is not solved. The discipline of suffering is found to be helpful, provided it be accepted with confidence in the divine order and an effort to realize through it the divine presence. Only in the New Testament and in the life of Christ as the revelation of God's love is the solution to be found. The value of Peake's book consists chiefly in its careful review of critical opinions upon the various biblical sections treated. In three appendices he deals with recent criticism on Habakkuk, the critical problems of Isa., chaps. 40-66, and the Servant of Yahweh. Habakkuk he would place in the closing years of the exile rather than before the fall of Jerusalem. A new and suggestive translation is given of the Servant passages in Isa., chaps. 42-53, which will be found an improvement upon the generally received versions. Job, the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and Daniel are all reviewed, and a final chapter sets forth the conclusions already noted. Peake writes with earnestness and conviction. His style is attractive, and one welcomes a fresh treatment of Old Testament literary problems, even though the work is not a striking contribution to Old Testament theology.

Every new translation of the Bible, if it represents scholarship, is heartily welcomed by the Bible-studying public. Fenton claims for his work<sup>25</sup> "that it is the only one ever translated into our language absolutely direct from the original Hebrew and Greek of the sacred writers, without any intermediate translation, whether ancient or modern, intervening between the English and the original languages used by the biblical writers" (Preface to the New Testament). Through forty years of commercial life he arduously studied the original tongues of the Bible, and finally began to realize his hope of rendering the Bible into modern English. He issued (in 1883) the Pauline epistles. The remainder of the New Testament and the Old followed in rapid succession until the whole was completed. The different parts have now been bound together and issued under the above title. The Old Testament is split up into four parts or volumes,

<sup>24</sup> *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*. By Arthur S. Peake. London: Bryant, 1904. 193 pages. 2s. 6d.

<sup>25</sup> *The Complete Bible in Modern English*. Translated into English direct from the original Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek languages. By Farrar Fenton. London: Partridge & Co., no date.

arranged after the order of the Jewish canon, except that the Jewish "Prophets" is divided into Vols. II and III. The chapter or paragraph divisions are provided with descriptive headings, and through the historical books, with the dates. The author's independence shows itself in his adoption of his own method of transliterating the proper names. In part he strikes out independently, as when for "Elisha" he reads "Alisha;" for "Tyre," "Tzur;" for "Jehoshaphat," "Jhosphat;" for "Uzziah," "Vzihu." But in the case of most proper names of well-known persons he follows the form which was borrowed from the Vulgate by King James's translators. But we could forgive him some of these aberrations if his translations faithfully represented the original texts. Examination of many passages shows that, particularly in the Old Testament, the translation is not to be relied upon. The author has not kept up with the new philological progress that should be exhibited in every new translation of Scripture. Betimes he gives us a pithy, pointed rendering of the original, but its lack of regard for the simple rules of syntax destroys its value, and discounts our confidence in the general reliability of the work. It is a pity that so much laborious toil could not have been wisely employed, by the assistance of a modern scholar, in giving us a real contribution of a scholarly character in the matter of a translation that would have commanded the instant recognition of capable scholars. In case the author should ever revise his work, he can do a great service, if he will, for the very people for whom the book is said to have been prepared, as well as for the better-trained Bible students.

The students of Hebrew Union College have brought together in an *Annual*<sup>26</sup> matter from a wide range. It is not merely the statistical, nor chiefly that, but contributions of merit from many pens inside and outside of the college. There are three departments of the book. The first or "general department" comprises twenty-five literary contributions of varying degrees of excellence, mainly on Jewish life and literature, by authors in America and Europe. They are mostly brief, but comprehensive, embodying some one or two points that are the kernels of the subject. Among the most notable foreign writers we note the names of Professor Bacher, of Budapest; Mr. Montefiore, of London; and Dr. Karpeles, of Berlin. Dr. Deutsch, of Hebrew Union College, gives an admirable summary of "The Year 1903 in Jewish History;" Morris Rosenfeld contributes a poem entitled "Fränkel," written in Yiddish, which describes "Yiddisches sweat-shop Leben in New York;" and Dr. E. G. Hirsch has

<sup>26</sup> *Hebrew Union College Annual*. Published by the students of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1904. 503 pages.

a live article on "In What Does the Originality of Judaism Consist?" Part II, the encyclopedic department, the most useful and permanent in the volume, was compiled by Dr. Deutsch. It cites for each day of the calendar year the memorable dates in Jewish history. This with its index covers 153 pages. Part III is Hebrew Union College department. Here we find the important events of the college recited; together with excellent portraits of the faculty, and graduates of 1904.

GEORGE S. GOODSPEED.

IRA M. PRICE.

HERBERT L. WILLETT.

### RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS ON EARLY CHRISTIAN AND TALMUDIC LITERATURE

Volume X of the great Berlin edition of the Greek Fathers of the first three centuries contains the fourth volume of the works of Origen.<sup>1</sup> Lic. Dr. Erwin Preuschen, the well-known collaborator of Harnack in his monumental *History of Early Christian Literature*, was charged by the commission with the editing of Origen's commentary on John.<sup>2</sup> The editor has discharged his duties most acceptably and admirably. His work shows the same excellences, critical acumen, and philological discrimination<sup>3</sup> so noticeable in the volumes edited by P. Koetschau and Erich Klostermann. Like its predecessors, the volume consists of the Introduction (pp. ix-cviii), the text (pp. 3-574), and indexes (pp. 575-667); augmented by a page and a half of "Additions and Corrections." To the reviewer as well as to the general reader the introduction is, of course, the great attraction. Here the editor discusses in two long chapters the manuscripts and the history of the printed text, and the origin of the commentary, the exegesis and text of the church father, and Heracleon's notes on the gospel of John.

Of the extant eight manuscripts six (fifteenth to seventeenth century) are mere copies of the two earlier ones, viz., the Monacensis (= M.) graecus 191 (thirteenth century) and the Venetus (graecus 43 = V.) (of the year

<sup>1</sup> Reviews of Vols. I, II, and III of Origen's works are printed in this *Journal*, Vol. IV, pp. 839-44 (October, 1900), and Vol. VII, pp. 336-38 (July, 1903).

<sup>2</sup> *Origenes' Johanneskommentar*. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-Commission der königl. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften von Erwin Preuschen. [= "Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte," Vol. X.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. cviii+668 pages. M. 24.50; bound, M. 27.

<sup>3</sup> In which Paul Wendland has been of the greatest help to the editor, almost four hundred out of the one thousand or more emendations being credited to him alone.



1374). A. E. Brooke was the first scholar to declare V. a copy—or rather a revised edition—of the Monacensis.<sup>4</sup> In Harnack's *Litteratur-Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 391,<sup>5</sup> Preuschen assumed, in addition, a second exemplar for V., thus accounting for the many changes and corrections found in V. He now agrees with Brooke and characterizes V. as the first critical edition of the commentary on John, the work of a philologically well-trained scholar (pp. xxxviii, and xl–xliv). The only direct source for our text is, therefore, M., whose defects and excellences are minutely described (pp. xlv–lvii).

The first printed edition of the Greek text, by Huet, appeared in 1668. It is based on the late codex Parisinus 455, but contains numerous textual corrections and emendations. This edition was preceded by two editions of the Latin translation, of which only the first, that of Ambrogio Ferrari, 1551, is noteworthy. It is based on the text of V., showing, however, many still valuable corrections and changes. The first attempt at a critical edition was made by A. E. Brooke in 1891. Brooke also enjoyed the valuable help and advice of Wendland. The section (pp. lxi–lxxvi) on the catenæ to the gospel closes this first chapter of the Introduction.

Books 1–5 of the commentary were written in Alexandria during the twelve or fourteen years preceding Origen's departure from Alexandria to Cæsarea, in 232, in consequence of his severe controversies with Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria. The other twenty-seven books were composed, probably, during the five years following his settlement at Cæsarea. He dictated the work to his secretaries, to whom he also intrusted the exact copying of biblical references, indications of which we meet with in the text. The whole work, consisting of thirty two books, was deposited in the library at Cæsarea. A selection from nine books is all that is extant. Origen's work is the first complete commentary on the gospel of John, and its author is justly called the founder of scientific exegesis. Prior to it we find only commentaries on individual passages or sections, such as the *Hypotyposes* of Clement of Alexandria,<sup>5</sup> and the notes of Heracleon (pp. cii–cvii).

Origen follows, on the whole, the exegetical method of the Alexandrian school. His philological interpretation is due to the influence of Philo. He does not even attempt to explain the discrepancies of the gospel narrative (X, 2 ff.); and thus gives up the historic accuracy and character of these reports, insisting merely on maintaining the underlying general idea. The

<sup>4</sup> *The Fragments of Heracleon* [= "Texts and Studies," Vol. I, Part 4]. Cambridge, 1891; and *The Commentary of Origen on S. John's Gospel*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1896.

<sup>5</sup> On which see now also Giov. Mercati, *Un frammento delle Ipotiposi di Clemente Alessandrino.—Paralipomena Ambrosiana con alcuni appunti sulle benedizioni del cereo pascale* [= "Studi e testi," 12]. (Roma, 1904; 148 pages.)

commentary is very diffuse and extremely verbose, the entire first book containing the exegesis of only the first five words of the gospel. Book VI begins with the commentary on chap. 1:19, and in the whole thirty-two books only thirteen chapters are commented upon. The tradition that the commentary consisted of thirty-nine books Preuschen declares worthless (p. lxxxi). The text of but eight books is preserved (1, 2, 6, 10, 13, 20, 28, 32); of Book 9 only a part; and fragments of the remainder. Like most of the later productions of Origen, the work was dedicated to Ambrosius, whom, in fun, he once calls *ἐργολύκτης*;<sup>6</sup> but Preuschen's conclusions, based thereon, go somewhat too far (p. lxxvii).

The text (pp. 3-480) is very carefully printed. It is impossible to enter into a detailed criticism of many readings preferred and emendations proposed by Preuschen, Wendland, and Wilamowitz-Möllendorff. Those especially interested in this feature of the editor's work will find excellent supplementary material in such reviews as Erich Klostermann's.<sup>7</sup> Pp. 481-574 contain fragments gathered from catenæ. The material printed is somewhat meager, but the editor explains this satisfactorily by the statement that he was not able to travel from library to library and collate materials himself. As in the preceding volumes containing Origen's writings, we find most copious indexes appended to the text (pp. 575-667).

It is a distinct pleasure to call the reader's attention to the successive brilliant discoveries of the indefatigable Dom Germanus Morin, who lately has specialized on the works of Jerome.<sup>8</sup> Vol. III, Part III, of the *Anecdota Maredsolana*, under discussion, contains homilies on fourteen psalms, found in divers manuscripts, and now for the first time critically edited and explained. Nine of them, on Pss. 10, 15, 82, 84, 87, 89, 92, and 96, were found in the codex Vaticanus lat. 317 (of the year 1554); the codex Vaticanus Ottobon. lat. 478 (sixteenth century), of decidedly inferior

<sup>6</sup> The Septuagint word for "taskmaster," Exod. 5:6.

<sup>7</sup> *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, April, 1904, pp. 265-82.

<sup>8</sup> We mention here "Les monuments de la prédication de saint Jérôme," *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, Vol. I (1896), pp. 393-434; "Quatorze nouveaux discours inédits de saint Jérôme sur les Psaumes," *Revue Bénédictine*, Vol. XIX (1802), pp. 113-44; *Anecdota Maredsolana*, Vol. III, containing pars i, "Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri qui deperditi hactenus putabantur commentarioli in Psalmos," pars ii, "S. H. P. tractatus sive homiliae in Psalmos; in Marci evangelium," etc.; pars iii, "S. H. P. tractatus in Psalmos quattuordecim novissime reperti. Accedunt eiusdem S. Hieronymi in Esaiam tractatus duo, et graeca in Psalmos fragmenta: item Arnobii iunioris Expositiunculæ in Evangelium: una cum praefatione et indicibus ad vol. III, part. ii et iii. Maredsoli apud editorem; Oxoniae apud Parker; 1903. xxiv + 203 pages. 7s. 6d.

value; and the codex S. Marci Venet. lat., Class. I, xciv (twelfth century) which appears to be the best of the three, for it seems to be more directly based upon a still more ancient exemplar. The codex Laurent. Medic. Florentin. Plut. XVIII, xx (eleventh century) contains six of these nine homilies (82, 84, 87, 88, 89, 92) and, in addition, five more (on Pss. 83, 90, 91, 93, and 95). Style, diction, vocabulary, and the well-known exegetical method of Jerome are clearly to be seen in these homilies, especially when compared with many other passages from Jerome's authentic writings. From the point of view of oratory they present splendid specimens, if the defects naturally attaching to all improvised speeches are overlooked. Internal evidence of Jerome's authorship is found, in addition, at the close of the homily on Ps. 15, where he mentions his "book on the Hebrew Questions."<sup>9</sup>

In these homilies also Jerome shows himself an ardent controversialist who spareth not his texts in order to confound his enemies and smite his adversaries. Never does he neglect an opportunity to combat most ferociously the Origenists.<sup>10</sup> The closing words of the homily on Ps. 87 indicate that most of these addresses were delivered immediately preceding communion services.<sup>11</sup> The text of the homilies (pp. 1-94) is followed by two homilies, by the same Father, on Isaiah 1: 1-6, and 6: 1-7 (pp. 97-122). The second discourse was pronounced by Jerome at the time of his most bitter fight against the Origenists (402 A. D.).<sup>12</sup> Some Greek fragments by Jerome on the Psalms are printed on pp. 122-28. That the Father is the author of all, or any, of these is very difficult to prove or disprove. See the editor's acute remarks in the Preface, pp. xix, xx.

The fragments of notes on the gospel by Arnobius (pp. 131-51) are good specimens of the ultra-spiritual exegesis for which the writer is known to history. Five indexes, to Vol. III, Parts II and III (pp. 155-203), close

<sup>9</sup> "SABA enim verbum, ut in libro quoque Hebraicarum Quaestionum diximus, quattuor res significat: plenitudinem et satietatem, iuramentum et septem" (p. 31).

<sup>10</sup> See pp. 54, 56, 62, and Morin's notes.

<sup>11</sup> "Si voluerimus totum psalmum exponere, videmur nobismetipsis moram facere, quos iam hora compellit ad carnes Salvatoris veri agni et immaculata conscientia in unitate pacis accedere, ut possimus digne caelesti pane saturari, per Christum Jesum Dominum nostrum" (p. 50).

<sup>12</sup> See Preface, pp. xviii, xix. Date, as well as genuineness, is maintained, on the one hand, against Ambrosius M. Amelli (*S. Hieronymi Stridonensis presbyteri Tractatus contra Origenem de visione Esaiæ*, etc., 1901), dating it to the year 381, when, Jerome was still a youth; and, on the other hand, against Giov. Mercati (*Revue biblique*, July, 1901, pp. 385-92), who doubted the genuineness of Jerome's authorship of this treatise. See Morin, "Le Nouveau Traité de S. Jérôme sur la Vision d'Isaïe édité par Dom A. Amelli," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, October, 1907, pp. 810 ff., and "Pour l'authenticité du Traité sur la Vision d'Isaïe," *ibid.*, January, 1902, pp. 30 ff.

this volume of the *Anecdota Maredsolana*. May it be our pleasure to welcome many more volumes of these studies by the erudite Benedictine author.

Adolf Büchler's name is well known to students of Jewish history immediately preceding and following the time of Jesus Christ. He has chosen a subject<sup>13</sup> on which much has been published by Jewish and Christian scholars.<sup>14</sup> The author, in contrast to many of his predecessors makes use principally of the tannaitic tradition in talmudic and midrashic literature, which he considers as wholly reliable so long as convincing proof to the contrary is not adduced. He deplores and deprecates the unscientific and prejudiced attitude to the Talmud of such scholars as Kuenen, Wellhausen, Schürer, and others, who reject talmudic reports whenever those of Josephus and of the gospels differ from them.

In the first of the four chapters the author discusses the לשכת הגזית, the hall *Gazith*, or hewn-stone chamber, the place where the Great Sanhedrin, called *beth-din*, assembled. It was located on the west side of the inner court of the temple and had two exits—one leading from the court of the priests, for purposes of sacrifice, and another from the water-gate, for the people. Josephus, assuming that the βουλή was located in the city or on the west side of the temple mount, is proof of the fact that the βουλή and the *beth-din*, in the hall *Gazith*, are distinct and different councils. Later on the Great Sanhedrin or *beth-din* was transferred from the hall *Gazith* to the east hall of the temple, and, still later, had its meeting-place in the city proper.

Chap. 2 is concerned with the nature and constituency of the council or tribunal, meeting in the hall *Gazith*. This body is by no means identical with the Sanhedrin mentioned by Josephus and in the gospels, although both have the same name, existed at the same time, and represented themselves as the supreme Jewish authority of city and land. As a matter of fact, the one is a religious tribunal, regulating the work of temple and priests, of religious life, sacrifices, etc.;<sup>15</sup> the other, a civic authority, having charge also—in a limited manner—of criminal affairs and judicial matters in general, and regulating civic observances peculiar to the Jewish nation

<sup>13</sup> *Das Synedrion in Jerusalem und das grosse Beth-Din in der Quaderkammer des Jerusalemischen Tempels*. Wien: Hölder, 1902. viii+252 pages. M. 6.

<sup>14</sup> See Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*<sup>3</sup>, Vol. II, pp. 188 ff.

<sup>15</sup> "Die Verfügungen des *beth-din* befassten sich zum grossen Teile mit dem Opferdienste und mit allem was mit den Personen und Gegenständen desselben zusammenhängt: dann mit der Erfüllung der an den Bodenertrag sich knüpfenden Satzungen, der über die Feldecke, den zweiten Zehnt, das Brachjahr, die gemischten Arten; schliesslich auch mit der Überwachung der Beobachtung des Religionsgesetzes überhaupt" (p. 98).

(see *Sanhedr.*, xi, 2-4). The reports that this latter tribunal at times met in one of the halls of the temple, probably the par-hedrin hall, does not militate against the view expressed. The civic Sanhedrin in Jerusalem—that body to which Josephus and the gospels refer—consisted of high-ranking priests and the old aristocracy of the city. Their reserved, aristocratic character was always preserved, only a small portion of it being ever pharisaic-democratic. The priests originally controlling the *beth-din*, in the hall *Gazziḥ*, were for a time supplanted by the Pharisees, whose influence can be seen on many occasions. It is true that even during the decade or two preceding the destruction of the temple the Sadducean teachings were predominant, though on public occasions due regard was taken of the pharisaic interpretation of the Law. The *beth-din* replaced the individual priest. This fact proves that it was originally composed of the chief priests; and when the Pharisees gained control in the *beth-din*, we find, at the same time, the כהנים existing as a corporate body, maintaining their authority independent of the *beth-din*. It is very probable that, instead of the reputed number of seventy-one, the *beth-din* numbered in reality only twenty-three members. In addition to it there were meeting, at times, on the temple mount two other bodies, each numbering twenty-three members.<sup>16</sup> The number seventy-one referred to the joint-meeting of the three bodies.

Chap. 3 discusses the president of the great *beth-din*, the Great Council in Jerusalem. In four sections the author speaks of Gamaliel I., *ha-zakēn*, and his son Simon; of Hillel and the title of ruler (נשיא=*nāsī*); and of Shemaiah and Abtalion<sup>17</sup> and their predecessors. These men were legal-religious authorities, leaders and presidents of that highest body—the successor of the biblical עדה—governing and directing the religious affairs of Jerusalem and the nation, identical, not with the Sanhedrin of Josephus, but with the בית דין הגדול שבירושלם. They are called נשיא and אב בית דין (*ab-beth-din*), the former title, adopted probably by the Pharisees; the latter indicating a pre-eminent position in that body—next to the *nāsī*, perhaps the leader of the college under the supervision of the *beth-din*.<sup>18</sup> This perhaps explains the statement of Paul in Acts

<sup>16</sup> See pp. 109, 110, 128, 129, n. 111.

<sup>17</sup> Also called Pollion or Ptolion; a leader of the Pharisees in the middle of the first century B. C., and by tradition vice-president of the Great Sanhedrin of Jerusalem; teacher and predecessor of Hillel.

<sup>18</sup> Jelski, *Die innere Einrichtung des grossen Sanhedrions*, pp. 22-28, however, states that the *nāsī* was the high-priest, while *ab-beth-din* was a pharisaic *tanna* (see Emil G. Hirsch, article "High priest," in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. VI, p. 593, col. 2, below).

22:3, that he had sat at the feet of Gamaliel. Hillel, Gamaliel, and Simon were never presidents of the Great Sanhedrin of Josephus, but only of the *beth-din* in Jerusalem, the highest court in religious matters. In their capacity as religious leaders of the nation they were, at the same time, members of the Sanhedrin, in which they exercised great influence owing to their learning and force of character, but never held any office.

Chap. 4 takes up the position of the high-priest in temple and nation. Büchler denies that the high-priest was ever the political representative of the nation in the administration of the province of Judea. He was merely the ecclesiastical leader in the Jewish temple at Jerusalem. It is true that he belonged to the political body of the *ἀρχιερεῖς*, but he was simply one of them, and only, as presiding officer, at times *primus inter pares*.<sup>19</sup> It is usually assumed that this body is identical with the Sanhedrin, the supreme court of justice, because in the gospels the same groups are mentioned as parts of the Sanhedrin which in Josephus hold the political leadership in Jerusalem. Reports, however, are too scanty and fragmentary to yield an accurate knowledge of the position and character, the work and influence, of the Sanhedrin, mentioned by Josephus and in the gospels. The Roman procurator, but never the Jewish king, granted the Sanhedrin and its presiding officer, the high-priest, some sort of power or influence.<sup>20</sup> Only so long as the *beth-din* in the hall *Gazzith* was composed of high dignitaries of the temple, i. e., Sadducean in character, did the high-priest have influence with and power over this ecclesiastical body. As soon as the *beth-din* became pharisaic in its composition, the high-priest and his followers had to submit to their decisions, and the sacrifices and the worship of the temple were performed in accordance with the pharisaic interpretation of the Law.

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<sup>19</sup> Hirsch, *loc. cit.*, says: "The high priest was the presiding officer in the Sanhedrin. This view conflicts with the later Jewish tradition, according to which the Pharisaic *tannaim* (the *Zuggim*) at the head of the academies presided over the great Sanhedrin also. However, a careful reading of the sources, as well as the fact that in the post-Maccabean period the high priest was looked upon as exercising in all things political, legal, and sacerdotal supreme authority, shows it to be almost certain that the presidency of the Sanhedrin was vested in the high priests."

<sup>20</sup> "The high-priesthood had changed greatly in character, in so far as it ceased to be a hereditary and a life office. High priests were appointed and removed with great frequency. This may account for the otherwise strange use of the title in the plural (*ἀρχιερεῖς*) in the New Testament and in Josephus. The deposed priests seem to have retained the title and to have continued to exercise certain functions."—Hirsch, *loc. cit.*

## NEW LIGHT ON THE GERMAN REFORMATION

We have several books pertaining to the sources of our knowledge of the German Reformation.

The first<sup>1</sup> brings us a careful study of the mediating policy of Erasmus, and of his contributions to the more evanescent controversial literature of the early Reformation period. It contains also a document, hitherto unpublished, giving some account, by a personal witness, of the Regensburg Colloquy of 1541. It is a pity that these papers, with subjects so wide apart, should be bound together in a single volume.

The next of these books<sup>2</sup> brings together in a convenient form the ninety-five theses of Luther, and the literature for and against them which they at once occasioned. These documents have been published often, but they are assembled here in a form which renders it especially easy to study them. The text has been edited critically.

The third of these books,<sup>3</sup> containing the earliest ethical disputations of Luther, shows that the German Reformation sprang from moral, rather than from doctrinal, considerations, and that the theological revolt came later.

The most interesting and novel of these books<sup>4</sup> is a portrayal of Wittenberg as it was in 1507, shortly before Luther became connected with its university. The basis of the book is another book, hitherto not known to the world, but discovered by the editor in 1898 in the library of the University of Jena. The author of this forgotten book was Andreas Meinhard, a graduate of Leipzig, who had found employment at Wittenberg as an instructor, and naturally thought well of his new home. His book was intended to be romantic and popular, but it is only fantastic.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Vermittlungspolitik des Erasmus und sein Anteil an den Flugschriften der ersten Reformationszeit.* Von P. Kalkoff. *Antonius Corvinus' ungedruckter Bericht vom Kolloquium zu Regensburg 1541.* Von Paul Tschackert. Berlin: Schwetschke & Sohn, 1903. 97 pages. M. 4.40.

<sup>2</sup> *Luthers 95 Thesen samt seinen Resolutionen sowie den Gegenschriften von Wimpina-Tetzel, Eck und Prierias und den Antworten Luthers darauf.* Kritische Ausgabe mit kurzen Erläuterungen. Von W. Köhler. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. vii + 211 pages. M. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Die ältesten ethischen Disputationen Luthers.* Herausgegeben von Carl Stange. Leipzig: Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachfolger (Georg Böhme), 1904. xiv + 75 pages. M. 1.60.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Universität Wittenberg vor dem Eintritt Luthers.* Nach der Schilderung des Mag. Andreas Meinhardi vom Jahre 1507. Von Johannes Haussleiter. Zweiter Abdruck mit Textbeilagen. Leipzig: Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachfolger (Georg Böhme), 1903. 88 pages. M. 1.60.

It has for machinery a terrible storm, a wonderful dream, and various gods and goddesses. He tells us more about the city and the collection of relics in the castle church than about the university. He reaches the conclusion that,

through the labors of the Christian princes, Frederic and John, the place has advanced from a village to a city, from a village of clay to a city of stone, from an unholy village to a holy city, from an intellectually indolent village to an intellectually active city, from a poor village to a rich city, from a drunken village to a sober city, from an ignoble village to a noble city, from a peasant village to a city of free citizens, from an ignorant village to a learned city, from a weak village to a strong city, from an unknown village to a famous city, and perhaps to the most famous.

It is time to take breath. As we do so, let us be grateful both to the author and to the editor for this amusing yet faithful picture of the cradle of the Reformation as it was when Luther was about to begin his stormy career in it.

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#### THE ACTS OF PAUL

Scholars have long wondered how it happened that so important a document as the *Acts of Paul* should have failed to survive among the remains of early Christian literature. The work was of early date, as references to it in Origen, if not in Clement, testify. It was held in high honor, as Eusebius, Augustine, and several early lists of the New Testament books abundantly prove. And it was much longer than most of the other early Christian writings, as is shown by the number of *stichoi* given in the Codex Claromontanus and Nicephorus. What became of this important apochryphon? During the past seven years everyone has been made aware that it had not completely perished, after all, but that considerable sections of it existed under other names. It was in 1897 that Dr. Carl Schmidt announced his discovery of a Coptic version<sup>1</sup> of the *Acts* among the Reinhardt papyri at Heidelberg.<sup>2</sup> He informed the world that the original work contained three ancient Christian documents, viz., the well-known *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, the apochryphal correspondence with the Corinthians, and the *Martyrdom of Paul*. Enough of the Coptic text

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift Nr. 1*. Herausgegeben von Carl Schmidt. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. Textband: Uebersetzung, Untersuchungen und koptischer Text, viii+240+80 pages. Tafelband: xii+80 pages. M. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, Vol. VII, pp. 117 ff.



was recovered to prove the unity of the whole, which was soon strikingly verified by Harnack through his critical study of the *Caena Cypriani*.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile Zahn had the satisfaction of knowing that, in the case of the Corinthian letters and the *Martyrdom*, his own conjectures had been verified.<sup>4</sup> The title of the work is found subscribed on p. 58 of the papyrus, and reads (if we accept Schmidt's restoration) "Acts of Paul according to the Apostle"—that is, they are based on his authority, if not indeed written by him.

It is very interesting to follow the successive steps by which the editor was led to identify the various fragments, and to arrange them in order, on the basis of the stichometries and the texts of Lipsius. The manuscript had suffered grievous mutilation, being torn into more than two thousand pieces, many of which were so small as to make their identification practically impossible. Only one sheet remained nearly enough intact to show the size of the original pages (Plates 21 and 22). Schmidt estimates that about one-third of the entire work has been recovered. Obviously much of the arrangement must at present be regarded as provisional. Clemen has gone over the ground independently, in connection with his recent work on the apostle Paul,<sup>5</sup> and has reached results which differ considerably from Schmidt's.<sup>6</sup> He thinks that in the general course of the apostle's travels, the apochryphal *Acts* follow the canonical more closely than does Schmidt.

Of historical information respecting Paul, in the strict sense, there is none in the *Acts* now published. Persons and places otherwise known do certainly appear, but the account of Paul's missionary journeyings, preaching, and miracles is invented. The author apparently tries to give verisimilitude to his narrative by making use of data contained in the New Testament, but in free and arbitrary combination, and he is particularly fond of the miraculous. His Paul heals the sick, raises the dead, contends with demons and overcomes them, casts down idols, and destroys heathen temples, as if these were every-day occurrences. He journeys from the Syrian (?) Antioch, through Iconium, Myra, Sidon, Tyre, Philippi, and (probably) Jerusalem, ending at Rome, where he suffers martyrdom. Clemen throws doubts upon the view that the Syrian Antioch is intended, and argues in favor of the Pisidian city. It is to be regretted that the manuscript should be in comparatively good condition in the portions best

<sup>3</sup> *T. U.*, Vol. XIX (1899), p. 3; Vol. XX (1900), p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, Vol. II, pp. 611, 877.

<sup>5</sup> *Paulus: Sein Leben und Wirken* (Giessen, 1904).

<sup>6</sup> See *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. III (1904), pp. 228 ff.

known to us, and in poor condition in parts otherwise unknown. For example, following p. 40 of the manuscript there is a long section of which only fragments remain, from which it appears that Paul's attitude toward the Jewish law is under discussion. We are able to make out a sort of diluted Paulinism. "Man is not justified through the law"—that sounds like Paul—"but he is justified through the works (!) of righteousness." To find parallels to that kind of teaching one must look, not to the canonical epistles, but to such documents as *II Clement*.<sup>7</sup> We can only lament that so little remains to show how a second-century writer really conceived of Paulinism.

Eager but fruitless search has been made to identify the quotations which Origen preserves from these apochryphal *Acts*.<sup>8</sup> Clemen thinks the words ἀνωθεν μέλλω σταυρωθῆναι perhaps stood at the end of the speech on p. 60 of the plates. It seems to me not improbable that the quotation from "the apostle Paul" given by Clement of Alexandria,<sup>9</sup> thus far unidentified, may have come from the neighboring context, where Paul (?) says: "Truly God is One, and no God but He exists . . ." (Plate 59). The words which follow relate to Jesus Christ. In Clement the passage reads: "Take also the Hellenic books. Read the *Sibyl*, how it is shown that God is one, and how the future is indicated, And, taking *Hystaspes*, read and you will find the Son of God much more clearly described," etc. But neither the *Sibyl* nor *Hystaspes* is to be read in the mutilated text of our *Acts*.

The "talking lion" of Commodian<sup>10</sup> has not been located, nor has the "baptized lion" of Jerome.<sup>11</sup> Rolffs thinks he has solved the riddle of the latter by his theory that Jerome misinterpreted Tertullian's *bestia*,<sup>12</sup> and Schmidt accepts Rolff's explanation.<sup>13</sup> According to this view, the story of a lion's being baptized was Jerome's invention. Krüger has conclusively shown that Rolffs and Schmidt are wrong.<sup>14</sup> He stoutly maintains that both the "lion" stories are taken from the *Acts of Paul*, and would be found there, if the complete work were before us. Another subject on which our *Acts* are silent is the Spanish journey. After a conflict with Nero, Paul is put to death in Rome. There is certainly room enough in the unrecovered portions of the book for a trip to Spain (as Clemen

<sup>7</sup> Cf., e. g., *II Clement*, 19, 3, "Let us therefore practice righteousness, that we may be saved unto the end."

<sup>8</sup> Origen, *Commentarium in Johannem*, XX, 12; *De Principiis*, I, 2, 3.

<sup>9</sup> *Stromata*, VI, 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Carmen Apolog.*, 627 f.

<sup>11</sup> *De Vir.*, III, 7.

<sup>12</sup> *De baptismo*, 7; cf. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, pp. 358 f.

<sup>13</sup> *Acta Pauli*, p. 153.

<sup>14</sup> *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. V (1904), p. 166.

maintains against Schmidt), yet it is difficult to see just where, in the story as we know it, such a missionary journey would fall. While not perhaps excluded by our *Acts*, that hypothetical chapter in Paul's life is not rendered any more probable by them (cf. Clemen). It is evident, however, that there is still room for hypothesis and conjecture respecting parts of this interesting document.

In view of what has already been ascertained by Schmidt and other scholars we may without hesitation follow our editor in the view that when<sup>15</sup> Tertullian speaks of "writings wrongly passing under Paul's name," he is referring to the *Acts of Paul*. Tertullian says the work was written by an Asiatic presbyter, out of love for Paul, whose fame he wished to augment, but that, instead of gaining credit by his performance, he was removed from office. This settles, within reasonably narrow limits, such questions as those of date, place, and authorship. To be sure, we do not know the presbyter's name, but we do know that the *Acts* were written by an orthodox and not by an heretical writer, as Lipsius persistently maintained. It is something also to know that the author was in priest's orders, for just then the presbyters were very influential in the churches of Asia and of the west. The date cannot be long before Tertullian's *De baptismo*. Schmidt assigns the book to about 180 A. D. That "Asia" was the place is not any too definite. More suggestive, and by no means improbable, is the theory which Schmidt puts forward on the basis of his study of the Asiatic inscriptions gathered into Boeckh's *Corpus*, where he finds that a large proportion of the names mentioned in the *Acts* occur in inscriptions from Smyrna.<sup>16</sup> Smyrna may well have been the place of composition.

With regard to the character of our document, all that need be said is that it is fiction. Schmidt vehemently denounces the author as a "beispiellos geschickter und scrupelloser Fälscher" (p. 202). The value of his work consists in the light it casts upon popular Christianity in the latter part of the second century. From the *Acts of Paul* and from *II Clement* one may gain a fairly definite view of the ideas current among the adherents of growing catholicism. In extending Christianity through missionary channels, Schmidt regards the influence of our *Acts* as far more potent than that of the doctrinal works of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen, so dear to the hearts of the historians of dogma. That the *Acta* enjoyed full canonical authority in some sections of the church is beyond reasonable doubt. Harnack has shown that in southern Gaul (probably), and about the fifth century, they were sometimes appealed to from choice, rather than the canonical *Acts of the Apostles*. It was probably about this same

<sup>15</sup> *De baptismo*, 17.

<sup>16</sup> *Acta*, p. 205, note.

time that the book was divided up, and began to circulate in parts under other names—a fact which may be partly accounted for by the popularity the apochryphal books of acts enjoyed among Manichæans and Priscillianists, which tended to destroy their favor among the orthodox.

All scholars will unite in congratulating Dr. Schmidt on the completion of his laborious task, and in thanking him for rendering such patient service to the common cause, knowing all the while that his results were bound to be fragmentary and his conclusions in part only tentative.

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### THE LIFE AND WORK OF JESUS

Christian literature in our day is exceedingly rich in excellent treatises on the life and ministry of Jesus, written from almost every conceivable point of view. Some of these books, like Weiss's *Leben Jesu*, or Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, or Keim's *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, are monuments of painstaking industry and erudition. Many of these lives of Jesus mark an advance in our knowledge of the time in which Jesus lived, and lead to a better and fuller understanding of his recorded words. The question may, therefore, not be deemed inappropriate when a new book<sup>1</sup> on the life of Jesus comes up for review, whether it is an addition to what we already have. Dr. Barton's book will not take the place of the more scholarly treatises just mentioned, but it has several features which will win for it a large and grateful class of readers. It is written in an attractive style, fresh and picturesque, by a clergyman who has had much opportunity during his pulpit ministrations to acquaint himself with the gospel records of Jesus' life. The evidences of this pulpit preparation are very marked in the book. Thus, for example, in chap. xx, "the boy with the basket" is the starting-point for an interesting tale on the general usefulness of the small boy. The special feature of the book, however, is the richness of its illustrations. The author has succeeded in bringing together with good judgment about 350 half-tone pictures, the greater number from the masters in Christian art. To these are added illustrations taken from photographs on the spot. These illustrations are calculated to make the life of Jesus and the scenes of his ministry seem real, but they may also confuse the imagination by their very great number

<sup>1</sup> *Jesus of Nazareth: The Story of His Life and the Scenes of His Ministry*. With a chapter on "The Christ of Art." By William E. Barton. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1903. 558 pages. \$2.50, net.

and cause the text to be left unread. In the last one hundred pages of the book the author has added a popular excursus on the influence of Jesus on art. The text in this chapter is too brief to be of any special service to one who has no previous knowledge of Christian art, but the illustrations which accompany the text are among the finest in the book.

Quite in contrast with the book just noted is a volume<sup>2</sup> which might not inappropriately have been entitled a "Jewish Life of Jesus." The book is an imaginative sketch of Jesus as he appeared to a member of the Sanhedrin which condemned him to death. Thirty years after this occurrence this sanhedrist recalls for the benefit of a Greek friend of his the incidents of the rejection of Jesus by the Jews. The book is cleverly written, but with such a naïve confidence in the "conclusions"—which very often are only ingenious guesses—of some radical critics on the question of the sources for the life of Jesus, that one questions whether the author himself knows anything at all about this great historical question. In the opinion of the author, the canonical gospels contain too much that is mythical and legendary, and cannot tell us the "story" of Jesus; oftentimes the apocryphal gospels follow, according to Jacobs, a more primitive tradition than do our gospels; it is probable that "the majority of speeches placed in Jesus' mouth by the fourth evangelist were obviously concocted *ad hoc*." These are some of the author's "conclusions." The less one knows of the synoptical problem or of the Johannine question, the more readily does this way suggest itself of settling the question as to the relation of the canonical gospels to the other contemporary literature of the apostolic age. The author's bland assertion that it remained for a Jew to call attention to the only reliable "sources" from which the "story" of the life of Jesus ought to be written is only an added evidence of his lack of knowledge of the important critical question with which Christians have concerned themselves. The book hardly merits the extended notice we have given it.

It is stimulating to mark the positive, aggressive, and yet discriminating note which characterizes the apologetic literature of our day. Mr. Ballard's pamphlet<sup>3</sup> is a reprint of chap. viii of his larger work entitled *The Miracles of Unbelief*, which has just passed through its fourth edition. The gospel literature portrays Jesus as the "purest, sweetest, and noblest character in all human history." He must have been such a man, or a conscious liar, or a self-deluded fanatic. But it is impossible to believe

<sup>2</sup> *As Others Saw Him: A Retrospect, A. D. 54.* By Joseph Jacobs. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1903. 230 pages. \$1.25.

<sup>3</sup> *Jesus Christ, His Origin and Character.* By Frank Ballard. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903. 32 pages. \$0.20, net.

that the mightiest movement toward all that is purest and best in the spiritual uplift of the race could have been originated either by a wilful deceiver or a deluded fanatic.

Dr. Sachse's pamphlet,<sup>4</sup> while having the same apologetic end in view, lays emphasis upon the reasonableness of faith in a supernatural Christ. This faith he describes as a mighty impression of God on the soul and a fact in the believer's experience. In the case of the disciples of Jesus this faith was of gradual growth, from trust in him as a worker of miracles to the grateful acknowledgment of him as the giver of eternal life. Christians today are not obliged to pass through these several processes, because the glory of Jesus is now apparent to all who will take interest enough in personal religion to find out. The object of the believer's faith is the Christ whose matchless life attests the claim he made to be the Savior of the world. He could not at one and the same time be the Savior of mankind and a self-deceived dreamer.

To Christian apologetics belongs also a volume by Dr. Faunce,<sup>5</sup> which defends the proposition that a belief in the reality of Christianity presupposes as its basis the credibility of the historical records respecting Christ's virgin birth, his resurrection and ascension. Dr. Faunce's definition of Christianity is noteworthy: "that series of events belonging to the earthly career of Jesus Christ which began with his advent and closed with the ascension."

On the *teachings* of Jesus there lie before us three volumes, the first of which embodies the class lectures of the late principal of Manitoba College, at Winnipeg, Dr. King. The title<sup>6</sup> accurately defines the scope of the book. It is not a biblical theology of the entire New Testament, but a systematic presentation of the doctrinal, ethical, and eschatological teachings of Jesus Christ. Dr. King uses the word "theology" in its broadest sense, as a setting forth of all of God's relations to man. The method of the book is not the one usually employed, at least not in the older treatises on dogmatic theology. All doctrinal statements, while broadly used at first as propositions, are nevertheless conclusions derived from a careful, and at times somewhat lengthy, exegetical study of relevant Scripture passages. This makes the book very serviceable for

<sup>4</sup> *Wesen und Wachstum des Glaubens an Jesum Christum.* Von Eugen Sachse. Barmen: Wappertaler Traktat-Gesellschaft, 1903. 23 pages. M. 0.30.

<sup>5</sup> *Advent and Ascension; or, How Christ Came and How He Left Us.* By D. W. Faunce. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1903. 215 pages. \$0.75.

<sup>6</sup> *The Theology of Christ's Teaching.* By John M. King. Chicago: Revell, 1903. xx+484 pages.

class-room work. The field of inquiry, by being limited to the study of the four gospels, makes the teaching of Jesus stand out more prominently than in treatises which operate on a wider basis. The author does not argue the question as to whether we have trustworthy accounts of the teaching of Jesus in our canonical gospels, nor does he recognize any variations of conceptions as to Christ's teaching between the synoptists on the one hand and the fourth gospel on the other. He blends the teaching of the four gospels. At this point criticism may assail the book. It is not to be expected either that Dr. King's interpretation of every passage from the gospels will have the assent of New Testament scholars. Indeed, we have come across entire sections in which a preconceived doctrinal, and once a sectarian, bias is plainly discernible; but these are minor blemishes.

The second book<sup>7</sup> contains the Cole Lectures for 1903, delivered before the Vanderbilt University by Bishop Hendrix, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and are on the general subject of the teaching of Jesus. The course comprises six lectures, to which is prefixed a short "Foreword," in which the bishop states his position, in a general way, toward Christ and his teaching in these words: "Christ is the true realized religion for humanity; . . . he alone can solve all the perplexing questions as to the possibilities or even permanence of our race. . . . Less than a divine child means less than a redeemed race." This general attitude finds amplification in the lectures which deal respectively with "The Person of Christ," "The Human Life of Jesus," "The Immanent Christ," "The Atonement," "The Church," and "Christ's Ascension into Heaven."

The title of the third book<sup>8</sup> suggests another volume on dogmatics, but one finds on opening the book that it contains sixteen sermons on some of the greatest themes of the gospels. The author is a believer in a supernatural gospel, and he wants others to believe also. He speaks with great emphasis on the divinity of Christ, on the atonement, and on future retribution; but he does not become polemic, nor does he once defend any one theory in preference to another.

Any new treatise on the atonement must expect to be asked the question in our day whether in subject-matter or in manner of treatment there is that in it which will justify an addition to the already bulky and scholarly tomes we now possess on this important Christian doctrine. There is, we

<sup>7</sup>*The Religion of the Incarnation*. [The Cole Lectures for 1903.] By E. R. Hendrix. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1903. xii + 270 pages. \$1.

<sup>8</sup>*The Teaching of Jesus*. By George Jackson. New York: Armstrong, 1903. xii + 252 pages. \$1.25, net.

believe, room for Dr. Terry's new book.<sup>9</sup> It is a volume of moderate proportions, yet sufficiently full and accurate to make it acceptable to both the Bible scholar and the general reader. The author approaches his subject, not from the dogmatic, but from the exegetical point of view, and endeavors to give us an exposition of what the Bible writers have taught on the mediatorial work of Jesus Christ. The first four chapters are of a somewhat introductory nature: the ideals of the Incarnation as they are met with in the great ethnic religions, the fact of mediation as it is seen in the priestly service and the levitical ritual of the Jews, and in the thought of the Psalms and the Prophets. With chap. v the author takes up the conception of Christ's mediatorial work in the synoptic gospels, in the fourth gospel, in the other Johannine writings, in the letters of Peter and Paul, and in the epistle to the Hebrews. He is of the opinion that we must not look for any doctrinal statements on the significance of the death of Christ in the gospels, because in these writings we have the simple announcement of the fact of suffering by the Savior himself, and not the reflection of the disciples on these words. In the epistolary literature we may expect to find this fuller and more dogmatic treatment. The author devotes the major part of his volume to this literature. Some of the author's conclusions may be noted: On the significance of Christ's sacrificial death all the writers of the New Testament are in substantial agreement; they describe this death in symbolic and metaphoric language, which needs careful translation; the necessity for the atonement lies not only in the nature of God, but also in that of man, yet the sufferings of Christ were not penal; Christ's mediation was a continuous process rather than a finished work; it was essentially spiritual, and becomes personally effectual through faith.

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### SOME RECENT MISSIONARY LITERATURE

*Les Contemporains* is an illustrated weekly periodical published in Paris, each issue being made up of a short biography of some great man of the century. In this particular collection<sup>1</sup> of the issues of *Les Contemporains* the saints have been sorted out from the sinners, and twenty-four lives of

<sup>9</sup> *The Mediation of Jesus Christ*. By Milton S. Terry. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1903. 208 pages.

<sup>1</sup> *Les religieux et missionnaires contemporains*. Première série. Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse. 400 pages.



monks and missionaries of the Roman Catholic church in France, written by different hands, are brought together. Among these French ecclesiastics, one Englishman has found a place—Frederick William Faber, of Oxford, the writer of hymns sung today in all our churches, whose “submission” to the Roman Catholic church preceded by about a year that of John Henry Newman. Two names beside, familiar to Protestants, are found in the list—those of Lacordaire and of Père Damien, the apostle to the leper colony of Molokai. These lives appear, in general, to be written by ecclesiastics for the edification of the faithful, and for that purpose they are admirably adapted. For readers who are not already in sympathy with the Catholic church, and prepared to accept without question its miracles, their interest is not great. The student of missions, however, will find information of some value regarding the work of the Catholic church in Africa and China not easily accessible elsewhere.

The “Standing Committee” to which we are indebted for these reports<sup>a</sup> was organized at the third General Conference of Missionaries in Japan, held at Tokyo in January, 1902, with representatives of the various evangelical Christian missions, “to serve” in the words of its constitution, “as a general medium of reference, communication, and effort for the co-operating missions in matters of common interest and in co-operative enterprises.” In the two successive pamphlets published by the Standing Committee a comprehensive “General Survey” of the political situation and the business world of Japan is followed by a report in considerable detail of its Christian activities, educational, social, evangelistic. “The Christian Movement,” as defined by the Standing Committee, includes not only the work of the evangelical churches and the schools under their control, but that also of the Russo-Greek and Roman Catholic churches, together with philanthropic endeavor in many forms— orphanages, hospitals, temperance, and social-purity work, and attempts to better the social and moral condition of factory operatives. Two significant facts appear in these reports. First, there are plainly in Japan an increasing impatience with sectarianism in any form and an increasing demand for the largest possible ecclesiastical co-operation. Witness the movement for the compilation of a “union hymnbook” and the recommendation on the part of the Standing Committee of methods by which the transfer of members from one church to another, “among denominations whose faith and practice it is to interchange transfers,” may be facilitated. Secondly,

<sup>a</sup> *The Christian Movement in its Relation to the New Life in Japan-Yokohoma*. Published for the Standing Committee of Co-operating Christian Missions, 1903. 157 pages.—The same, second issue, 1904. 245 pages.

the Kumaian churches and the Church of Christ in Japan, the Congregational and Presbyterian bodies which are not only self-supporting, but quite independent of missionary control, set at naught by their unabated prosperity the fears of some of the friends of missions at home when these Japanese Christians insisted that they were competent to manage their own affairs. Christian missionaries in Japan will see to it, let us hope, that *The Christian Movement*, of which this brief account has been given, gets a wide circulation at home. These pamphlets, and in particular the latest of them, contain a store of trustworthy, first-hand information, not readily found elsewhere, concerning the Christian life of a country which the Christian world is watching today with solicitude and with hope.

The four books which have been the outcome so far of the movement for a system of united study among all the women's foreign missionary societies in the world—*Via Christi*, *Lux Christi*, *Rex Christus*, and *Dux Christus*—are fairly good, somewhat better, and very good indeed in the order named. *Via Christi* has already been noticed in this *Journal*.

*Lux Christi: An Outline Study of India*,<sup>3</sup> begins with the Aryan invasion and ends with the Student Volunteer movement. Out of its two hundred and eighty pages, it gives eighty-five to the geography and history of India, forty-four to a description of the people and the religions of India, fifty to the general history of Christian missions in India, Catholic and Protestant, and forty-seven to the chapter entitled "A Century of Work for Women." This would appear to be disproportionate treatment, even in a book professedly written for women students. The account of the beginnings of Protestant missions in southern India under Ziegenbalg is very meager, and Schwartz, one of the great names in the Christian annals of India, does not even appear in the index. Henry Martyn is dismissed in a sentence. The most interesting and significant story of the struggle of the missionary societies and the Christian public of England with the East India Company for the toleration of missions, and the abandonment of "government support of idolatry" in the early part of the last century, is obscurely told, if it can be said to be told at all, in a page and a half. No adequate account is given of Dr. Duff and his educational policy and achievement. A small book must omit something; but the author of this small book which omits so much can afford to give no less than forty pages to scrappy "illustrative selections" in prose and verse. It should in justice be added that *Lux Christi* is well equipped with tables of dates and statistics,

<sup>3</sup> *Lux Christi*. By Caroline Atwater Mason. *Rex Christus*. By Arthur H. Smith. *Dux Christus*. By W. E. Griffis. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902-1904. Pp. 280, 256, 296. Price, each, paper, 30 cents.

and with lists of the most accessible reference-books. In the hands of a judicious teacher it may be of service as a textbook for mission-study classes.

*Rex Christus*<sup>3</sup> can be heartily commended to mission classes. It offers, in two hundred and fifty pages, a clear, readable account of China—the land, its people, its religions, the history of the mission enterprise, present-day missions, and the “Open Door of Opportunity.” Dr. Smith knows China at first hand. He writes of people among whom he has lived, of religions he has studied in their home, of events he has witnessed, of a New China he has himself helped to make. Like its predecessors in this series of textbooks, it is provided with bibliographical and statistical tables, and with “significant sentences” furnished, presumably, for quotation in missionary reports and addresses.

*Dux Christus*<sup>3</sup> again is the work of an expert. Dr. Griffis has long been recognized as an authority upon Japan. Here he writes, of course, under the limitations of the series to which his book belongs. Thus chap. 5, “Woman’s Work for Woman,” occupies nearly as many pages as chap. 4, “Modern Christian Missions.” But the first half of the book, treating of the beginnings of the island empire, its political history, and its religions, shows the firm touch of one who has long been familiar with his theme, and would serve the abundant and multiplying students of literature concerning Japan with a satisfactory introduction to the subject. The index appears to have been made by one who does not understand at all what an index should be.

Mr. Beach, in the preface to *India and Christian Opportunity*,<sup>4</sup> describes it as one of “a series of textbooks prepared primarily for the use of voluntary mission-study classes in the institutions for higher learning of the United States and Canada.” In the general arrangement of its material the book is well adapted to this purpose. It contains the elementary information with which every student of missions should be furnished. It is equipped besides with a very useful “annotated bibliography,” with statistics, and with a well-made index. But Mr. Beach has not taken his student of missions very seriously in offering him as a textbook a mosaic of quotations among which one searches in vain for an expression of the judgments and conclusions of the author himself even on important topics. The authorities, to be sure, are fairly cited, and in the main judiciously chosen. The unhappy result of this method, however, is a diffuse and scrappy compilation. It is not always easy to understand what principle

<sup>4</sup> *India and Christian Opportunity*. By Harlan P. Beach. New York: Student Volunteer Movement. Pp. 388. 50 cents, net.

of selection Mr. Beach has followed in the choice of his material. The Mutiny of 1857, for example, is properly called "an epoch in India's history." It is, indeed, an event of the highest importance in the political and religious history of India, and deserves careful treatment—the more careful if it must be brief. But it receives hardly more than half the space which is devoted to the exposure of the pretensions of the Swami Vivekananda. The attitude of the East India Company toward the missionaries in the early part of the nineteenth century is nowhere clearly set forth by Mr. Beach, although the long and bitter conflict between the company and the friends of missions in England which ended in the removal of all barriers to the entrance of missionaries has a significance which forbids the omission of the story from even the briefest survey of Indian missions. In the seven pages of the section entitled "Educational Work" Dr. Duff is mentioned once as "the first great advocate of higher education," and a single sentence from one of his addresses is quoted. The student would never guess from this brief and obscure allusion that Dr. Duff initiated, against adverse criticism and open opposition, a new educational movement in India. The leaders of the Volunteer Movement cannot afford to place hastily prepared and superficial books in the hands of earnest students.

A. K. PARKER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

The same consecration which creates the work of the Inner Mission carries the disciples to the ends of the earth. Foreign missions grow out of the same root as philanthropy at home, and when the missionary finds himself among an alien population, he wins friends and hearers, as Jesus did, not merely by words, but also by costly deeds of human helpfulness. This is finely illustrated in the beautiful books issued by the German Mission to the Orient, which supports stations in Turkey, Persia, and Bulgaria. The yearbook of this society<sup>1</sup> gives a popular account of Islam, biblical sites in Syria, the Bagdad road, work in Armenia and medical missions in the East. It is interesting to note a translation of the strong words of John R. Mott on the evangelization of the world.

C. R. HENDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

<sup>1</sup> *Ex Oriente Lux: Jahrbuch der Deutschen Orientmission*. Herausgegeben von JOHANNES LEPSIUS. Berlin, 1903.—*Der Christliche Orient: Monatschrift der Deutschen Orient-Mission*, 1900-1903.—*Die Evangelisation der Welt in dieser Generation*. Von JOHN R. MOTT.—*Erstlingsfrüchte der heiligen Schrift aus Syrien*. Von SIR WILLIAM MUIR.—*Meine Erinnerungen*. Von EUGENE CASALIS.—*Das Reich Christi: Monatschrift für Verständniss und Verkündigung des Evangeliums*. Herausgegeben von J. LEPSIUS.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

STANGE, CARL. *Einleitung in die Ethik*. Leipzig: Weicher, 1901. Pp. vi + 295. M. 5; complete edition, M. 8.

The present is the second of two volumes, the first having dealt with the subject from a historical and critical standpoint, the second containing a formulation of the author's own theory. The latter, which includes a rather extensive system of psychology, is too complex to be given in detail, but in general the author follows the lines laid down by Kant, basing his system upon an analysis of the conception of duty, and tracing the authority of duty to the demands of reason and will. He is Kantian also in his style and method, offering an analysis of the logical presuppositions of ethics rather than an ethical system, and developing his point of view through a somewhat laborious analysis of abstract conceptions, which sometimes obscures the genuine value of his work. But, though a follower of Kant, he has passed beyond the strictly Kantian standpoint and more nearly approached that of the English "self-realization" school. In fact, it is his aim to bring about a reconciliation between the imperatives of duty, and the requirements of practical good, or between intuitionism and empiricism, through a more complete analysis of the meaning of reason and will. His psychology is thus in many respects representative of the most advanced phases of the apperceptional or "self-activity" theory. One point upon which he rightly lays emphasis is his formulation of the "relations of wills"—in other words, of the logical presuppositions of social obligation. These presuppositions were to an extent defined by Kant in his conception of a "kingdom of ends," but it is true that, as the author claims, they have on the whole received little attention from ethical writers. It is interesting to note that, though the author is a theologian, his book contains scarcely any direct reference to theology.

W. F.

WIDMER, R. *My Struggle for Light: Confessions of a Preacher*. New York: Putnam; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. Pp. 216.

Under the title, *My Struggle for Light*, we have a good translation of the author's *Kampf um Weltanschauung*, which has passed through a dozen or more editions in Germany, so great has been its popularity. There are six chapters, treating of "Morality and Religion," "God and Nature," "The Child and the Man," "Time and Eternity," "Criticism and Pastoral Work," "Christianity and the Sects." Its morality is Kantian, its theology Ritschlian, and its religion that of liberal Protestantism. The author's style is one of prismatic beauty. In illustration of his spirit, a paragraph from his treatment of the nature and function of prayer may suffice: "Suppose only that we were allowed to influence the Almighty; could we imagine for ourselves a more oppressive burden? When my country goes to war, I wish for its victory—aye, with my whole heart. But if God were to say to me, 'The decision shall be with thee; ask only, and it shall come to pass as thou wilt,' then I should fall trembling upon my knees and cry: 'Not mine, Lord, only thy will be done!' For I should at once realize that I must undertake the responsibility for all the consequences of the event throughout the whole course of history; and I could not but faint

under such a burden as that." Preachers would find much in the little book to give both stimulation and sobriety to their thought.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

SULLY, JAMES. *An Essay on Laughter: Its Forms, Its Causes, Its Development, Its Value*. New York and London: Longmans, 1902. Pp. xvi + 432. \$4.50.

We have here the first comprehensive special study of the sense of humor in all its aspects that has appeared in English. The book considers the phenomenon of laughter in its physiological, psychological, and ethnological relations; reviews and estimates the numerous theories of the ludicrous; and concludes with a consideration of the place and value of humor in human life, and inquires "how far along the road of philosophic speculation the companionship of the mirthful spirit is possible." Sully's work is characterized at once by an unusual thoroughness and balance, and by a lightness of touch not inappropriate to the subject.

F. H. L.

ANDERSEN, AXEL. *Das Abendmahl in den zwei ersten Jahrhunderten nach Christus*. Giessen: Ricker, 1904. Pp. 95.

BASSERMANN, H. *Über Reform des Abendmahls: Briefe an einen Laien*. Tübingen und Leipzig: Mohr (Siebeck), 1904. Pp. 81. M. 1.40.

BENSOW, OSCAR. *Die Lehre von der Versöhnung*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1904. Pp. 328.

BRIGGS, CHARLES A. *New Light on the Life of Jesus*. New York: Scribner, 1904. Pp. 196. \$1.20, net.

BURTON, ERNEST D. *A Short Introduction to the Gospels*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904. Pp. 144. \$1.

CLARKE, WILLIAM B. *A More Excellent Way: A Book concerning the Provision Made of God for a Life in Common between Himself and Man*. New York: Putnam, 1904. Pp. 227.

CORREVON, TH. *Die Gottheit Christi*. Berlin: Deutsche Orient-Mission, 1904. Pp. 63. M. 0.50.

CROOKER, JOSEPH H. *The Supremacy of Jesus*. Boston: American Unitarian Association. Pp. 186. \$0.80, net.

DESSMANN, GÜNTHER. *Geschichte der Schlesischen Agrarverfassung: Abhandlungen aus dem staatswissenschaftlichen Seminar zu Strassburg*. Heft XIX. Strassburg: Trübner, 1904. Pp. 261.

DUFOURGQ, ALBERT. *Saint Irénée*. Paris: Lecoffre, 1904. Pp. 202.

DUMM, ET AL. *The Old Puritanism and the New Age*. Addresses before the Woburn Conference of Congregational Churches at Malden, Massachusetts, April, 1903. Boston: Pilgrim Press. Pp. 106.

EISENHOFER, LUDWIG. *Das bischöfliche Rationale: seine Entstehung und Entwicklung*. München: Lentner, 1904. Pp. 49. M. 1.60.

FALCONER, R.A. *The Truth of the Apostolic Gospel*. New York: International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, 1904. Pp. 148.

FLEMMING, P. *Gott und die Seele*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1904. Pp. 71.

FOSTER, FRANK H. *The Teaching of Jesus concerning His Own Mission*. New York: American Tract Society. Pp. 136. \$0.75.

THE EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF  
THEOLOGY ANNOUNCE WITH SINCERE SORROW  
THE DEATH, FEBRUARY 17, 1905, OF THEIR COL-  
LEAGUE, **George Stephen Goodspeed**, WHO  
WAS FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE JOURNAL  
ENGAGED IN ITS CONDUCT, AND FROM 1901 TO  
1904 SECRETARY OF THE BOARD OF EDITORS.





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## THE PRESENT PROBLEMS OF NEW TESTAMENT STUDY<sup>1</sup>

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The topic of this paper was not chosen by me, but assigned by the Programme Committee of the Congress. I am required to state the problems of New Testament study as they confront scholars today. I am asked to take my stand on the frontier of New Testament study and formulate the questions which the scholarship of the immediate future will be called upon to investigate and answer. As far as possible personal opinion is to be eliminated, and the statement to be objective and representative of the most enlightened New Testament scholarship.

The progress of biblical study has converted the New Testament student from an interpreter of a body of sacred and authoritative literature into the historian of a movement of mighty significance in the history of religion, the rise of Christianity. So long as Christian thought was controlled by the conception of the plenary inspiration of the New Testament Scriptures and the final authority of each passage of them, the only function of the New Testament student was that of the literary interpreter, and his only tasks that of interpretation and such others as were necessary to it. To the interpretative task the history of the canon was subsidiary as showing the process by which the books contained in the canon attained—

<sup>1</sup> A paper read before the International Congress of Arts and Science, St. Louis, September 23, 1904.

rightly, of course, it was held—their position of eminence and authority. Textual criticism furnished the letter of the inspired text. Grammar and lexicography were implements of its interpretation. And there was even a place for the history of New Testament times, and the introduction to New Testament books, since these contributed to the interpretation of the books by furnishing their historic setting.

Such was once the point of view from which the work of the New Testament student was defined. Such is still the point of view from which some regard it. But with the great body of New Testament students this is no longer true. Clear definition of the nature of the interpretative process and the more faithful application of it to the New Testament have made it impossible to maintain that there are no inconsistencies in statement of fact or of doctrine in the books of the New Testament, and have compelled the interpreter, if he would be truly an interpreter, to become historian, pledged, not to the discovery, in the books that he studies, of a self-consistent body of Christian doctrine and a self-consistent representation of historic facts, but rather pledged to find the thought of the several writers, whatever that is, and to set it forth with all attainable accuracy and clearness.

Here, of course, the New Testament student might have made a stand, defined his task rigidly as that of the interpreter, and rested content with the exposition of the thought of each book, regardless of the consistency of this with the statements of other books in reference to historic fact or doctrine. But to have pursued this course would have been to deny the motive under the impulse of which he had undertaken his task. For the study of the New Testament has not been, as a rule, carried on by men who were simply professional interpreters, satisfied to carry to its perfection a scholastic process, arbitrarily defined. They have been men who were seeking for truth, and who, discovering differences in statement of fact in their sources, could not be content with the mere historic fact of such difference, but were impelled by the very motive that made them students of the New Testament to inquire what the historic fact was of which the sources contained these diverse representations; and, finding in the New Testament books different conceptions of

religious truth, could not rest content with the statement that as interpreters their task was finished when they had found the thought that underlies each of the variant representations, but have been compelled to press on to ask how these different conceptions are related to one another, if not also ultimately how each of them is related to reality.

But this transformation of New Testament study into a historical discipline raises some new and difficult questions concerning the scope and definition of the discipline—questions on which there is not as yet entire agreement among New Testament scholars, and which it belongs to this paper therefore to state.

If the New Testament student is simply a historian, can he any longer claim to possess a distinct field, or must the New Testament department be merged in that of the history of Early Christian Literature, or in that of Early Church History? To the proposal that it be merged in the history of Early Christian Literature the answer of the great body of New Testament students will, I am confident, be a prompt and decided negative. The books of the New Testament are in the broad sense of the term literature, and, being early Christian writings, may properly be included in a history of early Christian literature. But it is not as literature that the New Testament student is now or ever will be chiefly interested in them. To him they are incomparably more important as the sources for history—a history of events and ideas. In this history literature indeed has a place, but only as the record and reflection of a tremendously important religious movement, viz., the rise of Christianity; and the rise of Christianity was not a literary event, and can never be adequately viewed from the point of view of a history of literature.

It is quite another question, however, whether New Testament study is to be merged in early church history. The rise of Christianity certainly belongs to the history of Christianity, and it is a question fairly open to debate whether it is scientific to recognize a New Testament department, the limits of which are defined in advance by the limits of the canon adopted by the church, and whether this field of study should not rather be turned over to the church historian, who in dealing with the early period will, as in every other

period, use whatever sources are at his command. Nor when it is once granted that the New Testament student is properly a historian, dealing with the history of literature, events, and ideas, can it well be denied that they are right, in principle at least, who maintain that the New Testament department must be transformed into the history of the rise of Christianity? The student of the life of Jesus or of the life of Paul can never be debarred from using any trustworthy source for these chapters of history because the church of the second or of the fourth century failed to include it in the sacred collection. In fact, this principle is already practically conceded. The transformation of the New Testament department from an interpretative and semi-systematic discipline into a distinctly historical study is already well advanced, and lacks little but a change of name to complete it. Granted the correctness of Oscar Holtzmann's critical judgment respecting the historical character of the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Gospel according to John, who would deny that he is right in his attitude toward these books as sources of the life of Jesus? Yet, on the other hand, it still remains true—and, so far as there is now any basis for forecast, is likely to remain true—that the books included in the canon furnish the incomparably most important of all the direct sources for the history of the rise of Christianity. So predominant, indeed, are the books of the canon among these sources that little would be gained from any point of view by a change of name. The principle that whatever other literature furnishes contributory information, either respecting the general historical situation or more directly concerning the origin of Christianity itself, is and must be used by the New Testament student, is so generally conceded, alike by those who would change the name of the discipline and by those who would oppose the change, that the question is increasingly reduced to one of name only.

We cannot be far wrong in affirming that, however we may for convenience divide or name departments, the New Testament student of today recognizes that the books of the New Testament constitute his chief sources, but claims for himself also all other literature that can contribute to the accomplishment of his task of discovering how Christianity arose; recognizes that the interpretation of these books is his central work, to which all else must be related as contributing

to it or as built upon it; yet refuses to be limited to the business of literary interpretation, and claims the right as historian, not only to discover that his sources affirm this and that, but also to inquire whether and how far what they say corresponds to historic fact; and so defines as his field the beginnings of Christianity and as his problem whatever within that field belongs to the historian. When, therefore, we speak in this paper of the books of the New Testament, it should be understood that what is really referred to is all these early Christian books which constitute the sources for the history of the origin of Christianity, and that in so designating them we are simply naming the whole group *a parte potiori*.

But this very definition of New Testament study as distinctly historical raises another question pertaining to the scope of the science. Does historical study include the interpretation of events and the valuation of teachings as well as the interpretation of literature, the statement of teachings, and the tracing of historic connections?

Into this question, which is of far-reaching importance for the definition of the nature and the determination of the function of New Testament study, alike the limits of space and regard for the rights of my colleague, Professor Bacon,<sup>2</sup> forbid me to enter at length. It may perhaps, however, be permitted me to offer two suggestions. First, I venture to think that historians in general, and New Testament historians in particular, will not long consent to exclude from their own field that which Harnack<sup>3</sup> well calls "the business and highest duty of the historian," viz., "to determine what is of permanent value." If with Percy Gardner<sup>4</sup> they hold "that events of history, when interpreted, may be the basis of doctrine," they are not likely to concede that such a process is illegitimate, or that the New Testament student is debarred from undertaking it. The impulse which alone is adequate to promote vigorous prosecution of New Testament study will not permit the student to content himself with statements of objective historic fact, consenting to be debarred from asking questions of value and permanent

<sup>2</sup> To Professor B. W. Bacon was assigned the discussion of "The Relations of New Testament Study to Other Fields of Knowledge."

<sup>3</sup> *What is Christianity*, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1903, p. 569.

validity. The strength of the impulse to exceed these bounds is shown in such books as Wernle's *Beginnings of Christianity* and Harnack's *What is Christianity?* in both of which the historian is evidently chiefly interested in the question: What is of permanent validity? What is, not simply historically true, but normative for human life? If it be maintained that these are not questions for the historian, then it will be necessary to answer that the New Testament historian must always be something more than a historian.

My second suggestion is that, if the New Testament historian may legitimately claim the right to enter this field, it is equally evident that he cannot as New Testament historian claim exclusive right to it. Events can be interpreted only when seen in relation. For the crudity that can discover profound meanings in events apart from their place in history the historian can have no tolerance. And the broader the view which one is able to take, the wider the horizon in which he can set the events of New Testament history, the truer are his interpretations likely to be. To extend that horizon to include all the history of early Christianity is well, not to say indispensable to any just interpretation of events. To take in all biblical history is better—shall we not here also say indispensable? To sweep in the whole history of Christainity, this is undoubtedly better still. To include the knowledge of religion at large, and, not least, a knowledge of religious experience as it can be studied in living men, this is best of all. The New Testament student who best apprehends the nature of his task will most gladly welcome every coadjutor who brings to the study a large historical knowledge and a large horizon in which to set the knowledge the New Testament student himself possesses in his own special field.

With such a definition and conception of the field of New Testament study, we may divide it into four great divisions.

I. Preparatory studies: those which are prerequisite to literary interpretation, including—

1. Textual criticism.
2. The language of the New Testament.
3. The history of New Testament times, both in the Jewish and the Græco-Roman world.
4. Introduction to the New Testament books.

II. Literary Interpretation of the New Testament books: the discovery in respect to each New Testament book of the course of thought of which it was the expression.

III. New Testament History, including both the history of events and the history of thought and, as a necessary element of the process, criticism of the results of interpretation as respects matters of historic fact.

IV. Indirectly contributory sciences: such as the history of the canon, the history of the text, the history of interpretation, and the history of criticism.

#### I. PREPARATORY STUDIES

1. *Textual criticism.*—By the common confession of scholars, the present period of textual criticism of the New Testament dates from the publication of Westcott and Hort's text and introduction in 1881. Availing themselves of the immensely valuable work of such scholars as Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Scrivener, the Cambridge scholars so organized and interpreted the accessible facts that all who have succeeded them are compelled to state their views very largely in the form of agreement with or dissent from their opinions. Nor are there today visible upon the horizon any signs to justify the expectation either of another work so epoch-making as theirs, or of an achievement comparable for significance with that foundation-laying task which was accomplished by those great predecessors of Westcott and Hort already named. What remains to be done belongs rather to the completion of a structure which in its main line is already built, than either to those pioneer tasks which prepare the way for great constructive work or to such constructive work itself. Yet the tasks that remain are in themselves both large and important, and there is every reason to be glad that there is so large a body of earnest workers whose tastes incline them and whose ability fits them to undertake and accomplish these labors.

The work of Westcott and Hort was significant in three directions: (1) in the formulation of the methods of textual criticism; (2) in the outlining of the history of the New Testament text, especially in the first four centuries of its existence; (3) in the actual construction of the text. In all three of these particulars their work marked an

advance on that of their predecessors. In respect to the first and second of them, few scholars will deny that in the main the views of Westcott and Hort have been sustained by the verdict of scholarly criticism and by subsequent discovery. Yet it would have been surpassingly strange if their work had been in all these things so decisive as to leave no room for doubt or further investigation. So strange a thing has, at any rate, not happened. In two important respects Westcott and Hort were compelled to work with but an imperfect presentation of the data: in the matter of quotations from the New Testament in the Fathers, and in that of the text and history of the early versions. The tasks with which scholars since their day have been engaged, and with which those of the next following decades at least are likely to be engaged, are chiefly in the more thorough working of these two fields, and in the criticism of the Westcott and Hort theory of the history of the text on the basis of such reworking.

Definite and full results in reference to the quotations must await for their achievement the completion of those editions of the Fathers now in preparation, and in which so splendid progress has already been made—the Berlin and Vienna editions of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and the Paris editions of the oriental Christian literature. As these tasks progress, it will become increasingly possible to replace those great collections of quotations which Burgon made, with others that will be of far greater value because they will be of wider scope and based, as respects the Greek and Latin Fathers at least, on a critically edited text.

In the matter of the versions, Wordsworth and White are steadily carrying forward their tasks of editing the Latin texts of the New Testament, and so laying a foundation for more exact knowledge of the history and character of the Latin versions. Horner is prosecuting his work of editing the Bohairic version of Egypt. The practical recovery of Tatian's Diatessaron, and the discovery by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson of the Sinaitic manuscript of the Syriac gospels, supplemented by the scholarly labors of Gwilliam, Harris, Burkitt, Hjelt, and others, not only in spite of, but in part because of, their differences of opinion on many points, are laying a foundation for a far more accurate knowledge of the history and text of the Syriac versions than has hitherto been possessed. In respect to the Sahidic,



Armenian, and other ancient versions scarcely more than a beginning has been made.

The monumental work of Tischendorf and Gregory in collecting and classifying the ascertained facts in all parts of the field is now to be supplemented by that of von Soden and his associates in the preparation of a new critical edition upon a magnificent scale.

Final criticism of the views of Westcott and Hort in respect to the history of the text must, as intimated, await the completion of some of these investigations. Yet in the meantime scholars are not idle in this direction. Few are left today either to dispute the correctness of the genealogical theory which Westcott and Hort did so much to state with clearness, or to deny that their contention respecting the Syrian text was substantially correct, save perhaps in imputing to its producers too much of a deliberate intention to create a new text. Respecting the pre-Syrian texts the case is somewhat different. The validity of the distinction between the Neutral and Alexandrian texts has been disputed by more than one scholar of repute, and the precise nature of the relation between these two types of text still remains to be determined with certainty. The progress of knowledge in respect to versions and quotations will, it is to be expected, lead after no long time to a more definite solution of this problem than has hitherto been possible.

But it is in respect to the Western text that there is today perhaps the sharpest difference of opinion and the greatest probability of a revision of the Westcott and Hort view. That the Western text is not properly called Western is generally conceded; it is now questioned whether it is properly a text, and does not rather (to use the words of Burkitt) "represent the unrevised and progressively deteriorated state of the text throughout the Christian world in the ante-Nicene age." To the solution of the origin, nature, and value of the so-called Western text, perhaps the most important question now at issue in this field, all those are contributing who are working either in the versions or the quotations or in the study of the facts brought out by the laborers in these fields.

It would be rash to predict what will be the outcome of all the investigations now in progress or waiting to be undertaken. But at present it seems probable that the result will not be so much any con-

siderable revision of the text, as a different interpretation of the facts respecting the history of the text, in which is involved also the possible discarding of the name "Western," a new grouping of so-called Western documents, and a new valuation of the testimony of certain combinations of witnesses.

Closely connected with the peculiar variations of the Western type of text in the gospels, especially in the Gospel of Luke and in the Acts, is a problem which arises from the nature of the process by which the synoptic gospels were produced. As the facts in respect to the text of Acts and Luke suggest the possibility of two editions of the same work, each having a claim to be accepted as genuine, so the evidence that the synoptic gospels were not produced each of them independently, and by a single act of individual authorship, but in part at least by compilation and a process of editorship, the precise length and limits of which it is difficult to define, raises the question, What is to be considered the original text? In both cases the problem of textual criticism becomes tangent with, if it does not even merge into, that of historical or literary criticism, and the need arises for the clear definition of the textual critic's task, and of its relation to documentary criticism. Whether the unfavorable verdict which at present scholars seem inclined to pass upon Blass's theory of the double text of Acts and Luke will be confirmed or not, it can scarcely be doubted that the whole problem of the text of the synoptic gospels and Acts call for investigation by one who is equally at home in the facts and principles of textual criticism and in the synoptic problem.

2. *The language of the New Testament.*—The lexicons of Grimm-Thayer, Cremer, and others, and the grammars, such as those of Buttmann, Blass, and Winer-Schmiedel, are monuments of diligent and successful work already achieved in reference to the New Testament language. Yet the authors of these books would probably be foremost in declaring that this portion of our field abounds in unsolved problems and unaccomplished tasks. The studies of Dalman in relation to the Greek used by New Testament writers, the publication of papyri, in Germany especially by the scholars of Berlin, and in England by Petrie, Grenfell and Hunt, and others, and the discussions of Deissman and Moulton, have opened up a wide and most interesting field, at the same time that Cremer's prosecution of his

great task and the publication of many notable monographs have pointed the way to a more scientific method of using all available materials. Our problems are of four classes: (1) those that pertain to the general history of later Greek, and the place in that history of the Greek used by various New Testament writers, including in particular the question whether we are to cease to speak of New Testament Greek, and cease to write New Testament grammars and lexicons, merging these simply in the works on later Greek; and specifically (2) those that deal with the forms of words; (3) those that pertain to syntax; (4) those that pertain to the meaning of words, lexicography.

These problems may be studied from two points of view: first, from that of the nature of the Semitic influence upon New Testament and contemporary Greek writers; and, second, from that of the relation of the language of the New Testament writers to contemporary Greek, as exhibited not only in the literature of that period, but in inscriptions and papyri.

From the first of these two points of view, it is necessary to distinguish more accurately, if possible, than hitherto between the influences which the New Testament writers brought with them to their task—those Semitic elements which had already become a part of their natural speech—and, on the other hand, those which came through the medium of the sources used by them. Among the influences affecting the current speech we may distinguish those which came directly from the living Aramaic speech and those which came through the use of the Bible, chiefly from the Septuagint. For, however true it is that attention has hitherto been directed too exclusively to the Septuagint as an influence affecting the language of the New Testament, it is not less true that the reaction of the Septuagint upon the Greek written by Jews is an element of the problem that cannot be wholly ignored. Among the influences of the second class we may distinguish those which proceed from the fact that Jesus spoke in Aramaic and those which are due to possible Semitic sources of New Testament books.

On the side of contemporary Greek usage very valuable results may yet be expected both in the study of syntax and in that of lexicography. It would be easy to name many scientific problems, in

each of these departments, that await the solution of a competent investigator; in some of these—as, for example, to mention but a single instance, the study of the use of the article in later Greek—the student will have to undertake tasks which might, naturally falling to the share of the classical scholar, have been substantially accomplished by him; but in others—for example, in reference to the syntax of the verb—he can wisely build upon the foundation already laid by the classical scholar.

To state in a word the inclusive problem pertaining to the language of the New Testament, what is required is the more complete application of the historical method, and this both in the sense that the basis of historical induction shall be broadened and that the historical point of view shall be more rigidly maintained. He who would write the grammar which New Testament students need must do it upon the basis of a more thorough knowledge of the results of comparative philology than has usually been possessed hitherto, and must also add a wide knowledge both of Semitic philology and of the usage of later Greek writers, as well as an equipment of psychological insight which will enable him as a true interpreter to discern for what forms of thought those whose language he is studying employed this or that form of word. In the realm of lexicography it is required, not alone that there shall be produced from contemporary and approximately contemporary literature vouchers for the meanings which are ascribed to a word, but that the whole historical development of the usage of the word and of the idea for which it stood, shall be traced, and the word as it is used in New Testament times be seen from the angle of vision from which the New Testament writer, as the heir of this historical development, viewed it. The last quarter of a century has seen steady advance both in the widening of the field of induction to include not simply classical writers, the Septuagint, and the New Testament, but all accessible Jewish literature, and now also the inscriptions and newly discovered papyri, and in the more thorough recognition of the genetic nature of the process by which meanings develop, and the consequent necessity of employing a genetic method in investigation. But much remains to be done, and the field is open and inviting.

3. *The history of New Testament times.*—In the history of New

Testament times, so far as it pertains to the record of external events, whether in the Jewish or Græco-Roman world, there is little reason to expect great progress in the immediate future. On the Jewish side, Schürer, Hausrath, Oscar Holtzmann, and others, have so thoroughly employed the now available material as to leave little for others to do; and the historians of the Roman Empire may be trusted to furnish to New Testament students all the accessible information in this field. But in the history of thought, the situation is quite different. It would be too much to say that we are here only upon the threshold of our task; the work of the writers already named, and of Charles, Conybeare, Weber, Bousset, and others scarcely less eminent, has carried us well beyond the entrance to the territory. But that much remains to be done in the dating, analyzing, and interpreting the Jewish literature, both Palestinian and non-Palestinian, and yet more in the still more difficult task of co-ordinating into one historical view results derived from the study of many documents, including Psalms, Apocalypse, Targums, Midrash, and Mishna, none who have even an elementary knowledge of the subject will deny. Whether there are tasks that still await accomplishment in the field of Græco-Roman literature and thought, it does not belong to this essay to say. But the New Testament student is well aware that the successful accomplishment of his task requires a broad and accurate knowledge of the history of the Roman Empire in the early Christian centuries, and that there is still much to be accomplished in the investigation of the question of the extent to which, and the points at which, the thought of the New Testament writers has been affected by Greek ideas concerning God and man and the world and their relations one to another. But here perhaps we are trenching upon another division of our field—the interpretation of New Testament books and the history of New Testament thought.

4. *Special introduction*, to speak from the point of view which we have assumed and defended, deals with questions pertaining to the origin of those books which constitute the sources for the history of the rise of Christianity. Such a definition of the field raises a question concerning the particular books to be included in it, which was formerly regarded as answered by the limits of the canon. In general, what we seek is the creative period and literature of Christianity,

the period of those who not simply received Christianity, but exerted a formative influence upon it, determining in some measure the character of the new religion. Among these Jesus stands pre-eminent and unique, and because he did not write books, but the record of his life and teachings comes to us in the writings of others, we must include in the scope of our study any and every book which makes a real contribution to our knowledge of his life and teachings. But while Christianity rightly takes its name from Jesus, it would be idle to deny to Paul a place among the makers of Christianity in a secondary but true sense, forward though he himself would be to refuse to stand in any sense upon the plane with Jesus. But Paulinism was not the only formative force, after Jesus, that was active in the formative period of Christianity, and to the sources for the life and teachings of Jesus, and those that give us like information concerning Paul, we have to add such other books as the Apocalypse, the epistle to the Hebrews, and some at least of the catholic epistles which illuminate for us the early days of our religion. The boundary to be drawn is not a strictly chronological one, as if that creative literature of the character of which we are speaking necessarily ceased to be produced as soon as that of a more secondary character was produced. But we shall probably not be far from right if we define the period of which we are to construct the history as extending approximately to the end of the first century, and the literature to be examined as all that which makes a real contribution to our knowledge of the Christianity of the first century.

But the modern definition of the function of New Testament scholarship compels also a revised definition of the question which is to be answered concerning these books. Formerly the question of genuineness occupied the center of the stage and was thought of as almost synonymous with the question of the right of the book to a place in the New Testament. Today the question that introduction asks is not, Has the book a right to a place in the New Testament? but, on the one side, What information can we gain concerning the origin of this book, its authorship, occasion, and purpose, in the light of which its real meaning may be discovered? and, on the other, To what period and stage of the history of Christianity does the book itself belong, and what is the value of its assertions in the realm of

historic fact? Introduction is thus purely a historical discipline, both in itself and in the end that it serves. The questions that it asks are questions of historic fact; the problems to the solution of which its answers contribute are wholly historical. The question of genuineness becomes simply the question of authorship and date, important because on its decision depends in some measure the interpretation of the book, but more especially either because by the answer to it we are able to place the book and its contribution in its proper historic position, or because the decision helps us to give the right value to its statements of fact.

The field is so broad that clearness of exposition requires its subdivision into parts. We may speak separately of—

- a) The letters ascribed to Paul.
- b) The synoptic gospels and the Acts.
- c) The fourth gospel and the Johannine Letters.
- d) The Apocalypse.
- e) Hebrews and the epistles of James, Peter, and Jude.

*The letters ascribed to Paul.*—In respect to the Pauline letters there meets us at the very outset the question whether it is incumbent upon us to vindicate our right to use the term “Pauline letters” at all, as against those who would permit us to speak only of pseudo-Pauline epistles dating from the second century. The era of New Testament criticism that began with Ferdinand Christian Baur has been distinguished, not simply by the recognition of certain letters of Paul as genuine, but even more fundamentally by the perception of the fact that the student of the New Testament is a student, not simply of literature, but of history, and by the attempt on the basis of literature, properly dated and placed, to write the history of the origin of Christianity. Is that era past? Have we now to become, as previous to the nineteenth century biblical scholars as a rule were, students of literature rather than historians, and are we to confess that of the origins of Christianity we have at least in the Pauline letters no authentic monuments? Are we no longer in the age of Baur, but in that of Loman and Van Manen? The question, if it requires consideration at all as one of the living problems of New Testament study, is one of very serious import. For if it is true that the rightfulness or wrongfulness of Van Manen’s position is for

scholarship an open question, then it must be answered before we can even ask any others in respect to the Pauline literature, not to say the apostolic age. It is now more than twenty years since these views were first presented to scholars in articles published in the *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, and sixteen years since they were presented at length and in easily accessible form in Steck's *Galaterbrief*. Elaborate refutation, it must be admitted, they have not received. As certainly have they not gained any general or enthusiastic approval. Nothing comparable to that which ensued upon the publication of Baur's *Paulus* has happened in the scholarly world in respect to the writings of Loman, Völter, Steck, and Van Manen. Is it because New Testament scholarship is staggered, silenced, consciously put to rout? Even Van Manen, who complains of the neglect with which these views have been received, does not venture to affirm that this is the explanation of it. No; it must be admitted that the comparative silence of scholars means, not that there is nothing that could be said in reply, but that in their judgment little need be said. Van Manen's plea for attention may perhaps call forth—ought perhaps to call forth—a presentation of the reasons why New Testament scholars believe that Paul wrote some at least of the letters which have come down to us bearing his name, at once more substantial than has hitherto been put forth and more worthy of the importance of the subject. But unless New Testament scholarship shall experience a very decided change of mind, it will not take this up as a vital question, the answer to which is in such sense in doubt that, pending the solution of it, all other work upon the life and teaching of Paul must be held in suspense; but rather as a buttressing of foundations whose strength has already been fully established.

If, then, we are right in believing that in the field of the criticism of the Pauline letters we are still in the epoch that dates from 1838, not from 1888, then we possess in Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans a basis of knowledge respecting the life of the apostle Paul, and a firm basis of judgment respecting his type of mind, his literary style, and his theological position. There remain, no doubt, important problems affecting these letters; respecting Galatians, the location of the churches addressed and a considerable group of minor problems associated with this one; respecting second Corinthians, the



question whether this is really one letter or a collection of parts of several letters molded into the form of a single letter, not by the writer himself, but by a considerably later editor or scribe; respecting Romans, the question of its integrity, especially as pertains to the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters. But, however these problems may eventually be solved, we are still in possession of that most important advantage in any field of study—a foundation on which to build, a base line from which to triangulate the region of greater or less uncertainty.

But in so stating the matter we understate the positive element of the situation. For, as is well known, it has gradually come to be recognized that the kind of evidence which establishes the genuineness of Galatians, First and Second Corinthians, and Romans exists also in the case of First Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon. The present attitude of scholarship is represented, not by the phrase "the four undisputed letters of Paul," but rather by the expression "the generally accepted letters of Paul." That there is entire unanimity on this point, even among those who reject Van Manen's position, is not here affirmed. There are problems still to be solved respecting First Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon, even as there are in respect to Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans. But the question of their genuineness can no longer be counted among the acute problems of New Testament study.

Respecting Second Thessalonians, Colossians, and Ephesians, the situation is somewhat different. The trend of opinion is very strongly toward the acceptance of Colossians, in the main at least, as a real letter of the apostle himself, any differences of point of view between it and the other letters reflecting the progress of the apostle's own thinking under the influence of contact with different types of thought in the Græco-Roman world, rather than the thought of a period subsequent to that of the life of Paul. That Ephesians is not in the strictest sense a letter, but a sermon or theological essay, cast somewhat in the form of a literary epistle, and that only as such can it be regarded as a genuine letter of Paul, is now generally admitted. The apostle certainly cannot have written such a letter specifically to this church. The impersonality of its tone can be accounted for only by recognizing its semi-literary character. The

view that the author intended it to pass as a letter of the apostle to Ephesus involves the consequence that authorship and destination are both a literary fiction. The question, therefore, is: Which is more probable, that the apostle put forth a similar letter intended for the reading of a group of churches, following the same general lines of thought which the situation in Colossæ had led him to adopt in writing to the church in that place, or that a Christian of the post-apostolic age availed himself of the epistle to the Colossians to build up on the basis of it a pseudonymous letter which he represented as addressed to the Ephesians? The trend of judgment seems to be toward the former view, but the question is still treated by New Testament scholarship as a fairly open one, and must be classed among the problems.

The objection to the acceptance of Second Thessalonians as Paul's on the ground that the eschatological view embodied in its apocalyptic section are inconsistent with those expressed in First Thessalonians is accorded less weight than formerly, and there are probably few who would favor the solution of the problem, advocated, e. g., by Schmidt, which treats the apocalyptic section as an interpolation. The similarity of the epistle in much of its content to First Thessalonians, though there must of necessity have been a considerable interval between them, is a phenomenon that doubtless requires explanation; but it must be doubted whether it is not easier to account for this than for the creation, with no clearly evident motive, of an epistle so closely resembling Paul's in general tone and style, yet proceeding in fact from another and considerably later hand. Further investigation of the thought of the apostolic and post-apostolic age, or the discovery of more delicate psychological tests by which to weigh the probability of an author repeating himself after an interval of some weeks, may be necessary before the question can be transferred from the class of the open to that of the closed.

The problem of the pastoral epistles attracted serious attention some years before the criticism of Baur dealt with the Pauline epistles as a whole. As early as Schleiermacher, the Pauline authorship of First Timothy was disputed, and others soon extended doubt to Titus and Second Timothy. Nor could this have failed to be the case as soon as the New Testament was dealt with in the critical

spirit. The differences between these letters and the letters generally accepted as Paul's, in vocabulary, style, and the reflected condition of the churches, as well as the difficulty of finding a place for them in the life of Paul, as this is known to us from the Acts or from the accepted letters, combine to present a problem which could not but raise the question whether these letters really belong to the lifetime of the apostle, or are not rather to be assigned to a considerably later period. The question formerly argued as a simple alternative, genuine or not genuine, has of late taken the form of a choice among these possibilities: wholly Pauline, partly Pauline, wholly post-Pauline. To many scholars it has become almost an axiom that these letters are, at any rate, not wholly Pauline. But it is recognized with greater clearness than formerly that to point out difficulties, even serious or seemingly insuperable difficulties, in the way of ascribing the letters to the apostle, is not to solve the whole problem; the task of the historian is to say, not only when the letters could not have been written, but when they were written. And the attempt to find for them—or for the non-Pauline portions of them, if they be recognized as of composite character—a location subsequent to Paul's death, to which they fit themselves more perfectly than to any point in his life, lacks something as yet of perfect success. On the whole, the unity or composite character of these letters, the period from which they come or the periods from which their component elements arose, the situation in the apostle's life which they or their Pauline elements reflect, or the situation which the later author sought to meet and affect by them—these must still be accounted as problems, on which, indeed, many scholars have made up their minds, but which to New Testament scholarship as such are still problems for future investigation.

*The synoptic gospels.*—It might seem that the diligent labor which since the days of Schleiermacher, Eichhorn, and Gieseler has been bestowed upon the problem of the origin of the synoptic gospels, in which is included, of course, that of their relation to one another, would before this have sufficed, not only to propose every possible hypothesis, but also to reach a definite solution through the elimination of those that are inadequate. It is true that the field of debate and possible difference of opinion has, in the judgment of most scholars,

been very greatly narrowed. That the gospels are interrelated, not simply independent narratives of events in part the same, is universally confessed. That the relation between them is mediated in part, and indeed mainly, by written documents, is the judgment of the great majority of those who have studied the problem at first hand. That Mark, or a document nearly identical with it, was a chief source of the first and third gospels, and that these two gospels had also another common source, is almost as generally held. But the demonstration of these propositions, granting them to be demonstrated, falls far short of a complete solution of the problem. The predication of a common source of Matthew and Luke additional to the Mark source but inadequately accounts for the facts. There is much in the peculiar relation of the non-Markan elements as found respectively in Matthew and Luke to indicate that, even aside from the infancy narratives, and other portions of these gospels that may perhaps be treated as fragmentary, the non-Markan source of Matthew and Luke is resolvable into distinguishable elements, which call for enumeration and identification. Nor is this probably the end of the scholar's task in this direction. For there are facts that suggest at least the possibility that when the sources immediately employed in common by Matthew and Luke, or by either of them alone, have been enumerated, these documents themselves will call for analysis into the elements from which they were derived. The preponderance in threefold material of the agreements of Mark and Luke against Matthew, and of Mark and Matthew against Luke, over those of Matthew and Luke against Mark, has long been recognized, and its cardinal importance for the synoptic problem has been perceived. But this preponderance of the two kinds of agreement over the third does not annihilate the third class of agreements, or justify the ignoring of them. This has, indeed, been clearly recognized, especially of late years, nor have there been lacking proposals by which this third class might be accounted for. Yet it must be confessed that this unexplained remainder still awaits a satisfactory solution, and that in it lurks the possibility of a discovery which may yet greatly modify the now generally accepted theories.

That this problem probably lies, as has already been suggested, partly in the realm of textual criticism, and that its solution will

perhaps come through a clearer recognition than has been usual of the existence, in respect to the synoptic gospels at least, of a frontier where textual and documentary criticism meet and merge, points to the necessity that the study of the details of the synoptic problem be supplemented by an investigation of the principles in accordance with which such problems are to be solved. It is a fair question whether further progress in this field of inquiry would not be most facilitated by a clear exposition of the canons in accordance with which it is necessary to proceed in the process of discovering the nature of the relation between documents, between which there is evidently a relation of some kind.

Of the problems pertaining to the Synoptic Gospels, other than that of their origin and relation to one another, such as their date and the specific purpose of each, it is not needful to speak at length. In so far as fairly definite results have not already been reached, the solution of them is likely to be involved in that of the main question of the origin and mutual relation of these gospels.

*The book of Acts.*—Peculiar interest must always attach to the book of Acts as the one work, dating from the early age of the church and having any plausible claim to trustworthiness, that gives a connected narrative of events in the apostolic age. Inferior as an authority to the strictly first-hand testimony of the Pauline letters, it possesses, by virtue of the systematic scheme of events which it furnishes, a value which even the Pauline letters lack. This unique position of the book among the sources for the rise of Christianity gives a peculiar importance to the problem of its authorship, sources, and date. That it employed sources, that these were of unequal value, and that among these the "we-document" is of first-class authority quite equal in its way to the Pauline letters, are among the assured results of criticism. But how much the we-document included, whether the author of the we-source is also the compiler of the whole work, what the other sources were, of what value they are, when the book was written and with what purpose—all these questions are still in litigation. Progress toward a final solution of them can be made only by the slow process of even more careful exegesis, more exhaustive and minute archæological research, and even more critical weighing of evidence and sifting of hypotheses. Fortunately, in all these

lines progress is making, and it is not unreasonable to hope both for new light from archæological discovery and for progress toward assured results. As in the case of the gospels, so here also, the solution of the problem will contribute to the elucidation, not only of the period covered by the narrative of the book, but also of that in which the book arose.

*The fourth gospel.*—If the synoptic problem must still be included among those that are only partially solved, this is still more emphatically true of the problem of the Fourth Gospel. Once and again in the last half-century affirmed to be now at length finally settled, sometimes by those who have reaffirmed its strict apostolic authorship, sometimes by those who have reduced to a minimum its connection with the circle of Jesus' disciples, it persists in reappearing among the most difficult and perplexing of all the problems presented to us by the New Testament. Progress has, indeed, been made, in that there is an increasingly general recognition that the truth of the matter lies at neither extreme: neither with those who would make the book the naïve record of the aged John's recollection of Jesus, nor with those who would assign it to the latter half of the second century and deny it all connection with the immediate followers of Jesus and to its author all knowledge of his subject. But the question where between these two extremes the truth lies still receives most diverse answers from men who have no reason for disagreeing other than their inability to interpret the facts alike.

The difficulty of the problem, which is so complex that its elements cannot even be enumerated here, lies largely in the apparently contrary indications of the evidence. Beneath the surface of a smooth and uniform style there lie, on the one side, strong indications of Jewish authorship and Palestinian origin, and, according at least to their *prima facie* meaning, both internal evidence and direct assertion of close association of the author with Jesus; yet, on the other hand, such divergences from the testimony of the synoptic gospels, not only as respects the chronology of Jesus' ministry and the place of his work, but also as to the manner and substance of his teaching, and such a reflection of the influence of philosophical thought not otherwise associated with Palestine, as suggest an author of quite different characteristics from those which we naturally attribute to

John, the son of Zebedee. The external evidence is not less perplexing. If, on the one hand, the testimony of Irenæus concerning what he learned from Polycarp, together with his undoubted acceptance of the fourth gospel as from John the son of Zebedee, seem to establish an unbroken chain of ancient testimony to the Ephesian residence of John and his authorship of the gospel; on the other, we are compelled to recognize that the silence of the Fathers of the first half of the second century, and especially of those who belonged to Asia Minor, the perplexing character of the testimony of Papias concerning two disciples of Jesus both bearing the name of John, and the great difficulty of accepting as conclusive the testimony of men who ascribe to the same author both the Apocalypse and the gospel, create a situation which is by no means clear or easy of interpretation. The question is one in which sentiment and a prejudice not to be wondered at, hardly to be condemned, enter in to complicate a problem difficult enough in itself. The church will not readily consent to surrender the apostolic authorship of that gospel which has ever been to very many the most precious of the four. Yet it cannot be doubted that in the end a solution will be found which will do justice to all the evidence, and that this view will find general acceptance among scholars, whatever their previous prejudices or predilections.

The problem of the Johannine epistles is inseparably connected with that of the gospel. For the similarity of style and spirit is so great as to compel the ascription of them to the same period and group of writers; probably indeed, to the same author.

*The Apocalypse.*—Perhaps in respect to no other book of the New Testament has so rapid and real progress been made in recent years toward the obtaining of the key to the understanding of it as in respect to the Apocalypse. The value of the historical method is here conspicuously evident. That the book belongs to that series of apocalypses of which the first and adjacent centuries produced so many, and the several numbers of which were not so much successive, independent works, together constituting a class of literature, as successive portions of a stream from which each author in turn drew and into which he poured his contribution—this now generally recognized fact is fundamental for the understanding of the book, and determinative for the method of its interpretation. It deals the death-

blow to all those schemes of interpretation which are controlled by the assumption that the key to the meaning of the prediction in the book is to be found in what in the first century or subsequently actually took place in fulfilment of these predictions. Add to this recognition of the apocalyptic character of the book, and its consequent relationship to other apocalypses, that other fact, which by no means contradicts or detracts from the first one, viz., that the book had its place and its function in the life and experience of the early church, and was in this way related to the period in which it arose; and the further fact that its date is fixed with approximate certainty for the last decade of the first century—and a long step has been taken toward such an understanding of the book as will make it a most important source for the history of the early days of Christianity. That much remains to be done in determining with greater definiteness the influences under which the writer worked, the sources from which he drew, the extent of his own contributions, and the ends that he sought to achieve, cannot obscure the fact that now at length the New Testament student is in a position to make substantial progress in his task of understanding this book, and of deriving from it its contribution to the story of the rise of Christianity.

*The epistle to the Hebrews.*—Of the many questions which the epistle to the Hebrews raises, several may safely be reckoned as no longer in the category of the unanswered. That the letter was written, not by Paul, but by a Christian who on the one side shared in general the Alexandrian-Jewish view of the Old Testament, and on the other side held, though with much independence of thought, substantially the Pauline conception of Christianity; that it is a letter, not simply an essay under the mask of a letter; and that the danger to which its readers were exposed was not that of a return to Judaism, but of apostasy from Christianity in the direction of irreligion and worldliness—these may be considered as established propositions.

The search for the identity of the author is certainly one of legitimate curiosity. But, in view of the negative results so far achieved, and the apparent impossibility of connecting the book with any one the connection with whom would facilitate the understanding of the letter itself, it can scarcely be reckoned as other than one of curiosity. That which is at the same time practicable and necessary for the



interpretation of the book is the definition of the writer's intellectual and religious position, and this must be accomplished through the study of the book itself. To such a knowledge of the author it is scarcely less important to add the determination of the position of the reader. And here it is of importance, first, for the understanding of the letter to define the intellectual and moral status of the community addressed; and, second, for the most effective use of the results of interpretation in the construction of the history of early Christianity, to locate the community geographically and the writing of the letter chronologically. These are today the open questions respecting the epistle to the Hebrews. Strong as is the tendency to displace the older view that the readers were Jewish Christians with the judgment that they were gentiles, or that they were, in the view of the writer, neither Jews nor gentiles, but simply Christians, the newer view can hardly be said fully to have established itself or completely to have explained the strong indications that the writer had in mind chiefly men who like himself had grown up under Jewish influence. If Jerusalem has been abandoned as the home of those addressed, and if the strong preponderance of opinion is toward Rome, this also awaits more perfect substantiation; and if Rome be accepted as the home of the readers, it is still to be decided whether the letter was intended for the whole Christian community in the city to which it was sent, or to a smaller group of Christians. It is evident that all these questions have an important bearing on the contribution which this letter makes to our knowledge of early Christianity, since on the decision of them turns in part our knowledge of the extent to which, the region in which, and the time at which the special type of Christian thought reflected in this letter was prevalent.

*First Peter.*—The authorship and date of the epistle known as First Peter must also be reckoned as among the open problems of New Testament study. The excellent character of the Greek, the distinctly Pauline character of the doctrine, the clear literary dependence upon Romans and Ephesians, and the destination of the letter to Pauline churches, are serious problems for those who would accept the claim of the letter itself to be from the hand of Peter. Yet an explanation of all these things may be found in the relation of Sylvanus to the writing of the letter, if only it be also admitted as possible that

Peter may in the latter years of his life have co-operated with Paul, or have taken up the work that Paul had laid down, and that in this period he came to hold substantially Paul's conception of Christianity and was capable of writing under the dominating, even if temporary, influence of Paul's own writings.<sup>5</sup> To many indeed such a confessedly complicated, and in part conjectural, hypothesis is less probable than the simpler, though not less hypothetical, view that the letter was written long after Peter's death by a Pauline Christian who deliberately assumed the name of Peter to give greater weight to his writing. The problem must still be counted among the unsolved. Were the Petrine authorship established, and its date definitely fixed, the letter would make a most significant contribution to the history of the apostolic age.

Respecting the remaining books of the New Testament canon a very few words must suffice. That there is today so wide difference of opinion as still exists concerning the place of James in the early history of Christianity is a testimony possibly to the perversity of men's minds, but even more to the difficulty of the problem which may be presented by a brief book of almost purely ethical and didactic character. Such books may be written in almost any age. Respecting Jude and Second Peter the case is different. The evidences of late date are such as almost to exclude them from among the sources for the history of the rise of Christianity.

But if there are in the New Testament canon books which are so late as perhaps to fall outside the scope of the historian of the origin of Christianity, are there outside the canon books which are of so early date and of such character as to demand consideration as possible sources for the history of the rise of Christianity, and so inclusion in the scope of New Testament introduction in the sense which we have given to it? To answer this question definitely and specifically would carry us beyond the proper limits of this paper. It must suffice to answer that, as the historians of the life of Jesus are recognizing that they must consider the possible value for their science of the gospel according to the Hebrews, the *Oxyrynchus logia*, and

<sup>5</sup> Despite the weight of B. Weiss's name and opinion, we need scarcely reckon seriously with the view that First Peter is earlier than the Pauline letters to which it shows relationship.

any material of like character which may be discovered, so introduction, if it be in fact the preliminary study of the literature which is available for the history of the rise of Christianity, must in like manner consider all literature having a *prima facie* claim to be included among such sources, and include all that can substantiate such claim.

## II. LITERARY INTERPRETATION OF NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS

The discovery of the meaning of the individual books of the New Testament, once the culmination of New Testament study and almost its only clearly defined task, must now be looked upon as a means to the still higher task of constructing the history of the origin of Christianity. Yet it retains a place of eminence, and may properly be designated as the central division of the whole field. For, covering the whole New Testament literature, all the subjects heretofore discussed prepare the way for it, and, on the other hand, on the results of the work of interpretation must be built all subsequent achievement in historical construction. It is, so to speak, the reservoir into which all the preparatory studies pour their results and from which must be drawn the material for the constructive historical work.

The problems of this central division of the field are too numerous even to catalogue. There is not a book of the New Testament collection that does not present questions of interpretation, which, despite all the work of centuries, still call for further study. Progress in the solution of these problems will come partly through the more perfect performance of the preparatory tasks, partly through a clearer conception of the nature of the interpretative process itself. A more perfect exegesis demands a more perfect lexicography, a more perfect grammar, and most of all, perhaps, a more perfect knowledge of the thought of New Testament times both in the Jewish and non-Jewish world, and a setting of the books in the bright light of such knowledge. The effect of achievement in this direction will be twofold: first, it will enable us to see with greater clearness the thoughts which the New Testament writers meant to express; and, second, it will help us to perceive the relative value which they themselves put upon their various ideas. It is at this point perhaps that the nature of the interpretative process calls for more accurate definition than it has

generally received. For, however common it may have been in the past to assume that all a writer's thoughts are for him, and so must be for the interpreter, upon one unbroken level, this is certainly an error. Interpretation has for its task the recovery of the whole state of mind of the author of which the passage or book under consideration is the expression. But just as surely as men have different thoughts, so surely do they themselves value their various thoughts variously. One idea is simply an inheritance from the past, which a man holds without repugnance, but without enthusiasm. Another is a current notion that he will use today for illustration, and tomorrow discard for its opposite. A third is the central, vitalizing element of all his thinking, that by which he lives and for which he would be willing to die. The interpreter who recognizes the full breadth and depth of his task will see that it is just as much his duty to discover the relative values which the author puts upon his thoughts as to find out his thoughts themselves. Knowledge of the thought of the time will help to solve the question of genesis; and knowledge of genesis will help to the discovery of value. But genesis and value are not necessarily correlative. What is inherited from the past is often, and often rightly, precisely that which is held most tenaciously. The problem of value is often a complex one, but it is none the less a necessary one. That interpreters are already beginning to give practical recognition to this important phase of their task—asking, for example, not simply what ideas Paul expresses in his various epistles, but what were the source and genesis of these ideas, and how they were related to one another; which are vital and central, which peripheral and illustrative—is an encouraging mark of progress. The principle, we must believe, is destined to be yet more fully recognized, to be more exactly defined, and to become more influential, not only in the constructive historical work, but in exegesis proper.

### III. NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY

We come at length to consider that division of New Testament study in which, as already indicated, it culminates: New Testament history, or, more accurately stated, the history of the rise of Christianity, including both the history of events and the history of thought. The definition of the field as that of the rise of Christianity, rather

than as that for which the books of the New Testament furnish the material, has already been defended. The inclusion of events and teachings in one general division follows almost as a matter of necessity from the recognition of the problem of the New Testament as essentially historical.

The division of the field into that of New Testament theology and New Testament history, the latter dealing specially with the life of Christ and the life of Paul, while doubtless possessing some practical advantages, is open to serious objection, if it be considered as anything more than a division of convenience, and even thus can scarcely escape separating things that are intimately related. That is really the more scientific method of treatment which is adopted in such works as Weizsäcker's *Das apostolische Zeitalter* and Pfeiderer's *Urchristentum*, but which has been less commonly and less thoroughly applied in the case of the life and teaching of Jesus. For, in fact, neither Jesus nor Paul nor any of the founders of Christianity were philosophers of the closet, who dwelling in isolation wrestled in solitude with the problems of ultimate being, but men of action whose doing and thinking were inseparably knit together; and neither can the teaching of Jesus be adequately understood in separation from the life, nor the doctrine of Paul in isolation from his whole experience.

Nor can the division of the field be justified from the point of view of the end sought. While New Testament thought, whether that of Jesus, Paul, Peter, John, or Jude, was viewed as normative, New Testament theology was naturally enough distinct from New Testament biography and history, and scarcely distinguishable in theory from Christian theology. The adoption of the historic point of view has compelled the recognition of the necessity for distinguishing the teachings of the various New Testament teachers and writers; it must in the end lead to the recognition of the essential unity of the historical problem, and bring all phases of it under the one category of the history of the rise of Christianity. If, as is doubtless the case, divisions of the field must be recognized for the sake of practical convenience, the lines of division will be drawn, not between deeds and words, but between the lives of individuals or between successive periods. The chief line of division will then necessarily fall between the life of Jesus and the apostolic age.

*The life of Jesus.*—If we assume that New Testament introduction has already determined for us the sources of the life of Jesus, and that interpretation has given to us in detail the meaning of those sources, the problem of the life of Jesus is to reproduce as fully as those sources make possible the historic person, Jesus, in a true historic setting and with a true representation of his character, deeds, and teachings. Of the many specific problems which are involved in the one, it must suffice to name a very few of the most important questions which confront the New Testament historian today.

And first of all let there be named one which enters as an element into every other great problem that we might name. I mean, the historicity of the sources. The interpreter pure and simple may ask for the Jesus of the gospels or of a single gospel; the historian must seek the Jesus of historic fact. However congenial to Christian feeling it may be to assume that the two are identical, the New Testament historian cannot make that assumption. New Testament introduction by its classification of the sources and discovery of their relation to one another compels the recognition of the unequal value of different parts of the record. But the work which it thus begins it only begins. It furnishes certain criteria for the solution of the question of historicity, but cannot of itself solve all such questions. Statements of a clearly derivative character are, indeed, thereby discredited. But that an assertion is made in a late document does not prove it false. And while the presence of a statement in the oldest sources creates a presumption in its favor which is to be overthrown only by strong evidence, yet the possibility of error even in an original source cannot be *a priori* denied. And not only so, but the historian cannot ignore the fact that the original sources of the gospel narrative are, in part at least, original only in the sense that they are the original written form of a narrative which had been transmitted orally for a period of some years. Nor can he forget that even an eyewitness can only, strictly speaking, testify to his experience, yet as a rule must of necessity throw that testimony into the form of an interpretation of his experience, expressed in terms of objective fact.

All these considerations, which pertain to the records of the life

of Jesus in general, and yet others, demand to be taken into account when the historian confronts the difficult question of the historicity of the miraculous in the gospel narrative. That there were even in the life of Jesus miracles in the sense of events which lay outside the realm of law, the products of extra-legal, unprincipled divine action—to admit this is for the historian so difficult today, in the face of his knowledge of history, that he is compelled at least to scrutinize with extreme care the apparent evidence of such events. On the other hand, that Jesus wrought miracles in the sense at least in which, as testified by Paul, Christians of the apostolic age wrought them, is attested by evidence too strong to be set aside. That there were in the life of Jesus miracles which transcended the limits of anything that happened in the apostolic age or has happened since, it would be rash to deny. For the unparalleled is not of necessity extra-legal or unhistorical. But that the gospels contain narratives which, on the one hand, so far transcend human experience as otherwise historically known, and, on the other hand, are so lacking in the support of the oldest and most trustworthy sources, or so amenable to amendment on the basis of the distinction between the experience of the observer and his interpretation of that experience, as to forbid the historian to give to them unqualified acceptance, must be admitted. No other problem of the New Testament historian more imperatively demands sober judgment and careful weighing of evidence than this determination of the class to which each of the apparently miraculous events recorded in the gospels really belongs.

A second great problem of the life of Jesus pertains to the recovery of his teachings. As already indicated, the problem of historicity confronts us here also. If there is little room for doubt concerning his fundamental ethical teachings, or concerning his conception of religion so far as it concerns the relation of men to the heavenly Father, or concerning his claim of authority as a moral teacher and as a moral leader, yet the problem ceases to be simple when it is asked what was his attitude toward the messianic idea, what he said concerning his own nature, and what was his expectation concerning the future of himself, his disciples, and the nations of the world. Criticism and interpretation become intimately interlaced, and questions of detail not simply contribute to, but wait upon, the solution of

larger problems, such, e. g., as the intellectual characteristics and horizon of Jesus.

The question of the eschatology of Jesus is today in the forefront of discussion. Do the gospels, when their testimony has run the gauntlet of a just and discriminating criticism, and when that testimony has been set in the light of full knowledge of the apocalyptic ideas of the time, give us the evidence that Jesus shared the apocalyptic conceptions and expectations of his day, fitted his own estimate of himself and of his mission into the framework of those expectations, and looked for his own speedy return after death to inaugurate in Palestine a reign of the righteous both living and risen from the dead; and was this what he meant when he spoke of the kingdom of God as nigh at hand? Or when we view the testimony of the gospels in the light of the process by which those gospels arose, and of the unquestioned tendency to interpret Jesus' words by the conception of the future held by Jew and Christian alike (though not indeed in identical form), and in the light of the sanity and thorough independence of the thought of his contemporaries that are so pre-eminently characteristic of Jesus, does it become more probable that the church has in its report of Jesus' teaching unintentionally confused the thought of Jesus concerning the coming of the kingdom of God with his thought concerning the coming of the Messiah, and unwittingly assimilated the memory of his teachings to its own expectations and hopes, than that Jesus, in other things so independent in his thought, and so endowed with spiritual insight and discernment, was in this matter caught in the stream of apocalypticism and assimilated his thought to that of his age? The question is one of far-reaching significance for our estimate of Jesus. If the trend of scholarly opinion at this hour seems almost wholly in one direction, it is still to be recognized that the discussion is not yet closed, and the final verdict may perhaps be different from that of this hour.

A third great problem concerns the narratives of the resurrection. That behind these narratives, including the testimony of the apostle Paul, there were veritable experiences of the early Christians; that those experiences had a mighty influence in the production of the early Christian church; and that they kept alive, if they did not create,



that faith which is at the very heart of Christianity, it is impossible to deny. But that the narratives present peculiar difficulties to the interpreter and the historian, that the experiences are themselves of a character to call for the most careful discrimination between the interpretation which the witnesses themselves put upon them and the objective facts that gave rise to the experience, and that to a record of veritable experiences there may have been added narratives of inferior historical character—these things also it would be rash to deny. The truth that is at the heart of the resurrection narratives and of the faith of the early church in the resurrection, Christianity will never willingly surrender. But neither will it cease its inquiry into these records until it has determined with all possible exactness what actually happened in the experience of the disciples and at the tomb of Joseph.

Of other problems that pertain to the life of Jesus, partly to his teachings, partly to more external matters, a bare catalogue of some of the most important must suffice. Such are the parentage of Jesus and the historicity of the narratives of the infancy, the question whether he possessed a consciousness of pre-existence, the time and length of his ministry, and his relation to the baptism and the Lord's supper which we find as established usages of the apostolic church.

But all these are of minor consequence, save as they contribute to the solution of that central and most vital problem of the life of Jesus, and indeed of all New Testament study: What is the significance of Jesus for religion? What is his place in human history? That this cannot be solved by lexicography and grammar, exegesis and documentary criticism, does not exclude it from the province of the New Testament student, but only emphasizes the largeness of his task. It is the goal toward which all study of the gospels must move, the hope of its attainment is the inspiration under which it labors.

*The apostolic age* naturally falls into three parts, or is viewed from three points of view: primitive Christianity, the work of Paul, the Christianity of the later apostolic age. That Paul was the most potent single personality in the apostolic age can be doubted only by supposing that the extant records do not exhibit the facts in anything like their just proportion. This, however, but makes it

the more important to obtain the clearest possible picture of Christianity as it was before Paul became a factor in the situation. Yet of literature from this period there is none, if the early date of James be denied, and we are therefore thrown back chiefly upon the testimony of the early chapters of Acts and the indirect evidence of the epistles of Paul. On the basis of a critical examination of this evidence, New Testament scholarship has to frame for itself as accurate a representation as possible of the company of Jesus' disciples, their faith, their hopes, their relation to one another, their thought about Jesus, especially concerning his death and resurrection, their relation to their fellow-Jews, the steps by which they became more and more differentiated as a religious community from them, and the outward expressions of their religious life in organization, worship, and ritual.

In the life and work of Paul New Testament scholarship finds a problem surpassed in interest and importance only by that which is presented by the life of Jesus. The end to be achieved is the discovery of the significance of that life as a reflection of, and a contribution to, Christianity in its plastic and formative period. The problem is psychological and biographical in its content, historical in its aim. It is a study of the experience of a man for the purpose of understanding a great historic movement. It can be solved only by a genetic study, which, taking full account of the environment, Greek, Jewish, and Christian, shall trace the course of Paul's experience, his intellectual and religious life, from his youth on through the days of his pharisaic zeal and of his career as a Christian apostle to its end. The recognition of the genetic character of the problem is not new. Weizsäcker, Holsten, Feine, and Pfeiderer have all dealt with it from this point of view. Nor is it possible to enlarge the list of the factors which were influential in making Paul what he was: Old Testament history and literature; pharisaic Judaism; primitive Christianity and its report of Jesus and his teaching; Paul's own personal experience, especially the vision of Jesus as raised from the dead; and Hellenism, especially in its Alexandrian Jewish development. But the task of relating all these to one another, and of discovering how they acted and interacted in the mind and life of Paul, still calls for further study. Especially do we desiderate a clear

perception of the significance which Paul attached to the death of Jesus, and of the sources and nature of his thought about the pre-existence of Jesus. Not less do we need that which has already been spoken of as necessary in connection with the problems of literary interpretation—a clearer perception of the values which Paul himself attached to the several sources from which he drew his thought and to the several elements of his thought itself. Was the Old Testament, or Hellenism, or the transmitted teaching of Jesus, or his own personal experience, the ultimately controlling factor in his conception of what constituted the gospel? Or if to no one of them can be attributed the place of imperator, how did they relate themselves in his thought? Is it possible to define more exactly than has yet been done the precise attitude of Paul to the Old Testament, to which he apparently ascribed authority in some sense, yet whose teachings on some matters he unhesitatingly and emphatically set aside? To a relative ranking of the sources from which he derived his opinions and convictions did there correspond a relative ranking of these opinions and convictions themselves? That Paul was a man of intense convictions there can be no manner of doubt. Did it result from this that all his opinions were convictions held with equal intensity and assurance; or is it rather true that the few central convictions that he held entered freely into combination, which might almost be described as chemical, with every phase of thought with which he came into contact, appropriating and converting to their own use whatever lent itself to such conversion, rejecting and consuming whatever threatened itself to destroy those governing ideas of the apostle? Is the gospel of Paul essentially and centrally eschatological? Is re-embodiment as an element of the future blessedness of the believer vital to his thought, or the product of his gospel combined with the Palestinian Jewish anthropology? Is the Christology of the later Pauline letters the late emergence of an element held as vital and central from the beginning of his Christian thinking, or the late unfolding of what was latent in his primary thought, or the product of his primal conception of Jesus and contact with a type of thought with which he came into influential touch only in the latter part of his career? All these questions are but phases of the search for the real Paul, the effort

to present him to ourselves not simply in a list of his deeds and a catalogue of his doctrines, but in the true perspective of his life and the emphasis of his thought; and this again to the end that we may more perfectly apprehend the history of the origin of Christianity.

The problems of the later apostolic age are, as already indicated, complicated by questions of the authorship and date of the writings that constitute the sources for the period, and which are either confessedly of uncertain date and authorship, or are the subject of great difference of opinion on these points. That Christianity is in this period struggling to adjust itself to its environment, not by surrender, but by conquest, and this both in respect to Judaism and Hellenism, and at the same time to solidify the foundation on which it rests its faith—this is fairly clear. But lacking either any connected narrative of events or the clear presentation of any commanding personality to guide it, scholarship still struggles with but imperfect success to reconstruct the story of Christianity in this later period. What were the experiences of the Jewish Christian communities, with their predilection for pharisaic legalism and apocalyptic messianism, and confronted by the downfall of the Jewish temple and state, are in some measure reflected in the first gospel and the Johannine apocalypse, if not also in the epistle to the Hebrews. How the Christian of Jewish extraction, but of universal sympathies, sought to commend the gospel to men of Greek ways of thinking, and to translate it into their forms of thought, we see in the Johannine gospel and epistles. But it is only as trees that we see men walking. The progress of past years gives reason to hope for still greater achievements in the future, but the goal of full understanding of this period still recedes.

#### IV. INDIRECTLY CONTRIBUTORY SCIENCES.

Concerning those lines of study which in our classification we designated as indirectly contributory viz., the history of the canon, the history of the transmission and criticism of the text, the history of interpretation and of criticism, a very few words must suffice. They might all be included under the general title of the history of the attitude of the church toward the New Testament literature. Each division of the field is important, and each offers its own peculiar problems. If the history of interpretation and criticism belongs

to New Testament study only as the history of any science belongs to that science, and has its value chiefly in enabling us to criticise our own efforts and achievements in the light of the work of our predecessors, a knowledge of the history of the text, at least its early history, is an indispensable tool for the recovery of the text. And the early history of the canon, especially the history of the process by which the conception of the canon of the New Covenant arose and the limits of such canon were fixed, closely related as it is to the history of the origin of the books thus canonized, and showing the attitude of the church toward the literature which sprang from its own bosom, is of the highest value, not only for the light which it throws back upon questions of origin and date, and the possibilities in respect to anonymity, pseudonymity, and the like, but also as defining to what extent and in what sense Christianity was in its origin a book-religion. The limits of this paper forbid discussion, or even detailed enumeration, of the problems in this field.

If I have in any measure truly apprehended and set forth the nature of the problems which today confront the student of the New Testament, I have shown that New Testament study is today a historical discipline; that progress is to be made precisely through the more perfect domination of it by the recognition of its historical character; that large and difficult as are the problems of the New Testament student as such, the ends for which he works and under the impulse to attain which he toils can be adequately achieved only as New Testament study is related, on the one side, to the study of the Old Testament and of later Judaism, and, on the other side, to the history of Christianity at large, and finally to the history of religion and the study of religious experience.

## THE LITERARY PROBLEMS OF THE BALAAM STORY IN NUMB., CHAPS. 22-24

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Critics agree, with isolated exceptions, that the Balaam story is a compilation of two sources, J and E. In both sources Balak, king of Moab, sends an embassy to Balaam for the purpose of having him come and curse Israel. According to J, the ambassadors come to Balaam with their message (vs. 11), but he declares at once that he is dependent in everything on the will of Yahweh, without whose permission he can not do anything at all (vss. 17, 18). So far we have clear sailing, but now the reconstructionary work begins. Holzinger, who is a good representative, says on the continuation of J: "It is to be assumed that he lets the ambassadors go back, and tells them that he would come if Yahweh should command him to, and that he then starts without consulting Yahweh, enticed by the promised honorarium."<sup>1</sup>

It is necessary to stop here for a moment to note three points: (1) that we have here not something that we find in the text, but something that has to be supplied by the imagination; the hypothesis must assume that the source is fragmentary; (2) that in regard to this assumption it is extremely unlikely that Balaam should have affirmed in the strongest possible terms that he could not come without Yahweh's consent,<sup>2</sup> and should then have gone without taking the trouble of asking that consent; (3) that this is very naturally settled in the text as it stands, if vs. 19 is allowed to go together with vss. 17, 18; Balak inquires again, and is now permitted to go, though not to curse. If he did, however, go *without* inquiring what was Yahweh's will in the matter, the only consistent course for him would have been not to say anything at all about Yahweh's will—and most

<sup>1</sup> "Numeri," in Marti's *Kurzer Handcommentar zum Alten Testament*, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Vs. 18: "If Balak should give me his house full of silver and gold, I could not transgress the command of Yahweh my God to do a little or a great thing."

assuredly not in such strong language—but simply to go at once with them.

But to take up the thread of the story of J again. Balaam follows the messengers soon, but by this he provokes Yahweh's anger, and is met on his way by the angel of Yahweh, who orders him home again. He returns home. The disappointed Balak, who has waited in vain, finally decides to go personally to Balaam in order to urge him to come and curse Israel. He goes to Balaam's home and succeeds in persuading him to fulfil his wish; both go together to Moab.

Again, let us notice two points: (1) this trip of Balak to Balaam's home rests on Wellhausen's ingenious interpretation of vs. 37;<sup>3</sup> nothing is said about it in the text as it stands; (2) to make this trip plausible it is necessary to assume that Balaam was sent home by the angel, about which the text is also silent.

How the story of J went on we do not know; what Balaam answered Balak is lost; for vs. 38, in which Balaam says, "Lo, I am come unto thee," is, of course, not his answer according to this hypothesis. How it happened that he did finally go with the king is not preserved, though this would be by all means a very important matter. We are, however, told that he goes with him, and that, instead of cursing, he blesses Israel, chap. 24. So much for the apportionment of J.

According to E, the ambassadors come to Balaam with Balak's message. He asks them to stay with him over night, that he may be able to inquire of Yahweh concerning the matter. Yahweh appears to him and forbids him two things: he must not go with the men, and he must not curse Israel. And he gives him also the reason for this prohibition: Israel has already been blessed, and must therefore not be cursed. Thereupon Balaam sends the messengers home. But Balak thinks that Balaam does not come because he has not shown him enough honor and not offered him enough compensation, and so he sends greater and more honorable princes than before and promises to give him everything he wants, if he will

<sup>3</sup> Wellhausen declares, in effect, that the question of Balak, "Why didst thou not come to me?" implies that Balak has gone to Balaam; for if the two are together and Balaam did not go to Balak, what in the world can we infer but that Balak has gone to Balaam? It is a case of Mohammed's going to the mountain.

only come and curse Israel. Balaam is willing to inquire again. He asks the messengers again to stay over night, and this time Yahweh gives him permission to go, but does not permit him to curse Israel. He may go, but must speak only what Yahweh commands him. So he goes and is met by Balak, who comes to receive him on the frontier. This story of E does not contain the episode of the angel and the speaking ass, and is altogether consistent.

With this we have the present status of the question before us, and we may at once say that several things appear to be clearly made out: (1) that the story of Balaam and his ass (vss. 22 ff.) is not the original continuation of the preceding story as we have it in vss. 2-21; (2) that in vss. 2-21 we have a composite narrative resulting from a combination of J and E; (3) that vss. 22-34 belong to the document J, for we have in them several of J's characteristic marks, as has been pointed out again and again;<sup>4</sup> (4) that there is a strong presumption for the supposition that the beginning of the ass story is still preserved somewhere in the introductory verses (2 ff.).

But the reconstruction of the beginning of that story of J from vss. 2-21 as it has been made by Wellhausen and his followers cannot be correct. The point where the criticism of this theory must set in is in connection with vss. 17 and 18, which, according to it, belong to the introduction of J; for it appears, on closer examination, that these verses do not belong to the source from which the ass story is derived. We have already seen that it is very unlikely that Balaam should have used such strong language in vs. 18, rejecting every suggestion of a bribe and declaring that Yahweh alone had to decide whether he should go or not, and that he should then have gone on his own authority without even attempting to ask Yahweh concerning the matter. One must be very much prejudiced indeed not to see that Balaam's answer in vs. 18, taken by itself, implies either that he knows already Yahweh's will and dares not act contrary to it, or that he does not know it and would have to find it out before undertaking anything. Now, it is interesting to notice that both implications are expressed in the context. According to vs. 12, he knows

<sup>4</sup> E. g., the theophany in broad daylight, the speaking ass (parallel to the speaking serpent, J).



already that Israel must not be cursed because Yahweh has blessed it already; according to vs. 19, he wants to find out Yahweh's will. That the two things are not mutually exclusive in the story is not difficult to see. The first embassy—I take now the story as we have it, not according to the different sources—has been sent home without achieving its desired end. Balaam has had a divine oracle—he must not go with them. The second embassy sent receives the noble reply that Balaam can do nothing against Yahweh's will; which will is, so we must interpret in the light of vs. 12, that he should not go and curse. But then—nothing is said about his being influenced by the great promises—might he not oblige them, after all, by inquiring once more whether Yahweh is still of the same opinion? And was Balaam wrong in his surmise? Vs. 20 tells us that God allows him now to go, though the permission to curse is withheld. All of this shows that there is no reason to doubt that vss. 17 and 18 belong together with vs. 19; i. e., are part of the E narrative and not of the introductory story to the ass episode. This will be even clearer from the following: We might assume either that Balaam went without having received an answer to his inquiry, or that he went in defiance of the answer received. But the latter is barred by the story of the angel and the ass, in which there is no hint that he knew that he was acting contrary to Yahweh's will. The former would not necessarily be out of agreement with this story, for the answer might be supposed to be given in the experiences on the way. Still we wonder why in that case he had not waited for the answer if he had inquired beforehand. Can J have contained any reference either to an attempted or to a disregarded oracle?

This leads naturally to the question: Are there any elements of J contained in vss. 8-21, where this subject of the oracle is treated, that may fitly be regarded as belonging to the introduction to the ass story? In other words, what reason is there for regarding vss. 8-20, the bulk of which belongs to E, as a compilation of J and E? The coherence, unity, and homogeneousness of these verses are such that each verse carries on the preceding, and none may be omitted with impunity, not even vs. 11, for vs. 12 presupposes vs. 11. The progress of the narrative is natural and rapid, and, in the light of the whole story, remarkable. What does it signify, in the light of

this unity, that in some verses we have *Yahweh* and in others *Elohim*? Even Wellhausen and Holzinger admit that no argument can be based on the use of the divine names; nor on the difference in the terms for the messengers. The linguistic argument has indeed, as even some adherents of the prevailing view acknowledge, no force in this case. Taken by themselves, therefore, vss. 8-21 present a unity and exhibit no marks of compilation of J and E. They belong solely to E.

There, is however, one argument still to be considered, which is taken, not from these verses themselves, but from vss. 2-7. It is claimed that marks of compilation are apparent (1) in the doublet vs. 3*a* and vs. 3*b*, the second half of the verse containing nothing but what we know from the first half; (2) in the irrelevance of vs. 4*b* after vs. 2; (3) in "the inconsistency of the two definitions of Balaam's home in vs. 5, one clause placing it on the Euphrates, the other in 'the land of the children of Ammon' (so read with  $\tilde{G}$ )."<sup>5</sup> From these points the reasoning goes on in effect as follows: Since vs. 2 refers back to 21: 21 ff. (E), it must come from E; one-half of vs. 3 must also come from E, since the other comes from J. As in 4*b* Balak is introduced anew, it must come from J, for E has him already in vs. 2. One of the two references to Balaam's home in vs. 5 belongs to E, most probably the one that makes him come from Pethor on the Euphrates, for according to vss. 22 ff. we have the impression that he does not come from so far in J.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Gray, in *The Book of Numbers*, p. 309, in the "International Critical Commentary."

<sup>6</sup> According to von Gall, followed by Holzinger and Baentsch, we have another contradiction in vs. 5. "Clause *b* $\beta$  speaks of an invasion into Moabitish territory (כָּסָה אֶת-עֵין הָאָרֶץ as Exod. 10:5, J), *b* $\gamma$  seems to express that the Israelites camp close by the Moabitish border' (Holzinger, p. 107). Thus "that I may drive it out of the land" in vs. 6 points to J, and so does vs. 4*a*. If this reasoning holds good, then of course vs. 11 comes from J, for we have there again the נִרְשָׁה, and besides קָנָה for אָרֶר, and נָכַח for נָלָח; and if that is so, then vs. 17 belongs also to J, for there we have also קָנָה. But the question presents itself at once: What is there so distinctive in the phrase כָּסָה עֵין הָאָרֶץ that we must regard it as a sign of a definite writer, J? Because J uses it in Exod. 10:5? What is there so unusual in it to forbid assuming that E might just as well use such a phrase? Again, is it altogether certain that *Moab* is meant by וְהָאָרֶץ? Is it not rather to be taken more indefinitely as the land in general, especially if we see a reference to the picture of the swarm of locusts in the phrase? And, on the other hand, may we be

It is the difference in the statements about the home of Balaam that is the most important of these marks of compilation. The presumption is certainly in favor of the reading עַמּוֹן of the Samaritan, Peshitto and Vulgate, instead of עַמֹּר, and it is assumed to be the correct reading by most critics. It is true we then get a contradiction between the statement that Balaam came from Pethor situated on the Euphrates, and the statement that his native land was Ammon. The question for us now is not the historical one, Which was Balaam's real home? but, How are we to explain this contradiction? For whatever the original idea of the situation of Pethor was (whether in Mesopotamia or in Edom), our story has the two conceptions running side by side that he comes from Pethor on the Euphrates, as appears also from 23:7, and that he does not come from such a great distance, i. e., from Ammon, cf. vs. 22 ff. We have then here a double tradition.<sup>7</sup> And since the one is in agreement with vss. 22 ff., we may see in this clause a piece of the tradition of J. This is the prevailing conception of the critics, and I have no argument against it.

In regard to the argument from vs. 4b, it is true that it comes rather late, but it looks so altogether like a marginal or redactional gloss that it can hardly be taken as indicating compilation.

The question is perhaps not so easily settled with the doublet in vs. 3. It is, of course, not impossible that the same idea may have been expressed twice by the same writer for the sake of emphasis, and it is not to be overlooked that קָרַן in the second half is a much stronger term than גָּר in the first half. But there is force in Gray's reasoning:

The repetition of the subject *Moab*, and the expression of the object in the second clause by a fresh term *children of Israel*, instead of by a simple pronoun

so sure that מִמֶּנִּי in vs. 5 *over against me* implies *not* in the land of Moab? The distinction drawn between J and E in regard to the Israelites on this basis is artificial and fanciful, and it is refreshing to see that Gray does not even think it worth discussing. The geography of the passage does not help it in any way. It is true we have in 22:36, which is regarded as coming from E, the reference that Balak went to the frontier of his kingdom to the Arnon to meet Balaam. And it is promptly declared that this presupposes that according to E Moabitish territory was not occupied by Israel, but only Amoritish. But the same writer makes Balaam and Balak go *north* of the Arnon in chap. 23!

<sup>7</sup> For the location in the land of the Chaldeans the fame of the Babylonian magicians may account.

referring to the people. . . . point to the fact that the verse combines the similar statements of two sources.<sup>8</sup>

So far one point which has caused commentators a good deal of thought has not been touched upon; i. e., the presence of the Midianites. They are indeed, after all, the only incongruous element in the story. Wellhausen and his followers dispose of them by regarding them as interpolated under the influence of P, in view of the close connection in which Balaam stands to the Midianites in Numb., chaps. 25 ff. The matter should, however, be more carefully considered, for I believe we shall find here the solution of the problem of the sources. The Midianites occur in vss. 4 and 7. Now, if these two verses are taken out of the story, and taken together with those other two clauses that we have already discovered as belonging to J—i. e., vs. 3b<sup>9</sup> and “the land of the Ammonites” in vs. 5—we have a connected whole, as follows:

(3b) And Moab shuddered with fear before the Israelites, (4) and Moab said to the elders of Midian, Now will “this” multitude lick up all that is round about us as the ox licketh up the grass of the field. (7) And the elders of Moab went with the elders of Midian with the rewards of divination in their hands (5) to the land of the Ammonites (7) and came to Balaam “the son of Beor” and spoke to him.

We have connected here only those elements which are really incongruous with the rest of the verses, and have employed no arti-

<sup>8</sup> P. 323. In passing it may be remarked that, however true in itself it may be, there is little or no force in the observation of Gray on vs. 4, if it is applied as a test of compilation—which, however, Gray does not. “The occasion for the following episode, and the cause of Moab’s fear here assigned, are perhaps not the same as in vs. 2. It is the mere approach, rather than (as in vs. 2) the conquests, of the Israelites.” The two things are not mutually exclusive, and there is no reason *on that score* why vs. 4 should not be the continuation of vs. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Vs. 3b is referred to J and not vs. 3a because of the *יָרָא*, which occurs in this meaning besides only in J, Exod. 1:11. It is interesting to notice that some critics apply the linguistic argument with great confidence whenever it suits their theory, but when a really characteristic word such as *יָרָא* occurs, then they declare it is too risky to build anything on it. I do not mean to say that E might not also have used this term, although it is not a term which everybody would use, just as little as everybody would say in German *vor Furcht erschauern* to express strong fear, though of course anybody *might* say so. It is, however, not of particular importance for our theory whether vs. a or vs. b belongs to J. As to the connection of the two meanings of *יָרָא*, “to loathe” and “to fear,” it may be permitted to refer to the sensation of the creeping of the flesh, etc., which accompanies both emotions.

ficial contradictions. It has at once seemed somewhat curious to me, though not sufficiently so to make me think of two sources, that Balak is spoken of in vs. 2, but not in vs. 3; that Moab speaks to Midian and not Balak; that the elders of the Moabites go together with the elders of the Midianites to Balaam. Now, though there is antecedently no objection to identifying the messengers of Balak with the elders of Moab, it is strange for this reason, that the princes of Moab might be called servants of Balak; for they are royal officials; but whether the elders of Moab would be called so is not so certain. Taken by itself, the point may not be of much importance, but its significance will appear at once, when it is recognized that the source J does not mention Balak, the son of Zippor, king of Moab, at all. It is the Moabites who are frightened, not Balak; it is their elders who go to the elders of the Midianites and together with them to the famous seer Balaam in order to receive help from him.<sup>10</sup>

Where, now, is the continuation of J to be sought? It is contained in the parallel verses 6 and 11, but not in the manner that vs. 6 belongs to E and vs. 11 to J. Our theory explains for the first time adequately the change of the singular and plural persons in these verses. It is to be accounted for by conflation. According to E, Balak is the speaker, and he uses the singular; according to J, the elders of Moab are speaking, representing, not the king, but the people, and they employ the plural.

It has already been shown that in vss. 8-20 we have no reason to assume compilation, the evidence for it being altogether insufficient. And we do not need to assume it on our theory. After the elders had told Balaam what they wanted of him—in vs. 7 we have been told of the presents which they had taken with them as an honorarium for the seer, and it is naturally to be assumed that they had given them to Balaam, it would be petty to insist that the author must have told this expressly—Balaam is at once ready. The narrative goes therefore on in vs. 21: "And Balaam rose and saddled his ass and went."<sup>11</sup> And now follows the story of the speaking ass,

<sup>10</sup> We must read *Balak* instead of *Moab* in vs. 30; there is external authority for this in a LXX variant given by Field (cited by Holzinger, p. 102). If vs. *a* belongs to J and not vs. *b*, then read Balak for Moab in vs. *b*.

<sup>11</sup> In vs. 21, "in the morning" and "with the princes of Moab" belong to E. Should we perhaps suppose that "princes" should be changed to "elders?"

vss. 22-34. It need not be pointed out in detail that this introduction which our reconstruction of J presents is exactly suited to this story. In its entirety it is as follows:

And Moab shuddered with fear before the Israelites. And Moab said unto the elders of Midian, Now will this multitude lick up all that is round about us, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field. And the elders of Moab went with the elders of Midian with the rewards of divination in their hand to the land of the Ammonites and came to Balaam, the son of Beor, and spoke to him, Behold the people which has come out of Egypt and has covered the whole land; come now and curse it;<sup>12</sup> it may be we are able to fight against it and drive it out! And Balaam rose and saddled his ass and went. And the anger of God was kindled because he was going. . . .

This restoration involves a minimum of changes, yea perhaps no changes at all. It removes from the narrative, vss. 2-20, only really incongruous elements; it assumes no gaps which are to be filled up artificially; and it leaves the other story altogether complete and homogeneous; indeed, so far from giving the impression that anything has been taken out, it reads more smoothly, as will at once be perceived, if vss. 2, 3a, 5, 6, 7b, are read together as follows:

(2) And Balak, the son of Zippor, saw everything that Israel had done to the Ammonites, and (3) Balak was very much afraid of the people because it was [so] numerous. (5) And he sent messengers to Balaam, the son of Beor to Pethor which is on the Euphrates to call him, saying, Behold a people has come out of Egypt, behold it covers the whole earth and is encamped over against me. (6) And now, come, I pray, and curse this people for me, for it is stronger than I; perhaps I may defeat it and drive it from the country, for I know that he whom thou blessest is blest and he whom thou cursest is cursed. (7b) And they came unto Balaam and spoke to him the words of Balak.

Then follows in vss. 8-21 the story of the two embassies, the two inquiries, and Balaam's departure from Moab.

If our hypothesis is correct so far, we may proceed to disentangle the remainder and test at the same time the validity of the conclusions already reached. That vs. 35 does not belong to the original story of Balaam and his ass has been pointed out by others. It is parallel to vss. 20 ff., where E left off. In vss. 35 ff. we have therefore the continuation of E. Indeed, we expect, after the meeting with the angel of Yahweh, whose warriorlike appearance showed that he

<sup>12</sup> Whether it is necessary to change קְבַח־לִי to קְבַח־לָנוּ is hard to tell. It may be a colloquialism.

was ready to fight for Israel, that Balaam should return home and not be allowed to go on. For in vs. 22 God is angry because Balaam was going to Moab; yea the angel would have killed him, if he had gone on. Yahweh's angel has gone to oppose (יָשַׁם) Balaam's going. And nothing has occurred to change Yahweh's feeling so that he should now be willing to permit him to go. J must therefore have told of Balaam's return to his home. But is this conclusion of J preserved, or have we to supply it from our imagination? From the previous treatment of J by the redactor we expect that it has been preserved somewhere. And so it has been, namely in 24:1. "And Balaam saw that it pleased Yahweh to bless Israel, and so he went not as his custom was to meet omens, but set his face toward the wilderness." Chap. 24:1 is the immediate continuation of the episode of the speaking ass. His experience with the angel showed Balaam that Yahweh was on Israel's side, that he was ready to fight for them. His errand is therefore absolutely useless, and so he does not go as his custom was<sup>13</sup> to meet omens, as he evidently wanted to do in this case also, but sets his face toward the wilderness. That this cannot mean anything but that he turned his back upon Israel is admitted by Wellhausen. The phrase means that he set his face toward the wilderness with the intention of going there; i. e., home.

And then J goes on in vs. 2b: "And the spirit of God came upon him and he said." It is generally accepted that the oracle of 24:3 ff. belongs to J.<sup>14</sup> But it has not yet been pointed out that Balak, the son of Zippor, is not mentioned in the oracles of chap. 24—i. e., in J's oracles—while he is mentioned in both of E's in chap. 23. It is another indication, it would seem, of the correctness of our hypothesis, according to which J does not speak of Balak. The conclusion of the whole story is in vs. 25a, the substance of which belongs, of course, to both sources: "And Balaam rose and went and returned to his home."

This reconstruction rests on two assumptions which must now

<sup>13</sup> This is evidently the meaning of כִּסְעָם בְּפָנֵיהֶם; cf. our "time and again."

<sup>14</sup> The main reasons for this are (1) the fact that Balaam introduces himself here for the first time, as though this were his first oracle, while it is already his third; (2) the fact that 24:8 f. is essentially like 23:22 f.; in other words, they are variants of an older oracle.

be proved: (1) that 27:1, 2*b* come from J and not from E; and (2) that there is no trace of J in 22:35 to 23:25.

1. 24:1, 2*b* come from J. They do not come from E or from the redactor. We are told that Balaam sees now that Yahweh wants to bless Israel.<sup>15</sup> Has he not seen this before? E. g., in 22:12, has he not uttered already the blessing in the second oracle? But, it is said, we have here the statement that he does not go after omens. But has he gone after omens in chap. 23? Are the sacrifices to be classified under the category of omens? Evidently not. Only if we accept von Gall's improbable interpretation of 22:40 (who thinks that the pieces which Balak sent to Balaam are the intestines!) have we any right to think of omens in connection with the first oracles. Why is it said, then, that he does not go after omens, when he has not done so in chap. 23 either? Because we have here another representation of Balaam, which must be that of J. According to E, Yahweh appears to Balaam in the night as he would to any Hebrew prophet. He needs no artificial means—at least we are not informed of any. Yahweh puts his word in his mouth. According to J, he was one of the old Arabic seers who go after omens in order to find out the will of God. It is useless for him to go now because he knows Yahweh's will—it is dangerous, too!—and so he faces around to go home; and then, as he is about to go, the Spirit of God comes suddenly upon him and he utters his prophecy. That vs. 2*b* belongs together with vs. 1—i. e., to J—is plain, for E uses different phrases for describing the same experience. That vs. 2*a* belongs to E and not to J is clear, because it contradicts vs. 1, for in vs. 2*a* he sees Israel encamped according to its tribes—something that we expect in E; but in J he does not look at Israel at all, but faces the wilderness!

2. In 22:35 to 23:25 we have only *one* narrator—i. e., E,—and not a combination of J and E. The main contention centers around 22:35-41. According to Wellhausen, we have here again the two sources: to J belong vss. 37, 39; to E, vss. 36, 38, 40, 41. It ought to be a canon of literary criticism that the assumption of compilation should not be resorted to, if the passage presents real homogeneousness and unity, and that it should first be always attempted to understand the passage as it stands. If it then shows marks of compilation, they

<sup>15</sup> "And Balaam saw that it was good in the eyes of Yahweh to bless Israel. . . ."



should be pointed out and examined; but it would seem that in the whole system of dividing sources we often build on too slender a foundation and are not able to prove our point to an impartial man who refuses to admit that stricter rules of logic should be applied to the products of an ancient Semite than to his own. In other words, he may give a great deal of credit to Wellhausen's acuteness of reasoning in the interpretation of vs. 37, but he will refuse to admit that the verse necessarily implies that Balak had gone to Balaam's home, for the reason that he takes into account the inflection of the voice in the sentence: "Why didst thou not come to me?" He has heard the exact equivalent, "Why didn't you come?"<sup>16</sup> and used it himself, when he meant to imply "at first" or "at once." And he will also refuse to admit that Balaam's answer, "Behold, I have come to thee," is not the real answer to the question, for he himself has received and given the answer, "Well, I have come to you," or "I am here." He is perfectly willing to let the "now" go with the following, because he does not need it to bring out his meaning. We must not forget that we have here in these narratives men who speak naturally and do not hold themselves down to the strictest rules of logic; they speak in the common language of the day. Unfortunately, we do not hear the intonation, the inflection of the voice, and miss a great deal thereby; but we should not overlook that such a thing existed and played an important element in conversation, just as it does today.

But there is another objection to Wellhausen's theory. According to him, Balaam had gone home after the meeting with the angel, and Balak goes now himself to the seer, and succeeds in persuading him to go with him to Moab. But how do Wellhausen and his followers explain this extraordinary affair? What means did Balak use to make Balaam change his mind? The impossible suggestion of bribery is put forward (cf. Holzinger). Think of the situation, and the question forces itself upon you at once: What sort of a divine manifestation and the explicit permission to go could account for Balaam's final going after his terrible experience on the way? Surely now we have not simply his declaration of inability to go without divine permission (vss. 17, 18), and his subsequent starting without inquiring what Yahweh's will was. He knows now not only Yahweh's

<sup>16</sup> Cf. the German, "Warum bist du denn eigentlich nicht gekommen?"

will, but also the extreme danger he is in for his own life, if he goes; or would he dare to meet the angel again, who had opposed him with drawn sword, and who had declared that he would have killed him if he had gone on, the ass's resistance alone having saved him? If this objection is squarely faced, we stand before the alternatives, either of supplying another ingenious solution of the problem how Balak succeeded in persuading Balaam to go with him (and that would be rather difficult, if not impossible; for we should not simply have to consult our own fancy, but should have to keep in mind that we are trying to think what J thought); or of declaring that the ass story does not belong to J, because these verses, 37, 39, belong to J; or, what would be the most natural and simple, of declaring that these verses do not belong to J, but to E. Into what a mass of artificial divisions the denial of the ass story to J would lead us need hardly be pointed out. It can really not reasonably be denied.

It should at this point again be remembered that we have to supply a great deal on Wellhausen's theory between vs. 34 and vs. 37, and also between vs. 37 and vs. 39; and the question will surely not be deemed unfair: What was the motive of the redactor in omitting these, to all appearances so extremely interesting and important, matters? What interest could he possibly have had in letting Balaam appear so noble (cf. vss. 18, 38)?

If vs. 37 is taken as coming from E, all these objections vanish. And if vs. 37 is not regarded as belonging to J, then there is no reason for vs. 39 either. Indeed, no reason is given except that it fits together with vs. 37. Gray's additional argument is arbitrary: "If this sacrificial feast be in honor of Balaam's arrival, vs. 39 is in all probability intrusive, since the feast would naturally be made at the place where Balaam and Balak met, viz., at 'Ir Moab (vs. 36).'" But why? What hinders us from assuming that Kiriath-huzoth was more convenient for Balak? Unfortunately, the site is unknown. But why should the impression be wrong that it was situated nearer to the place where Balak expected Balaam to curse Israel, and that Balak took him there so that they might be close by Baal Bamoath on the next morning? There is neither necessity nor probability for regarding 22:36-41 as a compilation of J and E. It is a unity belonging to E, as the whole tenor of the passage shows.

In regard to 23:1-6, von Gall tried to prove compilation, and Holzinger thinks it is a fine thing that he did so and gives him great credit for it.<sup>17</sup> But neither Wellhausen nor Baentsch, who wrote as late as 1903, and had therefore considered von Gall's proposal, and who is by no means averse to minute source-divisions, sees in these verses a compilation. After the original order of the verses has been restored as follows<sup>18</sup>—vss. 1, 2 (omit in vs. 2*b*, "Balak and Balaam"), vs. 4*b* (from "and they said to him"), vs. 3 (at the end read: "and he went to inquire the command of Yahweh"),<sup>19</sup> vss. 4*a*, 5, 6—there is not a bit of evidence for the presence of two sources, and none has been adduced by either von Gall or Holzinger. Indeed, on the whole question of the apportionment of chaps. 23 and 24 Wellhausen has seen much more clearly than von Gall (and Holzinger). The latter's theory is so artificial and fanciful that Baentsch rejects it altogether. In the main, Wellhausen's and Baentsch's theory in regard to chaps. 23 and 24 commends itself. There are, however, some points at which it may be improved.

It should be observed that the first poem is no blessing at all, and that it is surprising that Balak should declare in vs. 11 that Balaam has *thoroughly* blessed, בֵּרַךְ בְּרִיךְ, Israel. We shall have to speak of this again.

That the introduction to the second poem is homogeneous and belongs to E is conceded by Wellhausen and Baentsch. The only question is concerning the clause, "only its extremity shalt thou see and all of it thou shalt not see." This is regarded by almost all as a

<sup>17</sup> That von Gall and Holzinger differ somewhat in the apportionment of the verses to J and E respectively is of minor interest.

<sup>18</sup> This is already an old proposal.

<sup>19</sup> Volz, who is followed by Baentsch, reads וְשָׁאֵל עַיִן יְהוָה, following the LXX reading ἐπερωτήσαι τὸν θεόν. It is true that LXX has a conflation, for it adds καὶ ἐπερωτήσαι εὐθείαν, which corresponds to the consonantal text of M. T.; and it is also true that LXX did not know—not only here, but also in some other cases—what to do with וְשָׁאֵל, and the ἐπερωτήσαι τὸν θεόν may be merely a guess. But may it not be that we have in וְשָׁאֵל an abbreviation for וְשָׁאֵל עַיִן יְהוָה, the first letter of the three words being used as abbreviations וְ שָׁאֵל עַיִן? We should then have a contraction by a copyist in M. T. I am, of course, aware that this principle of textual criticism does not go unchallenged. Many deny the use of abbreviations, but when we have, in addition to internal evidence, also the evidence of the LXX, the argument in favor of it is materially strengthened. At any rate, it would seem that the LXX, if they did not read וְשָׁאֵל עַיִן יְהוָה, regarded וְשָׁאֵל as an abbreviation for the phrase.

redactional gloss, and rightly so, for it is plain that E means to say that Balaam will see the whole people from the new place to which Balak is going to bring him. But since he makes them change places still another time, the redactor put in this little sentence in order to save his climax; for there would be no necessity for another change, if it were stated that Balaam saw the whole people already from the second place. Now, the change to the third place is not original in E, but is due to the redactor, who wanted to combine the two sets of oracles; vss. 25-30 are generally regarded as coming from him. It is also generally understood that the defining clause "that overlooketh Jeshimon" in vs. 28 belongs originally after "Pisgah" in vs. 14, with which it is also connected in Numb. 21:20. The redactor transferred it to vs. 28, in accord with his above-mentioned scheme. But if E originally declared that Balaam was going to see the whole people from the Pisgah, it is evident that he must have stated that he saw it after his arrival on the mountain. Nothing of the kind is contained in the verses before us, and yet the redactor has preserved it, namely in 24:2a, "And Balaam lifted up his eyes and saw Israel settled according to its tribes." *Chap. 24:2a belongs to E and stood originally directly after 23:14.* In the place where it now stands it is part of the introduction to J's oracle. The redactor placed it there because it suited his introduction to the third poem. Originally it was part of E's introduction to the second poem in 23:18ff.

As has already been said, 23:25-30 are regarded as coming from the redactor. The only objection to this is in connection with vs. 25, where Balak exclaims, "Thou dost neither *curse*, nor dost thou *bless!*"<sup>20</sup> The device of getting sense out of this sentence by omitting the first negative and translating, "thou shalt curse and not bless!" is too drastic. Baentsch thinks Balak meant, "Thou shalt do neither the one nor the other." But the fatal objection to this is that Balaam has already blessed Israel, and, knowing the efficacy of the once spoken word of blessing or curse, we cannot assume that Balak said anything so strange. The whole trouble is really due to the redactor, for the verse belongs originally after the first poem. We have already noticed that the first poem contained neither a curse nor a blessing, and the situation is this: Balaam has pronounced his first

<sup>20</sup> "Curse" and "bless" are very emphatic in the Hebrew text.

poem; Balak is astonished that he has neither blessed (i. e., of course, him and Moab) nor cursed (Israel),<sup>21</sup> and tells him so; whereupon Balaam answers that he can say only what Yahweh tells him. Balak assumes that the place might make a difference, and brings him therefore to a mountain whence he can see the whole people. Balaam now proclaims his second oracle, in which he announces Israel's success and blessing. The continuation of E after the second poem is contained, not in the immediately following verses, which belong to the redactor, who combines by means of them the two sets of poems, but in 24:10 ff.<sup>22</sup> Balak becomes exceedingly angry, for he had not called him to bless but to curse Israel, and sends him away in his wrath, refusing to give him any of the promised compensation (cf. 22:17, 37). Whereupon the seer has his vengeance on him (a delicate touch of human nature, and therefore certainly belonging to the original story of E!)<sup>23</sup> by declaring not only that he had told him beforehand that he could not do anything against the will of Yahweh, but by giving him another oracle free of charge, this time proclaiming what Israel would do to Moab later on:

There shall come forth a star out of Jacob,  
And a scepter shall rise out of Israel,  
And shall smite through the corners of Moab  
And break down all the sons of Sheth(?)<sup>24</sup>

This oracle contained in 24:17 belongs to E and not to J. Addis had already perceived that the oracles of E could not have ended in chap. 23. "The Elohist account," he says in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, "of the prophecies must, however, have made some references to Moab, and must therefore have contained more than is now given in chap. 23." This something more is contained in 24:17. That 24:17 does not come from J is plain from two things: (1) J has already a close parallel to this in 24:7; (2) the linguistic

<sup>21</sup> Should we perhaps read: "Thou dost neither curse him, nor dost thou bless me"?

<sup>22</sup> Of course, the "these three times" in vs. 10 belongs to the redactor, as is generally conceded.

<sup>23</sup> It is very unlikely that the redactor should have written vs. 14. It is too natural and fits too well into the narrative, especially when it is seen that the oracle in vs. 17 belongs to E and not to J.

<sup>24</sup> For a reconstruction of the text cf. below.

argument refers it to E. Compare with it 23:9, 10, which come from E, and note the parallelism and identity of expressions and order in **אֲשׁוּרְנִי** and **אֲרֵאנִי**. That this final oracle in vs. 17 is so short finds its explanation in the nature of the situation: it is Balaam's parting shot at Balak! And as such, of course, the shorter the more effective it is. The end of E's narrative is contained in 24:25, "And Balaam rose and went and returned to his place, and Balak also went on his way."

The question remains, in regard to the rest of the oracles, whether they belong to J or E, or whether they are later additions. It is customary nowadays to refer them to very late times. They have absolutely nothing to do with either J or E, or with any pre-exilic writer. The reason for this is twofold: (1) the linguistic argument worked out especially by von Gall; (2) the historical argument based on the interpretation of the oracles themselves. But it must be confessed that the linguistic argument is absolutely unconvincing, and in connection with the historical argument we must first look at the text, for these oracles are in a notoriously bad condition textually. Perhaps it is not out of place here to emphasize that the presumption is to regard these oracles as belonging either to the one or the other of the two sources to which the narrative belongs so far. If there are difficulties in the way of this assumption, arising from certain definite historical references which at once relegate the verses to a later time, then, of course, they are to be so regarded; but the presumption is not in favor of a late, and certainly not an extremely late, date. It is necessary to bear this in mind, because there is a tendency at the present time to regard *a priori* everything as very late, unless it can be proved to be early. The presumption in a case like the present lies in the other direction.

In regard to the text, then, there are the following observations to be made:

24:17c:

וּמַחֲץ פִּאֲתֵי מוֹאָב  
וּקִקֵּר כָּל-בְּנֵי-שֵׁת

The second half is not clear. The Massorites seem to have regarded **וּקִקֵּר** as a verb meaning "to break down," denominative from **קִיר** (Gray): "And he shall break down all the sons of Sheth."

But from Jer. 48:45 וְקִדְקֵד has been emended into וְקִדְקֵד. The difficulty is in שָׁת. It appears to me that we must regard שָׁת as containing originally a verbal form from a synonym of מָחַץ, so that we should have

And he shall smite through the temples of Moab,  
And the skull of all his sons shall he shatter.

Either כָּחַת or שָׁבַר would do.<sup>25</sup> וְקִדְקֵד פֶּלֶא-בְנֵי יַפֶּת or with prophetic perfect פָּתַח.

24:18, 19. This oracle has been beautifully reconstructed by von Gall. The only thing that does not seem to be necessary is the transposing of the verses, for there are enough other examples of this parallelism where the first line corresponds to the fourth and the second to the third.

וְהָיָה אֶדְוֹם יִרְשָׁה  
וְיִשְׂרָאֵל עֲשֶׂה חֵיל  
וְיִירַד יַעֲקֹב [ב]אֵיבָיו  
וְהָאֲבִיד שְׂרִיד שֵׁעִיר

And Edom shall become a possession (i. e., of the enemy),  
While Israel doeth valiant deeds,  
And Jacob shall trample down his enemies  
And destroy the survivors of Seir.

24:21, 22. The literal translation,

Ever-enduring is thy habitation  
And placed in the rock thy nest,  
Nevertheless is Kain doomed to destruction  
How long? Ashshur shall carry thee captive!—

is awkward in the last line, which is in all probability corrupt. We may perhaps suggest the following emendation:

M.T. עֲדֵמָה אֲשֹׁר תִּשְׁבָּה  
עֲדֵמָה אֲשֹׁר תִּבְתָּה

How long shall I (still) see thy dwelling?

This would put the fourth line in sharp contrast to the first line: "Ever-enduring is thy habitation, O Kain."<sup>26</sup> Ever-lasting? Do

<sup>25</sup> Or should we think of כָּחַשׁ with its pounding and crushing?

<sup>26</sup> Baentsch adds correctly קִין to the first line, which brings out beautifully the word play between קָנָה and קִין.

not be mistaken. It shall be utterly swept away. Not a vestige shall remain! And how soon that will come about!

24:23, 24.      אֹיִר מִי יַחֲדָה מְשֻׁמוֹ אֵל  
                          וְצִים מִיָּד כְּתִים  
                          וְעֲנֹ אַשְׁשֻׁר וְעֲנֵי-עֵבֶר  
                          וְגַם-הוּא עֲדֵי אֶבֶר

This may be translated:

Alas! who shall live after God hath appointed him?  
 But ships from the side of Kittim  
 Shall afflict Ashshur, and shall afflict 'Eber;  
 And he also (shall be) unto destruction."<sup>7</sup>

"This is commonly understood to mean: How terrible will Assyria be! none will expect to escape her power! Yet she will perish at the hands of the Kittim." But "no overthrow of the Assyrian empire by the western maritime peoples is known."<sup>7</sup> The conclusion to which scholars have come, that the existing text is more or less corrupt, is inevitable. But none of the emendations offered, however brilliant some of them may be, have commanded assent. It is with a good deal of misgiving that I venture to propose another emendation, but I do so in the hope that it may appear also to others as somewhat more probable than the former.

In the first line, read instead of מְשֻׁמוֹ אֵל the very similar מְשֻׁמוֹת אֵל, the only difference being the ת.

In the second line, read instead of וְצִים מִיָּד כְּתִים  
                          וְיֵצֵא מִיָּד כְּתִים

The differences in the consonants are here also slight. The ך in וְצִים is probably due to dittography.

In the third line, read instead of וְעֲנֹ אַשְׁשֻׁר וְעֲנֵי-עֵבֶר  
                          וְעַם נִשְׁאָר וְעַם נֶעְבֵּר

The differences here appear to be greater at first sight than they really are. The only considerable one is the ך.

If we take these altogether, we have an oracle which may be translated as follows:

Alas! who shall survive God's destroying  
 And escape from the shatterers' hand?<sup>8</sup>  
 Even a people that is left and a people that is passed over—  
 It also is doomed to destruction!

<sup>7</sup> Gray.

<sup>8</sup> The כְּתִים are El's agents.



Whatever may be objected to this reconstruction, it certainly gives good sense and provides us with the climax that we expect in this seventh and last utterance. That the narrator or redactor did not see in the poem a definite people addressed is clear from the introductory formula, "And he took up his oracle and said," while we have in the other cases, "And he saw the Amalekites, the Kenites, and took up his oracle and said." We have here, then, a summary of the wonderful victories of Israel condensed in these four lines. Not only the Moabites, Edomites, Amalekites, Kenites; no, every people is to go down before the advance of this great nation, for whom God himself is fighting!

If these textual suggestions hold good, there is no reason for assigning these oracles to a late post-exilic date.<sup>29</sup> There is no historical consideration whatever that prevents our regarding them as belonging to J. The redactor found them already in J. He has, indeed, separated 24:7 f., to which they belong, from them and made in this way a fourth oracle and inserted short introductions in vss. 20, 21, 23. But he has still given us a hint that he took them from J by introducing them with J's opening formula, 24:15, 16=24:3, 4.

Of course, the question will at once be asked: Is it then to be supposed that all these passages are original Balaam oracles? That is not asserted. All that is maintained is that the redactor found there oracles already connected with J and E respectively, when he combined the two. It is not denied that they do not belong to the original Balaam story. On the contrary, there is a good deal in the suggestion (cf. Holzinger) that there was originally only one Balaam oracle, and that around this original oracle as a nucleus there grew later additions both in J and in E, but these additions are already earlier than the combination of the two stories by the redactor.<sup>30</sup>

The most striking passage in the whole story is the episode of the speaking ass. In it we have the master of the art of story-telling in the Old Testament, J, at his best. Once read or heard, the story can never be forgotten. The narrative in J moves rapidly in the beginning till we come to this part; then all the incidental figures,

<sup>29</sup>And even if they do not hold good, the arguments for a late post-exilic date are too precarious to be relied on.

<sup>30</sup>A few suggestions on this original oracle will be found at the end of this article.

the elders of the Moabites and Midianites, and Balaam's own servants, are dropped, and the whole attention is focused on the ass, the angel, and Balaam. We are in a fairy-land; the ass can speak! J takes time to describe the whole situation in detail; he is in no hurry now. He means that his hearers and readers should appreciate the humor and seriousness of the story: the ass far-famed for his stupidity is wiser than the seer far-famed for his wonderful wisdom; the ass sees the vision long before the seer! The anger of Balaam and the conversation of Balaam and his ass are full of humor and pathos. The angel of Yahweh appearing in broad daylight with drawn sword opposing the ass and the seer; the threefold repetition of it and its insistent emphasis; the stupidity of Balaam who cannot see that something unusual is going on; the sternness of the angel's speech; his compassion for the ass contrasted with Balaam's cruelty; the seer's confusion and lame excuse—all are masterly portrayed. J's descriptions are as keen and his delineations as sharp as if they were etched in steel. And the underlying ideas! Balaam is not a Hebrew prophet, but one of those ancient Arabic magicians or seers. He looks for omens. He sets out to curse, but the Spirit of God comes over him with overpowering force and he must bless! A strange, but interesting and important, theory of inspiration! And the angel! He is regarded as ready to fight for Israel—an embodiment of the ancient conception of the warrior Yahweh. But the most interesting figure is by all means the ass. She is unusually clear-sighted, and with what profound logic the beast talks! She tells Balaam what conclusions he should have drawn from the experiences on the way! It was easy to overdraw this feature and make the whole grotesque, and a lesser artist would have done so; but J never makes that mistake. How the Israelites must have enjoyed his story! And how much we also still enjoy it when we take it for what it is—not history, but legend!

In E we are in a different world. No speaking ass, no angel with sword in broad daylight, no magician! Balaam is like a Hebrew prophet; Yahweh appears to him in the night, and puts his word into his mouth. No compensation can allure him to do anything against God's will; like Micaiah ben Imlah, he declares that he can do only what Yahweh wants him to do. In sharp contrast to him

stands Balak, the king. He is materialistic; he thinks money is powerful enough to procure him even divine favor; he judges Balaam by himself when he thinks the man probably wants more money and honor. His servants are like him in this respect. They tell him not a word about *divine* prohibition. He is superstitious, believing not only in the power of the blessing and curse, which highly advanced prophets also did, but in the importance of the right place for the curse. He changes places for that reason. He is disappointed, angry. In J Balaam is angry. Both writers picture the emotion well. E uses Balak as a contrast to Balaam. Here the materialistic, superstitious king; there the noble prophet who does only Yahweh's will, even though it may be against his material advantage. The one touch of humor in E comes in at this point. When Balak in his anger and disappointment does not wish to give the seer any compensation for his troubles, Balaam gives him another oracle without money as a parting shot! We touch here the important characteristic of E's narrative; he pictures the human emotions of fear and anger, of hope and disappointment, of resentment and revenge, materialism and idealism, superstition and faith. The age of the charming fairy-stories is past for E; he is a theologian. But not yet one of the blue type; his men are men of flesh and blood, with human passions and shortcomings.

That the redactor could not well discard any element of these two different stories is evident. Underlying both of them is Yahweh's care for Israel and the idea that, if God is for Israel, none can be successful against it, and even the enemy is used by him to bring about Israel's glory. The redactor has succeeded very well. The unevennesses are few. His literary tact is great; he omits very little, and is so skilful in the compilation that he succeeds in producing another climax. His composite work is beautiful because of his tact and skill.

It has already been mentioned that the suggestion has been made that we should assume only one original oracle of Balaam, which forms the nucleus of all the oracles contained in chaps. 23 and 24. Perhaps we may still be able to point out the original oracle, or at least the main component parts of it. In the following some suggestions along this line are offered. But, before proceeding with them, one passage must be considered in regard to its text. The importance of this will appear at once. This passage is in 24:7a.

24:7a.

תִּלְמִים מִדִּלְקִי  
חֲרָעוּ בְּמִים רַבִּים

The literal translation,

Water flows down from his buckets  
And his seed is in many waters—

gives no sense. LXX reads *ἐξελεύσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ καὶ κυριεύσει ἐθνῶν πολλῶν*, which presupposes a consonantal text in Hebrew very much like the Massoretic, which is placed under it to show the slight differences:

יֵאָזֵל אִישׁ מִזֶּרְעוֹ וַיִּמְשֹׁל בְּעַמִּים רַבִּים  
יִזְל מִים מִדִּלְקִי חֲרָעוּ בְּמִים רַבִּים

For the omission of the א in יֵאָזֵל compare Jer. 2:36. The א shows that the words were displaced. The changes are slight. Gray thinks that “*ἄνθρωπος* is probably a paraphrase for water, and *σπέρμα* for bucket,” (!), and a little later he says: “*זֶרְעִי* *his seed*, can just as well be punctuated *זָרְעִי* *his arm*, of which G’s *κυριεύσει* . . . may be a paraphrase” (!).

In view of the second half of the stanza, where we have a celebration of the monarchy in the words

His king shall be higher than Agag  
And his kingdom shall be exalted,

it is very likely indeed that the LXX text is right here, when it begins with

A man shall proceed from his seed (posterity),  
And shall rule over many nations.

This text gives sense, while the Massoretic text gives none; it is in harmony with the second half of the verse, and therefore what we expect. Moreover, it has the support of the LXX.

It is true יֵאָזֵל has an Aramaic flavor, but it occurs also in a pre-exilic passage, 1 Sam. 9:7, which is sufficient to establish its pre-exilic use. But, in addition, another consideration may be made. Is the use of just this word not intentional to give the saying that little touch of the foreigner which the Israelites would recognize at once, and is not the same also true of דָּרָךְ in vs. 17? Such considerations have received too little attention in the past, but their force should be recognized in Hebrew, as it is in other literatures.

Now we may turn to the consideration of the original oracle of J and E. Since it is quite natural to assume that there was originally only one oracle underlying the various poems that we now have, it has been suggested that we must look for the original element in the verses that are parallel in J and E; in other words, to 23:22, 24, on the one hand, and 24:8, 9, on the other. On the basis of this, I venture to propose a reconstruction, the purely hypothetical character of which I duly appreciate. Dogmatic certainty is here altogether out of the question.

First let us place the passages side by side.

E

God who brings them out of Egypt  
Is like the horns of the wild ox to him.  
Behold (it is) a people like a lioness, stand-  
ing up,  
And like a lion, lifting itself up.  
It does not lie down till it devour the prey  
And drink the blood of the slain.

J

God who brings him out of Egypt  
Is like the horns of the wild ox to him.  
He devours nations his adversaries  
And breaks their bones  
And shatters his oppressors.  
He has crouched, lain down like a lion,  
And like a lioness, who dares stir him  
up?

It is evident that we have here simply variants of the same original. That of E is somewhat smoother. But it is extremely difficult to decide which stands nearer to the original. Perhaps we do well to look first at the second part of the oracle, for I believe there was a second part to it. This underlies the parallel verses 24:7 and 24:17. That this has not been suggested before is due to the fact that both these verses have hitherto been regarded as belonging to J, which we saw good reason to doubt. To J belongs 24:7; to E, 24:17. They are therefore parallel verses in J and E, respectively, and can and must, if the suggestion on which we are building is sound, be used with just as much right for the reconstruction of the original oracle as the verses in chaps. 23 and 24, respectively. It should, perhaps, be added that the parallel character of these verses did not appear so clearly before as it does in the reconstruction which has been proposed above. The verses are:

24:7

A man shall proceed from his seed,  
And he shall rule over many nations,  
And higher than Agag shall be his king,  
And his kingdom shall be exalted.

24:17

A star has shone forth out of Jacob,  
And a scepter has arisen from Israel,  
And he smites through the temples of  
Moab  
And shatters the skull of all her sons.

That these two passages are strictly parallel, and therefore variants, can hardly be gainsaid. At the same time, it appears impossible to say which represents the underlying original more nearly. But it should be noticed that J's oracle looks rather as if it were directed specially, though not exclusively (cf. l. 3), against Amalek and not against Moab, Agag being an Amalekitish king,<sup>30</sup> while we expect from the prose narrative that Moab should be especially mentioned, just as is done in E. It looks, therefore, as if the last two verses of E stood nearer to the original than the corresponding lines in J.

It will be noticed that this stanza consists both in J and in E of two double-lines, and we may naturally infer from this that the first part of the poem was

<sup>30</sup> The various proposals to get rid of Agag do not appeal to me. I regard the Hebrew text as correct.

written in the same strophical manner. Based on this, I would offer tentatively the following reconstruction of the first part:

God who leads it (Israel) out of Egypt  
Is like the horns of the wild ox unto it.  
Behold (it is) a people like a lioness, standing up,  
And like a lion, lifting itself up.<sup>31</sup>  
It devours nations its adversaries<sup>32</sup>  
And breaks their bones  
And shatters its oppressors  
And drinks the blood of the slain.

<sup>31</sup> Variant: "It has couched, lain down like a lion  
And like a lioness, who dare rouse it?"

<sup>32</sup> Variant: "It does not lie down until it devours prey."

## THE GOD-CONSCIOUSNESS OF JESUS

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An eminent Trinitarian writer<sup>1</sup> has called attention to the imitableness of Jesus as a long-lost and recently recovered truth, and to its recovery as a "vast service that Unitarianism has rendered to the Christian belief of the century." It is, as he says, a truth which "has far less to fear from the avowed enemies of a high morality than from a narrow religious zeal." It is inseparable from the truth of the normal humanity of Jesus, a truth likewise long submerged and but recently regained. If in any point, either by excess or by defect, Jesus were not normally human throughout, not wholly as subject as we to human conditions in the ability to draw upon divine resources of knowledge and power, then, of course, he could not be entirely imitable. The question of his entire imitableness is therefore more than a problem of theology; it is also a fundamental question of practical discipleship to him, and is here taken up with that interest mainly in view. Even now it is far from being a settled question, vital as it is.

Some years ago the present writer, addressing a group of New England pastors, elicited the dissent of the majority from the statement that the words of Jesus, as expressive of a consciousness far transcending that of other men, were of greater significance than any or all of his mighty works. In the view then entertained of the evidences of his divine mission his works of power took precedence of the sublime utterances which reflected the consciousness of his relation to God. Antiquated as this view is now tending to become, the recency of the incident is suggestive. Even now, in the thought of far the larger number of Christian ministers, the miraculous element in the record of the life of Jesus is still the central point of interest. Comparatively small attention fastens on the central problem presented by the mind of Jesus, by his declarations of inti-

<sup>1</sup> Rev. George A. Gordon, in *The Christ of Today*, pp. 70, 71.

mate relationship with God, by his consciousness of entire unity with God. Many would deny that there is a problem here. Here, they would say, is simply the revelation of an exceptional being, who comes to us from a higher world. Nevertheless, a mystery, a problem, is apparent still. For the extraordinary consciousness of God which is discovered in Jesus is the product of a mind admitted to be genuinely and thoroughly human, well poised and sane. As a phenomenon of such a mind there is at least no *prima facie* ground for denying it to be essentially reproducible.

This, then, is the present question: Is there any limit to the imitableness of Jesus? His imitableness, an axiom of primitive Christianity, has been reinstated in Christian conviction, at least in the sphere of conduct, as a principle essential to the development of Christian character. But conduct is not the whole of character. Conduct is the embodiment of consciousness; it is motivated and sustained by consciousness. Imitableness that goes no deeper than conduct is not worth effort or consideration. Unless Jesus be fully imitable in consciousness, it does not appear how he can be fully imitable in conduct. A practical question of fundamental ethical importance is thus involved in the present inquiry.

The Hebrew conception of deity emphasized the divine transcendence. Jesus, in his professed aim to round out and complete the teachings of his forerunners, gave equal prominence, at least in speaking of himself, to the hitherto undeveloped truth of the divine immanence. God was in him as well as above him. Of this truth Jesus makes himself the representative, especially in the extent to which he carries his use of the terms "father" and "son" to express the relation between God and himself. Domestic affection and human sympathy have familiarized the world with the ideal of

Two souls with but a single thought,  
Two hearts that beat as one.

In transferring this ideal from time to eternity, in extending it to include humanity and deity in spiritual unity, Jesus has set himself apart from all other religious teachers, while joining them all in reverential recognition of the divine transcendence: "My Father is greater than I." His uniqueness essentially consists of this peculiar consciousness, from which issue the expressions of his entire unity



with God that still excite the world's wonder: "What my Father does I do. What I say he says through me. We two are one. Would you know his mind? Behold mine. Would you know what he requires? See what I do." Conceivable enough in the sympathetic friendship of man with man, such a consciousness of unity in thought and deed is declared untransferable to the relations of humanity and deity.

On the one hand, it has been held, since the time of the early œcumenical creeds, that deity and humanity are essentially different in nature, and that such a consciousness is impossible except in a person in whom the two natures are conjoined, as it is affirmed they were conjoined in Jesus, the one and only God-man.

On the other hand, it is affirmed by many modern critics that the expressions of a peculiar consciousness of God which, especially in the fourth gospel, are ascribed to Jesus, are of doubtful authenticity. Accordingly they rule the present inquiry out of order until the authenticity has been settled by critical investigation. To such summary closing of the question there is a reasonable demurrer. One may have grave doubts of the authorship of the fourth gospel, and yet claim that a question of spiritual or ethical authority is wholly independent of any conclusion about its literary vehicle. The question which any one of the so-called "lost arts" raises as to its reproducibility depends not at all on identification of the forgotten artist. And so, when many, as now, declare the fourth gospel to be the work of an unknown religious romancer, and its expressions of Jesus' God-consciousness to be mere theosophical speculation, utterly unhistorical, one may with entire reason rejoin: Even so, the question of the imitableness of such a consciousness is not thereby settled. To discard these controverted sentences does not annihilate them. Even if no part of Jesus' history, they are still historical, seeing that *they exist*, and have long been before the world in manuscripts centuries older than any others now existing. Ascribed to Jesus, they are ascribed to him as a man in peculiar relation to God, a Jew whom favorably disposed contemporaries, like Nicodemus, classing him as a rabbi, addressed as "a teacher come from God." The sayings in question exist in the story of a human life, whose varying conditions of activity and trial seem to say, in the words of

the Roman procurator, "Ecce homo." Constantly they breathe forth the feeling of an ideal sonship to God, closer and dearer than any other that any literature has preserved. Even were they, as contended, now unidentifiable with any human name, yet simply as an ideal would they possess, especially to whomsoever the thought of filial relationship to God is dear, the imperativeness which conscience accords to every pure and high ideal, when once presented. They demand imitation, if not of the real Jesus, then of one who has been supposed to be Jesus. Such considerations not only justify but require the ruling out, as irrelevant to the present inquiry, of the demand that the authorship of the document presenting such an ideal shall be settled before it can be treated as of practical importance.

But something more than that it is now irrelevant must be said of the contention that such sayings of Jesus are "unhistorical." A noteworthy specimen of them is in a sentence of Jesus' prayer for his disciples at the Last Supper: "The glory which thou hast given me I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one."<sup>2</sup> Observe the dominating note here; it is practical, not theosophical, the unification, the solidarity of the disciples in lives all centered in God. Here it is strikingly significant that the underlying ideas are precisely those to which modern science and philosophy are bringing the thought of our day—the unity of all lives in a common life, the identity of moral nature in man and God, the immanence of deity. But these were notoriously not the ideas either of the second century or of the first. Whoever expressed them then—whether Jesus, or, as some critics allege, a Christian writer now unknown—they certainly constitute, in the history of human thought, a phenomenon most extraordinary at that time, and simply as such entitled to more recognition than it receives. Whether uttered by Jesus, or by another, this, at least, is certain: no name of that period except Jesus is found elevated above the mental and spiritual limitations of the time sufficiently to have been capable of uttering them. It is mere dogmatism to declare him incapable. Probability is largely on the side of the tradition which reports them as substantially his. In the following discussion they may, for convenience, at least, be

<sup>2</sup> John 17:22, 23.

reasonably referred to as his, especially as the contention which would rule them out has been shown irrelevant. Here, however, may be cited the judgment of Professor Wernle, of Basel, in a work free from all bias toward orthodoxy.<sup>3</sup> This admits, as "the mystery of Christianity," that the synoptic gospels by themselves exhibit in Jesus "a self-consciousness that is more than merely human"—a fact, he says, to be accepted as such. In quoting this recognition in the first three gospels of what is here under discussion as predominantly characteristic of the fourth, its implication is by no means accepted, that there is any such thing in reality as the "merely human" in apartness from God. That in the view of the evangelists Jesus' God-consciousness was superhuman can hardly be doubted. The present question is: Was it absolutely such, or only relatively to theirs? In other words, is it fully imitable?

The formula most briefly expressing this consciousness is Jesus' reiterated saying: "I am in the Father, and the Father in me."<sup>4</sup> But sayings of the apostles exhibit close parallels to this. The first half of it is closely reproduced in Paul's words: "In him we live, and move, and have our being."<sup>5</sup> With the entire sentence various sayings in John's first epistle accord, e. g.: "He that abideth in love abideth in God, and God abideth in him."<sup>6</sup> This concord of the apostles and their Master shows in him and in them the same God-consciousness, but with a difference—a difference that may explain the peculiar eminence held by Jesus in the thought of his apostles. It is one thing to possess a truth, another thing to be possessed by that truth. Of this we find in ourselves abundant proof. Call to mind Tennyson's verses on "The Higher Pantheism," and its oft-quoted line: "Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands or feet." We thus affirm the immanence of God in ourselves; but how feebly we realize our affirmation, how slight and transient its hold on our thought! Intellectually we conceive ourselves embosomed in Infinite Being, but the conception does not so cling to the mind as to root itself in the feeling which is the subsoil of clear thought. Is it, then, affirming aught more than known mental laws warrant, if we say that the intensity of Jesus' God-consciousness

<sup>3</sup> *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. I, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> John 14:10; 10:38.

<sup>5</sup> Acts 17:28.

<sup>6</sup> John 4:16.

is, in the first place, due to that intensity of thought which succeeds in self-saturation with a sublime idea? What a raw and untoward nature might not attain in any such endeavor, might reward the effort of a refined and susceptible nature to realize in itself the Pauline conception of being "filled unto all the fulness of God."<sup>7</sup> What might not be reached by one crowded with passing interests and cumbered with much serving, might be attained by another oft in the vigils of devotion, as was Jesus, and greatly given to prayer. Temperament, also, with its variable psychological conditions, is a factor of large account, as the history of religious mysticism shows. Imperfect as is our record of Jesus' life, little more than a month of days in all, it credits him with all the conditions now conceivable for a rare attainment in the highest branch of knowledge—the knowledge of God.

There have been many men of God. Here appears to be a man *in* God, consciously so as no other has been, and so speaking consciously out of God as no other has spoken. From such a consciousness proceeds what is loosely termed his self-assertion: "I am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life"—not to be deemed mere self-assertion in one who subjoins: "The words that I say unto you I speak not from myself, but the Father abiding in me doeth his works." If Paul could say of himself, "We have the mind of Christ,"<sup>8</sup> with no less reason might Jesus say that he had the mind of his heavenly Father, and spoke of himself only what God thought of him. In this we cannot judge him. It is well if we submit to be judged by one of deeper insight and larger knowledge than our own. The religious insight of saints and mystics is not accountable to intellectual analysis or test. Feeling, consciousness, ecstatic intuition, are facts that burst all prescribed or customary forms. But it is not to be forgotten here that the fundamental consciousness uttered in the sentence, "I am in the Father, and the Father in me," does not in a merely intellectual view overpass the truths acknowledged today: the immanence of deity, the identity of our moral nature with the divine, the unity of life through all its manifestations from the lowest sentience and intelligence to the highest. Even that surprising word, "Before Abraham was I am,"<sup>9</sup> might, apart

<sup>7</sup> Eph. 3:19.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Cor. 2:16.

<sup>9</sup> John 8:58; "was" = was born, R. V. marg.

from any idea of individual pre-existence, conceivably find such vindication as moments of rapturous insight may obtain; either, as Professor Gilbert says,<sup>10</sup> in the conception of an ideal pre-existence in the Eternal Purpose, or else in a conception of the divinely inbreathed life that in mortal form thinks the thought of God today, as being in itself coeternal with the divine life whose thought it thinks.

But, furthermore, it is clear that the God-consciousness manifested in Jesus is no merely intellectual product, though not without an intellectual ground. Grounded in an insight verified in our time, though transcending the thought of his time, which conceived of man as clay-born, and alien in nature to God, it is evidently fed and winged by devotional feeling. Jesus does not say with his apostles, "I am in God, and God in me," but, "I am in the Father, and the Father in me." Here the difference between them and him begins to appear. They noted it from the first, drawing, as in the Epistle to the Hebrews, a contrast between Moses, who was faithful as a servant, and Christ, who was faithful as a son.<sup>11</sup> Mere intensity of thought to the point of saturation with an idea might produce the speculative consciousness of a Spinoza—the "pure intellectual love," in which he became "God-intoxicated," as Novalis called him. But Jesus' consciousness of his Father was plainly an emotional, filial affection, and therefore of a different type. God-consciousness that is merely speculative gravitates inevitably toward pantheism like Spinoza's, like that of Hinduism, in Emerson's well-known poem, "Brahma:"

They reckon ill who leave me out.  
When me they fly, I am the wings:  
I am the doubter and the doubt,  
And I the hymn the Brahmin sings.

Above this blank abyss of indistinguishable being speculative thought needs the wings of feeling to sustain it, a clear-eyed emotion that discerns and strives to close with its object as other than self, and desires it for the satisfaction of self. The love of God by man, as of one being by another, is foreign to pantheism. But Jesus is no pantheist. An emotional element of thought added to, or rather suffusing, the intellectual is conspicuous in his consciousness of God.

<sup>10</sup> *The Revelation of Jesus*, p. 214.

<sup>11</sup> Heb. 3:5, 6.

His characteristic appellation of deity, and the tone of filial sympathy in which his lips utter the word "Father," attest it. Furthermore, nothing less than profound and glowing feeling can absorb the whole man, as Jesus was absorbed in his thought of his Father and himself as mutually indwelling in each other, and mutually delighting in each other. Only the high temperature of ecstatic filial feeling, raised by hours of vigil and prayer uninterrupted by distracting cares, could conceivably generate—and one can hardly disbelieve it adequate to generate—the sublime utterances which to most have seemed indicative of a descent from heavenly, rather than of an ascent from earthly, conditions. He is not only the one member of our race who has made the truth that our humanity eternally exists in God a dominant regulative of his thought. He is also the one man to whom this truth has endeared itself in the depths of feeling, saturating his soul with its sweetness, and uttering itself in the expressions of a filial consciousness as from the bosom of paternal love. Unique is he in this, but is he also imitable?

In type and kind, no doubt, he is. So God is imitable. Science strives to imitate the way and work of God in nature, yet with what disparity in result! The finest needle-point we can make the microscope shows to be as rough and blunt as a crowbar beside God's perfect work in the gnat's lancet. Jesus and his apostles propose God's work and way in the moral world as our model. "Ye shall be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect:"<sup>12</sup> "Be ye imitators of God as beloved children."<sup>13</sup> Here also, however studious imitators in type and kind, how far short are we in degree and result! The imitableness of Jesus' God-consciousness at least in type and kind may not be doubted. But does not even this admission fix a point far short of which Christian endeavor seems content to rest? One cannot say that any noticeable number of Jesus' disciples have advanced beyond the Old Testament sage, who realized that "the eyes of Jehovah are in every place, keeping watch upon the evil and the good."<sup>14</sup> Certainly the consciousness of Jesus apprehended much more than the divine omnipresence. We, too, have gone intellectually beyond that in our affirmation of the divine immanence. In our theology this is now much set by, but its value and power as

<sup>12</sup> Matt. 5:48.<sup>13</sup> Eph. 5:1.<sup>14</sup> Prov. 15:3.

a factor in religious feeling, and as fuel for spiritual life, still wait for appreciation and use.

But if now by the imitableness of Jesus' consciousness is meant more than its reproduction in type and kind, what shall we say? Is it presumptuous to affirm that what is commonly meant by it is its attainableness in degree and result? This can be pronounced intrinsically impossible only on one ground—a ground restricting even the imitableness of Jesus in conduct only—the fifth century affirmation of “two natures” in Jesus, mysteriously conjoined in a union in which the divine element energized in ways impossible to the human, so that divine resources were open to Jesus that are closed to all other men. But modern theism repudiates that notion of the “two natures in one person” as a fallacy which, as Professor A. V. G. Allen has said, “sanctified divorce between the divine and the human, secular and religious, body and spirit.”<sup>15</sup> Humanity and deity are one nature. Moral nature through all its ranges is one and the same. Life, whether in the self-existent fount or in the derived streamlet, is one. The living God enshrines his thought in increasing measure in all the forms that exhibit, from the least to the greatest, the ascent of the unitary life inbreathed by him. Moreover, “the image of God” in man, in which the foundation lines of his being were laid, is still incomplete—a thing not of original, but of ultimate realization.

“Man as yet is being made and, ere the crowning age of ages,  
Shall not æon after æon pass and touch him into shape?”

Still, as in the apostolic age, “the earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the revealing of the sons of God,”<sup>16</sup> the God who lives, however unrecognized, in us, and in whom, however unconsciously, we live. Who, now, that soberly estimates the present embryonic or infantile development of spiritual man—barely three centuries removed, as we are, from the time when Christians were burned for heresy by fellow-Christians, and not yet so advanced but that pious men are still ostracised by pious men for differences of opinion concerning theological mysteries—can reasonably appeal to experience as certifying denial that the God-consciousness of Jesus is reproducible in degree as well as in kind? It is reproducible, because its conditions are not irreproducible. On the one hand, the intellectual ground

<sup>15</sup> *Continuity of Christian Thought*, p. 143.

<sup>16</sup> Rom. 8:19.

of its possibility exists in the data of an enlightened theism. On the other hand, the emotional ground is given in the recorded practices of converse with God by which Jesus cultivated it, until the sublime conception which he, not alone among men, possessed, possessed him, as it has never yet possessed another, raising him to a peculiar spiritual exaltation as the supreme revelation of the Eternal Spirit in a human life to a mortal world.

Finally, it needs be distinctly and seriously recognized that it is not merely a speculative interest, but still more a profoundly practical interest, that is involved in this inquiry. Whoever regards Jesus as the supreme exemplar of mankind, the ideal man, of whom John Stuart Mill confessed that there was no higher rule for human conduct than to aim at approval by Jesus Christ, may well inquire: What was Jesus' secret? How did he become what he has been in all after-time? Even so free a critic as Professor Wernle goes to the length of saying: "It is impossible that a time should ever come when any single Christian should acquire for his fellow-Christians the significance of Jesus."<sup>17</sup> Does not his secret shine forth in that consciousness of the divine indwelling so uniquely developed in him as to have set him above the race to which he belongs? What conclusion, then, is more reasonable than this, that all successful imitation of him in moral effort and religious aspiration must be sustained, in just the degree that it attains completeness, by imitating his cultivation of the inner source and spring and stimulus of such effort and aspiration—the consciousness of self as in God, and of God as in self; nay, more—of what Jesus thought and felt in filial sympathy and joy, "*I am in the Father, and the Father in me*"?

In the surprises and shocks, the emergencies and crises, of life, amid distracting interests and besetting infirmities, on many a trivial occasion when off one's guard, who is ever consistent to his purpose and true to his ideal in any line whatever, except through the poise and the power supplied by a cherished consciousness that has rooted itself with the tenacity of instinct in the core of his being—a consciousness such as is illustrated in the records of devoted patriotism, of maternal affection, of heroic philanthropy—by which in each case the good will becomes automatic and indeflectible amid all the winds

<sup>17</sup> *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. I, p. 38.



of impulse to deviate from its purposed line? As a practicable way of gaining such stability the cultivation of a consciousness of the divine omnipresence has been recommended—a “practicing the presence of God,” as it has been called. Effective as this may be for repression of passion, for control of desire, for fidelity to duty, “as ever in the Great Taskmaster’s eye,” it is doubtful if it rises above the attainment of self-control; doubtful if it is adequate to full self-realization; for this must go along with self-knowledge. If it be true, as has been said, that “to be ourselves we must be more than ourselves,” we must also know that we are more than ourselves. Of such self-knowledge elect souls of various types of greatness have had glimpses in exalted moments, when they have felt a power not their own pouring its currents through all their faculties, and have confessed that in oneness with it they were more than themselves. Evidently the self-realization of Jesus, attained through consciousness of the embosoming, indwelling, and inworking Father, is of this human type, and therefore not hopelessly and forever beyond human attainment. It is the glory of the religion of Jesus, with its fundamental truth of the kinship, the unity, of humanity and deity, that it exhibits in his person the demonstrated power of this truth to uplift the human to the divine, to transfigure the human into the divine. What Athanasius said of Jesus, “The Son is the living Will of the Father,” defines the goal of self-realization for every disciple who receives from Jesus the uplift of his peculiar thought of God, and the incentive to use it for all that it is worth. One who caught that thought exclaimed:

Let each man think himself an act of God,  
His mind a thought, his life a breath of God.

But the first truths of nature are the last truths of moral realization—such a truth, for instance, as the brotherhood of man. One who sees how this is even yet ignored is here reminded of Jesus’ saying to Nicodemus: “If I told you earthly things and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you heavenly things?”<sup>18</sup> But perhaps in those “ages to come” of which Paul wrote to the Colossians, of which Tennyson has sung:

If twenty million summers are stored in the sunlight still,  
We are far from the noon of man, there is room for the race to grow,

<sup>18</sup> John 3:12.

the mountain top from which Jesus for nineteen centuries has called to the world, "Come unto me," will not seem so inaccessible, nor its air so rarefied and unbreathable, as it now appears to the dwellers on the dusty plains. The way to it lies open. There is no evidence that the way is broken by any impassable chasm intervening. Jesus' word, "The disciple when perfected shall be as his master,"<sup>19</sup> Paul has reaffirmed in the amplest conceivable terms, pointing upward, "Till we all attain unto full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Luke 6:40.

<sup>20</sup> Eph. 4:13.

## FATHERHOOD AND FORGIVENESS

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The doctrine of the forgiveness of sins is clearly and abundantly taught in both the Old and New Testaments. A few passages only need to be cited. In 2 Chron. 7:14 God says to Solomon: "If my people which are called by my name, shall humble themselves and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear from Heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land." In Ps. 32:5 the Psalmist says: "I said I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin." In Ps. 99:8 we read: "Thou wast a God that forgavest them, though thou tookest vengeance on their doings." Ps. 130:4 reads: "There is forgiveness with thee that thou mayest be feared." Daniel 9:9 reads: "To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses."

In the New Testament the doctrine is taught in such passages as these: Matt. 6:12: "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors." Matt. 6:14: "If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you." I John 1:9: "If we confess our sins he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness."

Paul in Col. 1:14 makes forgiveness identical with or equivalent to redemption: "In whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins;" and in Eph. 1:7 he says: "We have our redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses." Numerous passages in the New Testament teach that the forgiveness of sins is in some way vitally connected with the shedding of the blood, that is, the death, of Christ. Jesus said to his disciples, gathered at the Passover board: "This is my blood of the covenant which is poured out for many." Paul (Acts 20:28) exhorts the elders of the church at Ephesus: "Feed the church of God which he hath purchased with his blood." In Rom. 5:6 Paul says: "God commendeth his

love towards us in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." In 2 Cor. 5:14 he says: "Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures;" and Peter (1 Pet. 1:18) says: "Ye were redeemed, not with corruptible things as silver and gold, . . . but with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot;" and John (1 John 1:7) says: "If we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another and the blood of Jesus his Son cleanseth us from all sin."

Some of these passages state expressly, and the others assume, that forgiveness is conditioned on repentance, in whatever way repentance is manifested. The gospel which Paul and Peter and John preached required repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ (Acts 20:21). The uniform teaching of the New Testament is that God offers forgiveness to every penitent sinner, forasmuch as "him who knew no sin he made to be sin on our behalf that we might become the righteousness of God in him" (2 Cor. 5:21); that Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us (Gal. 3:13); that Jesus was made a little lower than the angels . . . that he should taste death for every man (Heb. 2:9); that his own self bore our sins in his body upon the tree (1 Pet. 2:9); that Christ also suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God (1 Pet. 3:18).

On such Scripture texts as these theologians have built various theories of the so-called doctrine of atonement; but widely as these theories may differ from each other, all agree that the mission of Jesus Christ into the world was to save sinners, and that the gift of his Son was necessary on God's part, and repentance and faith on the sinner's part, to his forgiveness.

Now, it cannot be denied that the doctrine of the atonement has been a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense to many. Not a few have found themselves unable to reconcile their conception of it with their conception of divine righteousness. That an innocent man should be allowed to bear the penalty justly due to a guilty man, and the guilty man, the actual transgressor, in consequence should be set free, seems to them subversive of a fundamental principle of righteous government. Such an exchange of places seems to them as impossible as an exchange of characters. And the various, and

often discordant, theories of the atonement have doubtless had their origin in the desire to adjust the doctrine to the principles of righteous government—to make it plain to human reason that God can be just and yet the justifier of him that believes in Jesus.

Before plunging into the discussion, it may be well to pause long enough to define what is meant by forgiveness. For the purposes of this discussion a brief statement will suffice. Forgiveness presupposes a wrong committed by one person against another. The wrong merits punishment, but the infliction of the punishment does not heal the breach made by the wrong act. It does not of itself restore the friendship that existed previously. The two parties may stand in the same attitude toward each other as if no punishment had been inflicted. But repentance changes the attitude of the one who has wronged the other, and makes it possible for him who suffered the wrong, by extending forgiveness, to heal the breach, so that the friendship and fellowship that formerly existed shall be perfectly restored. What else may follow on repentance and forgiveness we do not now need to inquire. It is by forgiveness, not by the infliction of penalty, that the two parties are mutually reconciled, and in as hearty fellowship as if no wrong had been committed. The sinfulness of sin is seen, not chiefly in the fact that it deserves penalty, but in the fact that it separates the two parties and weakens or wholly destroys the bond of friendship and fellowship between them. "Your iniquities," says the prophet, "have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you." Forgiveness does not repair the injury done, but reconciles the two parties.

It must be evident that before we can decide whether a theory of atonement is consistent with righteous government, we need to have a clear conception of the nature of the government itself under which we are living.

There are three institutions which we are accustomed to say are of divine appointment: the family, the state, and the Christian church. Is any one of these modeled after God's government of men in this world, and, if so, which? It may help us to determine this to institute a comparison between the earthly family and the state. Both these are imperfect as yet. There has not yet appeared the ideal state or the ideal family, but there are elements in each that are unmistakable.

The purpose of civil government is well set forth in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States. It reads thus: "We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity, do ordain," etc. Civil government is here seen to be an organization of men for the protection, preservation, and perpetuity of their natural rights to life, property, and liberty. Its sphere is a limited one. It undertakes to throw around its subjects certain safeguards whereby they may be able to pursue unmolested the ends in life which they may choose for themselves. Civil government must leave its subjects as free as possible to work out, each for himself, his own destiny, availing himself of all legitimate helps that may be within his reach. Chief among these helps is the family organization. The family needs, and is entitled to, the protection of the state in order that it may accomplish the purpose for which God has instituted it, but its own mission is higher and wider than that of the state, and the accomplishment of this mission requires methods of procedure quite other than those which belong to civil government.

The family was instituted by God, not merely for the perpetuation of the race, but to secure in harmony with individual freedom and responsibility the highest well-being of all its members. The head of the family and the seat of authority (under God), and the bearer of responsibility, is the parent. To the parent, more than to any one besides is committed the well-being, for this life and the coming life, of the children God has given him. This responsibility every parent assumes voluntarily, but, once assumed, it can never be thrown off. Nor may the child (though his consent was not asked to the compact) rid himself of the obligations imposed by the relation. In this matter God says: "All souls are mine;" and he exercises his sovereignty in establishing the relation of parent and offspring. The failure of one party to perform his duty does not release the other from his.

Both the state and the family have their sphere of action in a world composed of imperfect and erring men, and a problem always before them is how to deal with transgressors. The purpose of the state being to maintain the rights of its citizens, it enacts and executes

laws which may deter or prevent men from violating the rights of others. These laws must be just and impartial. The supreme virtue of a state is justice. This must be maintained at all costs, for upon this the life of the state is dependent. In dealing with transgressors justice will require the state: (1) To punish all violators of law as promptly as is consistent with justice; for if sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, evil-doers will grow bold in iniquity; the law's delays are among the chief evils under which we have to suffer. (2) To proportion the measure and quality of the punishment to the character and degree of the criminality. Excessive punishment, by awakening in the offender a sense of injustice, produces hatred toward the government and provokes him to further crime; while inadequate punishment produces contempt for the authority of the state. (3) To inflict the penalty upon the actual transgressor. The guilty party must not be allowed to buy with money or favor exemption from punishment, or to offer a substitute to endure the penalty in his place. Some duties to the state may be performed by proxy, as the payment of tax or even military service, but no righteous civil government would dare to transfer the punishment of a crime from the guilty party to an innocent one. (4) To shield, as far as it has the power, its loyal and law-abiding subjects from loss or damage and suffering resulting from the acts of law-breakers. That the state is not able to do this perfectly is because of the imperfection of all organizations administered by imperfect men.

It has come to be understood that the punishments inflicted by the state must not be inhuman. Torture, either to extort confession or to intensify suffering, is condemned. But it is not claimed that the purpose of punishment by the state is the reformation of the criminal. Whatever is done with this view is something outside the sphere of civil government, as much so as religious instruction would be. The pardoning power can scarcely be regarded as within the sphere of civil government. Its exercise is always fraught with danger to the authority of the government, and is to be regarded rather as the correction of an error, as in overlooking extenuating circumstances, or in the infliction of excessive penalties, than as an act of undeserved grace. Certainly pardon by executive clemency is never

granted on the ground that another has suffered as the substitute for the real criminal.

If in any of the points here named a state fails, to that extent its authority and power are weakened, and its very existence imperiled.

Let us turn now to a consideration of the constitution of the family. There will probably be no dissent from the statement already made, that the purpose of the institution of the earthly family is the promotion of the highest well-being of all its members. If we could make every family an ideal family, we should scarcely need civil government at all, but no degree of perfection in civil government would supersede the family.

The family is a unity, composed of parents and children. A distinguishing characteristic of it is that whatever affects one member of the body affects more or less all the members. If one member suffers, all the members suffer; if one member is honored, all the members share in the honor; and if one member sins, all the members suffer in consequence of the sin. As the parent is in the place of authority and the bearer of responsibility which he has assumed voluntarily, he has it in his power to inflict the greatest evil, and he is the chief sufferer if evil befalls the family or any member of it. He may entail disease or poverty or suffering or disgrace upon his children, and if any of them go wrong, he is the chief sufferer; while all the others suffer in their measure; the better they are morally, the keener their suffering. All this is involved in the very constitution of the family. But this is the very reverse of what we found in the civil state. The state, as far as lies in its power, protects its obedient citizens from the evil resulting from criminal acts. In the family all the members suffer together. The state cuts off the offending right hand or plucks out the offending right eye, that the whole body may not be cast into hell. In the family all the vitality of the body is brought into exercise to restore health and soundness to the diseased member. The healthy and strong members rally to the aid of the weak. This is in obedience to the supreme law of the family—the highest well-being of all the members, which requires the lifting up of the one that falls, as well as the mutual support of one another. The wise parent is not always prompt in administering deserved punishment to an offending child. He reproves and coun-



sels and patiently delays in order to give the offender time to repent; and, if he repents, he either withholds the deserved punishment altogether, or proportions it, not to the measure of guilt, but with reference to the well-being of the child. When the civil magistrate holds the scales, in one side is put the crime and in the other punishment, the one exactly balancing the other. When the parent holds the scales, the offense is balanced by regard for the well-being of the offender, and the well-being of one is the well-being of all, for they are members one of another. The ideal family is not one in which every transgression and disobedience receives its just recompense of reward, but one in which each strives to promote the well-being of all the others, as well the wayward and disobedient as the obedient. This involves suffering on the part of the innocent as well as of the guilty. The chief sufferer in the family is the parent. He is not worthy the name of parent if he does not suffer when any of his children sins. In becoming a parent he subjected himself to this liability. He became responsible for the good conduct and well-being of the children God might commit to his care, and he must not shrink from the suffering when it comes. Such is the constitution of the earthly family, as God has appointed it.

The radical difference between the civil state and the earthly family appears in Christ's parable which we call the Parable of the Prodigal Son. The sin of the younger son, though not one which civil government takes cognizance of, because it is outside of its sphere, was a very grievous one, little less than parricide. But when he returned and penitently confessed his sin against his father and God, he was met with a welcoming kiss of forgiveness. How would one who had fled from justice, but returned penitent to his native land, be received on his return? Instead of a welcoming kiss, he would be met by an officer and escorted to prison. No fatted calf would be killed, and there would be no music and dancing. Yet we all admire and approve the conduct of the father of the prodigal, and we all equally would justify the action of civil government in bringing to justice the fugitive, however penitent. Civil government and the earthly family are constituted for different ends. But who can measure the depth of the father's grief and anguish of soul while the unnatural son was wasting his substance in riotous living? None

but a father. Did the suffering he endured produce hatred toward his son and a desire for revenge for his unfilial conduct? By no means. It made him long to see him return repentant. The father's sorrow was because of his love for his son, and the kiss was the token of forgiveness.

So much as this must be manifest at this stage of our discussion, that there are some theories of the atonement which can find no place in civil government. No properly administered civil government would long procrastinate the execution of the penalty due the criminal in order to give him time for repentance and forgiveness, nor allow the one who had suffered wrong to share with the culprit in the punishment of the wrong, nor accept a substitute to bear the punishment in place of the wrong-doer.

Before we reject the doctrine of atonement, it is fitting that we ask whether the divine government corresponds in its constitution and purpose with civil government, as we are acquainted with it in the world.

Without question, there is a moral element in the divine government as we observe it in the world. God is evidently an ethical being. He makes a difference between right-doing and wrong-doing by attaching different consequences to the two. Wrong-doing inevitably works evil, and right-doing, good. Whoever reaps the fruit, the fruit itself is always the same. Men do not gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles. The fact that this law of sequence is invariable assures us that it is grounded in the nature of God. He is a power that makes for righteousness. If God creates moral and rational beings, they must be subject to this law. But another fact is equally manifest, viz., that the evil effects of wrong-doing do not fall upon the wrong-doers alone, nor the good resulting from right-doing accrue to the righteous alone; but both are widely distributed, so that what Charles Kingsley says may be true, that "there never was a good man but that the whole of Christendom, perhaps of all mankind, was, sooner or later, better for him, and there never was a bad man but that all Christendom was the worse for him." And yet, in spite of such facts, we cling to our instinctive faith that the judge of all the earth will do right. There is manifestly a mighty current in human affairs in favor of righteousness.

The facts which we find it hard to reconcile with our ideas of righteous government are such as these: (1) All suffer in this life in consequence of sins not their own; God does actually visit the sins of the fathers on their children. (2) All receive benefits from the good deeds of others upon whom and for which they have no personal claim. (3) Evil-doers often escape the natural and just consequences of their evil deeds in consequence of what others do or suffer on their account. But there is another feature of the divine administration, equally manifest: (4) Evil-disposed persons are often deterred from doing evil by perceiving that their ill-doing will result in suffering to others, or are brought to repentance by witnessing the suffering they have brought upon others by their evil conduct. A vicious parent will often refrain from vicious conduct out of regard for his children, who will suffer in consequence, or he may be reformed by witnessing the suffering which his sin has caused them. A profligate son may be brought to repentance by being made to realize the grief and anguish which his sin has caused his parents.

All these things are not accidents, but are of such frequent occurrence as to indicate that they were contemplated in the divine plan of government, and were introduced for a benevolent purpose.

It is manifest also that the divine government recognizes not only each individual, holding each one responsible for his own acts, but that also families, tribes, nations, and the entire human race are regarded by God as unities with which he deals on righteous principles. God sends judgments upon sinful nations as such, and the few righteous suffer in common with the many wicked. In the words of Julius Müller:

It is a superficial view of human nature which regards it as being, in a moral respect, a mere aggregate of individual personalities, morally connected with each other, only in so far as they receive one from another discipline, doctrine, example. Behind this division into atoms may be discerned a native substantial unity in which the moral life of the individual is rooted as in its maternal soil.

And Professor Stahl (quoted by Olshausen) says:

The shallower the man, so much more isolated will every thing appear to him. . . . He will see in mankind, in the nation, even in the family, mere individuals where the act of one has no connection with that of another. The more profound the man, so much the more do these inward relations of unity, proceeding from the very center, force themselves upon his notice.

We return now to the question whether the divine government, as we are able to discern its working in the world, corresponds with what we admit to be necessary characteristics of civil government. It must be manifest at once, from the facts which have just been named, that sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily; that the good members of a family or nation or community suffer for the sins of the evil; that the bad are often saved from the consequences of their evil deeds by what the good do, and even share in the fruit of trees planted by good men. Such facts make it certain that civil governments are not constructed on the same lines as the divine government and do not aim to accomplish the same ends. The divine government aims at presenting every man perfect before God. It seeks to mold character after the likeness of Christ the Son of God; while civil government is framed with a view to the preservation of individual rights. The earthly family, on the other hand, having a purpose in direct line with that of the divine government, seems modeled after the divine, and the ideal earthly family would be a miniature of the family in heaven.

At this point there emerges the doctrine of the fatherhood of God. In the *American Journal of Theology* for July, 1901, there is an article by the late Dr. Northrup on this subject. The article is so recent that the present writer does not need to reproduce what is contained in it, but would refer his readers to it. Our immediate inquiry is as to the kind of government under which we are living: is it paternal or regal? The present writer is in substantial agreement with Dr. Northrup in the scriptural part of his argument, that Adam is called the son of God (Luke 3:38); that in the Old Testament God is frequently called Father and his dealings with men spoken of as those of a Father; that Christ most frequently speaks of God as *the* Father; and that Paul says: "There is one God and Father of all."

If it has been made plain that there is no theory of the atonement, consistent with the Scriptures, which can find place in a government constituted like civil government, the inquiry naturally arises whether the difficulty that men have found in accepting the doctrine has not been due to a wrong conception of the nature and purpose of the divine government itself, and whether the conception of that government as paternal rather than regal will not remove the difficulty; in

other words, whether the doctrine of atonement taught in the Scriptures will not harmonize perfectly with the divine government conceived as paternal. To this question let us now address ourselves.

We cannot conceive how it would be possible for God to create a moral being without the possibility that he should sin. If there can be no virtue without temptation, then, since there could be no temptation if there were no power to yield to temptation, it must be possible for a moral being to sin. This is not the same as to say that there could be no virtue without the experience of sinning. Christ had no experience of sinning. He was *tempted* in all points, yet without sin. But all other men have sinned. It is safe to say that God knew that sin *might* come into the world. Knowing this possibility, might we not naturally expect him to make provision for delivering men from it? No wise shipowner sends his ship to sea without all possible provision for the rescue of the crew and passengers in case of wreck. He does not trust to chance for their escape. If God be a Father, he would not fail to make the best provision possible for the rescue of his children in case of their fall by sin. This provision for the recovery of those who might fall we may expect to find in the relation constituted between God and man when man was created. God created man in his own image. This can mean no less than that their natures are kindred, and the kinship is that of parent and child. The relation of parent and child is one voluntarily assumed by the parent, and once assumed it cannot be renounced. No honorable parent will disown his own child, or repudiate the obligations which he assumed when he became a parent, to do all in his power for the well-being of his children. Parent and child are bound together by such indissoluble ties that one cannot suffer without involving the other in suffering. We may shrink from saying that God was under *obligation* to provide for the deliverance of his sinning children, but God is love, and his own nature is a law to himself. His love constrained him to assume the obligation, and God does not repent.

The constitution of the human family, though it compels the innocent to suffer with the guilty and the benefactors of the world to share the fruits of their labors with evil-doers, was planned (if we may so say) with reference to human redemption, and, rightly apprehended, manifests the divine wisdom and love. In God's sight, the

whole human race constitutes one family of which God is the Father. As in the earthly family the parent holds himself responsible for the well-being of his children, and leaves no means untried to reclaim the one that goes wrong, using chastening, kindness, warnings, entreaties, and long-suffering, according as one or the other promises to win back the erring one, so does God deal with each one of his disobedient and wayward children. As the responsible head of the family, He is the sin-bearer of the family. The sin-bearing began when sin entered the family in the persons of our first parents. Their sin was not only an offense, but a grief to him. The sin of Cain grieved him. The wickedness of the antediluvian world grieved him to his heart. The Old Testament is a record of God's strivings with a sinful race to save them from destroying themselves by sin, and to bring them to repentance. In all their afflictions, though it was their sins that brought affliction upon them, he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them. At length, in the fulness of time, God, incarnate in Jesus Christ, came into the world. He came unto his own—the members of his own family—and his own received him not. He was the divine head of the family, and had come to complete the work which had been in progress for all the generations, for the redemption of the race. Redeemer from everlasting is his name (Isa., 63:16). Righteous government makes suffering as the consequence of sin inevitable, whether we can trace the suffering to the sin as cause or regard it as inflicted by the hand of God. Jesus Christ—God manifest in flesh—came into the world to share in the earthly lot of the race. He was made flesh that he might dwell among us full of grace and truth, and yet experience in his own person the utmost suffering that human nature is capable of, except sin itself. Death is the wages of sin, and Christ became obedient unto death, the death of the cross. He tasted death for every man because he was the head and representative of the race of sinners. There is truth in the view that Christ's sufferings are fitted to lead the sinner to repentance and were endured with this purpose, but this can be true only if those sufferings were *necessary* to the sinner's salvation. Suffering self-inflicted, with a view to its effect upon the wrong-doer, would inspire only contempt. A father lashing himself on account of the offense of his child would not command our respect.

Most of the theories of the atonement lay chief, if not exclusive, stress upon the death of Christ, as if this alone were necessary to procure our pardon; but if the view here presented be correct, it was the identification of himself with the human family from the moment of man's creation, not merely at the incarnation, with all that is involved in this, that constitutes him our Redeemer. Human redemption was not procured simply and solely by what Christ did or suffered in Gethsemane and on the cross, nor even during his life on the earth. He was the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world—our “Redeemer *from everlasting*,” and from the entrance of sin into the world he had been working out our redemption, as a true father labors and suffers to save a wayward child. It is true that the New Testament writers lay great stress upon his death as necessary to our salvation. It is convenient to designate a series of events, by a term derived from the most prominent feature of the series. We say of our soldiers that died in battle, that they gave their lives for us; that they shed their blood for us; that they died for their country. Their death is the event that makes the deepest impression on our minds. It was the culmination of their career in the service of their country. But, in fact, the service they rendered before they fell in battle must be taken in to the account as well as their death. But they would never have rendered this service to liberty, had they not been willing to lay down their lives, as in fact they did; so that we are right in saying that they died for us. Had Christ shrunk from the cross, he would not have been the captain of our salvation. Though his redeeming work did not consist solely in his death, that was the culmination and consummation of his work. He had to share our earthly lot fully, and it is appointed unto men once to die. Sin reached its culmination when it slew the prince of life, and divine love was perfectly manifested when he who was the Lord of glory suffered himself to be taken by wicked hands and crucified and slain. The divine head of the human race, the sinless head of a sinful race, bore all that a sinless being could bear from sinners, that he might deliver them from sin and death. The human race was constituted a unit—a body in which the innocent suffer with and for the guilty, in order that its divine head might bear the sins of the whole race as a parent bears the sins of his own children. The solidarity of the human race is a solidarity in Christ.

How shall we designate the suffering which every parent has to bear who is faithful to his trust? Is it not *vicarious* suffering? Is not all that the members of a household suffer for the sake of the others vicarious suffering? Is it not certain that no family could long exist but for this vicarious element in its constitution? The parent who should attempt to govern his family as the civil state is governed would soon destroy it; and the civil ruler who should attempt to rule as a father rules his household would soon find himself without subjects to govern.

Does anyone, then, say that the atonement as here presented involves injustice—that it is not just that the innocent should suffer vicariously and the guilty receive the benefit of his suffering? But is not this what every parent does almost every day of his life? Does not the vicarious element run through all our family life like a scarlet thread? Does it not constitute an element in the very life of the family without which it, and the race, would soon perish? A civil government may be pronounced righteous when it perfectly accomplishes the purpose for which God appointed it. A parent may be accounted righteous in his dealings with his children when he does all that it is possible for him to do to secure the highest well-being of them all.

Does someone say it would be unjust in God to make any innocent person suffer? What warrant is there for saying that sin is the sole cause of suffering, or that only sinners can or ought to be sufferers? Was there not suffering in the world before sin entered it? May not a sinless being (angel or the Son of God) be permitted to purchase for himself or for another a precious boon at the cost of suffering?

Was there injustice in the transaction when the Son of God, for the *joy* that was set before him, endured the cross and despised the shame? It is not true that there could be no virtue without the experience of sinning, but it is true that there can come supreme blessedness through vicarious suffering. God is not unjust to forget any labor of love or to fail to reward it. When the father saw his son afar off and heard his words of penitent confession, did he not feel that he had received compensation for all that he had suffered? The joy that was set before Christ when he endured the cross was that he should see of the travail of his soul and be *satisfied*.



If the writer has, in the foregoing pages, accomplished that which he purposed, he has made it appear (1) that the Scriptures teach that sin may be forgiven to the truly penitent; (2) that the sufferings of Christ unto death were necessary in order to the bestowal of pardon; (3) that in a government established on the principles and for the purpose for which civil governments in the world exist there is no provision for forgiveness, because there is no vicarious element in the constitution of such a government, and so that the difficulty which has been found in accepting most of the theories of the atonement arose from a wrong conception of the nature of the divine government under which men are living; (4) that in the earthly family appointed by God for the perpetuation and education of the race a vicarious element exists and is a vital element without which the family could not long exist; (5) that the same vicarious element is plainly discernible in the government under which we find ourselves, as seen in God's dealings with the human race; (6) that this feature of the divine government, introduced when man was created, makes possible a provision for human redemption in case of man's fall into sin; (7) that as God has been from the beginning the Head and Father of the race, with all a father's prerogatives and responsibilities, so man has been from the beginning not under law, but under grace, and that, Christ having died for our sins, according to the Scriptures, forgiveness is the prerogative of fatherhood.

## HARNACK'S "PROBABILIA" CONCERNING THE ADDRESS AND THE AUTHOR OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

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The year 1900 saw a new and vigorous impulse given to the critical examination of the Epistle to the Hebrews by the publications of Harnack's *Probabilia*. While his hypothesis has not gained any general acceptance, he has found a ready following in his endeavor to discover *to whom the epistle is addressed*. It is his conjecture concerning the *authorship*—i. e., that this is to be attributed to Prisca and her husband Aquila—which has met with opposition not only on the part of exegetes of the apologetic school, to whom the idea of a new Testament epistle emanating from a woman is offensive, but also on the part of unprejudiced investigators. By the latter Harnack's startling conjecture has been either distrustfully received or coolly ignored.<sup>1</sup>

It is readily admitted that the authorship by Prisca possesses, in comparison with all previous conjectures, the weight of probability. It is also admitted that everything formerly accepted in favor of Apollos' authorship argues equally for Prisca, while certain particulars which argue against the authorship of Apollos favor Prisca. Finally, it is admitted that absolutely nothing positive can be adduced *against* the Prisca hypothesis. With admirably keen insight Harnack points out that Prisca was once before robbed of her right of authorship in the New Testament<sup>2</sup> by some ancient catholicizing text-

<sup>1</sup> This attitude is well illustrated by Arnold Meyer's article in the *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, 1900, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> In weighing this argument it is not enough to test Harnack's deduction in the "Probabilia" alone (*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. I (1900), pp. 16-41; *Lutheran Church Review*, July, 1900; this must be compared with his article "Ueber die beiden Recensionen der Geschichte der Prisca und des Aquila in Act, Ap. 18:1-27" (*Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, January 11, 1900), in which the problem is discussed on a broader basis.

corrupter who, by emendation of the genuine text, attributed to other authors the epistle in which Prisca and Aquila commended Apollos to the Corinthian congregation (Acts 18:27).

But theologians have been reluctant to draw an analogous conclusion in the case of the Epistle to the Hebrews; not because Harnack's particular arguments were questioned; not because there was any lack of probability; nor because any attempt was made to point out defects in his chain of arguments. On the contrary, mere astonishment was expressed that Harnack should have attempted any such examination. That he should venture on this uncertain ground of speculation as to authorship was disapproved of from principle. It would have been more acceptable if he had exercised the *ars nescientiae* upon this dark question of authorship.

However justifiable may be this disinclination of exact science to search for the authors of ancient anonymous or pseudonymous writings, this disinclination seems out of place in the case of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Two weighty facts appear to impel us to abandon the resigned attitude of the *ars nescientiae*, to abandon the formula, *τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν πείστολὴν τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς θεὸς οἶδεν*, and to join Harnack, or one of his many predecessors, in trying to ascertain the author of the epistle: (1) The anonymity of the Epistle to the Hebrews is unique in the New Testament and its kindred literature; (2) the circle of Paul's friends is so well known that it would be surprising if, from among its many names, that of the author *ad Hebraeos* did not somewhere appear. The acceptance of these two facts alone is sufficient to prevent one from objecting on principle to Harnack's undertaking, and in support of them several points may be urged.

Innumerable literary works of Christian antiquity have, indeed, come down to us without their real author's name. But how many of them are anonymous? Do not those which lack the real name bear at least a pseudonym? In this matter of pseudonymity, three points are to be noted: either these writings were originally written under the assumed name; or there has been the substitution of a name more desirable for one less acceptable; or, finally, there is the rare case where a real name has been accidentally lost and a new name has been supplied. In such cases, however, there has

been no long delay in placing the nameless writing among the works of a recognized author, and thus they have been handed down.

It is a well-known fact that pseudonymity has a different significance in different classes of literature. In apocalyptic literature it is, for example, entirely conventional. A genuine apocalypse must be pseudepigraphic or a defect is felt. In the case of epistles, however, the situation is different. Here more than anywhere else the genuineness, or the apparent genuineness, of the author's name is of importance. A *Tendenz* is invariably responsible for pseudonymity in this class of literature, even when tradition does not go so far as it did in the case of the Epistle to Diognetus, which it rescued from its orphaned condition by giving it Justin as its father. This is as true of the Epistle of Aristee as of the Pastoral Epistles in their present form; as true of the Epistle of Jude as of the Epistle of Peter to James, found in the Clementine Homilies. Because of the personal interest attaching to every epistle, it is natural that the author's name never assumes greater importance than in any other type of literature. The writer of a pseudonymous *epistle*, or the one who substitutes in an *epistle* a pseudonym<sup>3</sup> for the true author's name, lays claim to the personal authority of the assumed author for his own directions, commissions and commands, his teachings and his testimonies, to a far greater degree than do the apocalyptic writers who pose as prophets, or even the evangelists, who speak as eyewitnesses. For between the evangelists or the apocalyptic writer, and his reader there stand the facts, the narratives, and the secrets which he sets forth; but nothing stands between the writer of an epistle and the person to whom it is written. He speaks directly as man to man addressing the reader as "thou."

In the light of these observations, the anonymity of the Epistle to the Hebrews appears so peculiar and so abnormal that it urgently demands an explanation. For why has the process indicated above

<sup>3</sup> The third possibility—that the pseudonymity may be due to accidental loss of the author's name—hardly needs mention; for, in the case of letters, the author's name is, indeed, more important, and easier to preserve than in other forms of literature. Now, the more important a thing is, the better it will be preserved, and the less likely it is to become lost. The appearance of a new spurious name, is then, far more frequently due to the correction of the old, genuine name than to the loss of one; at least, this is the case with letters.

stopped half way in the case of the Epistle to the Hebrews? Why has just this epistle lost its author's name without the substitution of a better one? This abnormal condition is not to be explained as due to an accidental mutilation of the original manuscript, since to such explanation is opposed the above-mentioned custom of supplying all accidentally anonymous epistles with an author's name—for one is interested in reading a letter only when one knows who is addressing the reader as "thou."

One perfectly definite fact, however, tells against all such attempts at explanation. Had accident robbed the Epistle to the Hebrews of its address and its author's name, it might be expected that, where the letter was first known, the effort would have been made to discover its author. But exactly the opposite is true. The Epistle of Clement shows that it was in Rome that the Epistle to the Hebrews was best known in the earliest times. Now, in Rome there was the strongest objection to the assumption of a Pauline authorship for the anonymous epistle. Eusebius makes concerning our ἐπιστολή the noteworthy remark: πρὸς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ὡς μὴ Παύλου οὔσαν ἀντιλέγεσθαι.<sup>4</sup> The Epistle to the Hebrews was there no more successful in gaining currency as the work of Barnabas than as the work of Paul.<sup>5</sup>

We can only suppose that the early church had reasons for here departing from its practice in the case of every other epistle. As above in the case of pseudonymity, so here in the case of anonymity, we must conclude that there is a *Tendenz*.

But, if we once admit the possibility that a *Tendenz* may be the ground for anonymity, we cannot deny that Harnack's *Prisca* hypothesis furnishes complete and satisfying solution.

That a parochial letter from a *woman* should have circulated in the ancient catholic world, is impossible. But if put into circulation about the year 100, from Rome, whither *Prisca* had sent it at most two or three decades earlier, it would not be possible there (even with the best intention of perpetrating a pious fraud) to stamp it as an epistle of Paul or of Barnabas. At that time in Rome, the true

<sup>4</sup> *H. E.*, III, 3:5.

<sup>5</sup> *Cf.* Hausleiter ("Zeugnis des *Tractatus de libris* für Barnabas") *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, Vol. XXIII (1900), p. 127.

state of the case cannot have been unknown. It was left *ἀπᾶτωρ* because it was not *ἀμήτωρ*, and *ἀπᾶτωρ* the epistle has remained. But it was never *ἀγενεαλόγητος*. The genealogy of the epistle points so clearly to the circle of Paul's sympathizers and fellow-workers, that there can be no doubt as to where the author is to be sought. The Epistle to the Hebrews is influenced to a greater degree by Paul than is 1 Peter or the Gospel of John.

While not many facts concerning Paul's collaborators have been handed down to us, many of their names have nevertheless been preserved. Only by assuming that tradition has omitted one of the greatest names, or that the author *ad Hebraeos* is not to be reckoned among the greatest names of primitive Christianity, could we suppose that he had been entirely forgotten among Paul's many helpers mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, or among the many who greet and are greeted in the Pauline literature. This would be, to say the least, a very remarkable chance occurrence. However important a rôle "chance occurrence" may play in reality, it is a mistake to regard "chance occurrence" as the determining factor in methodical investigation. The existence of so many things which entirely elude our accurate knowledge brings so much unavoidable uncertainty into our reckonings that to introduce chance occurrence *as the chief factor* in our calculations would almost guarantee the incorrectness of the result. For example, we should never arrive at the truth by assuming that chance occurrence is responsible for the abrupt ending of the Acts, or the loss of the closing verses of Mark. The same judgment must be passed upon the "chance occurrence" that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews should have disappeared from all early Christian literature. Whoever does not wish to exaggerate our ignorance of the apostolic age, or to make an unknown chance occurrence into a directing force in the history of the Epistle to the Hebrews, will join all preceding scholars in their search for its author among the names contained in the Pauline epistles and in the Acts of the Apostles.

Thus the chief objections to Harnack's investigation seem to me to be set aside. His arguments for the probability of Prisca's authorship can now stand forth in all their convincing power. To recount them here in detail seems unnecessary; for not only are they

accessible to everyone, in his "Probabilia;" but the individual arguments have not yet been seriously disputed.

In this connection one special thing in particular should be constantly kept in mind by both defenders and opponents of Harnack's Prisca hypothesis; Harnack has not proposed it in order to base upon it some constructive theory pertaining to the history of primitive Christianity. Nor is it his primary purpose to clear up any obscure point for the curious. But when, after examining such a point, he says, "It is probable that Prisca and Aquila wrote the epistle," he intends primarily thus to characterize the peculiar nature of the special *milieu* which is reflected in the epistle. The name Prisca calls up in memory an entire system of related ideas, each one of which facilitates our understanding of the letter. Even he who doubts the probability of Harnack's hypothesis will not deny that thus used the word Prisca gives *in nuce* a commentary on the whole epistle—a commentary unsurpassable in brevity and in clearness. Thus Harnack will have attained, in the case even of the doubter—his chief purpose in advancing the Prisca hypothesis, a purpose concerning which I have no objection to offer.

At another point, however, Harnack has left a problem still unsolved. While I regard as probable his generally doubted conclusions concerning the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, I wish, in what follows, to subject to a critical test his generally approved discussion as to the persons addressed, and to carry the investigation somewhat farther. I would especially add that, while my work in its results fits, in every respect, into Harnack's Prisca hypothesis, still it nowhere presupposes this hypothesis, the working value of which is, in spite of its probability, not very great. On the contrary, my work is essentially based upon observations which have nothing to do with that hypothesis. The results will, therefore, have an independent value.

Harnack stands on firm ground in adopting the opinion advanced by Wetstein, defended by Alford,<sup>6</sup> and established by Holtzmann, i. e., that the Epistle to the Hebrews is addressed to readers in Rome. Furthermore, he accepts Zahn's sound position that the recipients of the epistle were a small circle of persons "uniform in condition

<sup>6</sup> *The Greek Testament*, Vol. IV, 1 (1859), pp. lxii f.

and conviction," a circle of Christians of long-standing, one of the several house congregations within the metropolitan Roman church. To the arguments making for Rome I need merely refer.<sup>7</sup> That not the whole of the Roman church, but rather one of its "house congregations," was the recipient of the letter is probable from the following considerations: The individual character of the epistle is unmistakable. It shows the readers to have formed a circle very definite and concrete, but *homogeneous* in religious and moral constitution. "Nowhere does the writer recognize groups, differences, or anything of the sort" (Harnack). One cannot say to a general congregation, *οφείλοντες εἶναι διδάσκαλοι διὰ τὸν χρόνον, πάλιν χρεῖαν ἔχετε τοῦ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς*; on the contrary, such an admonition can apply only to a definite circle of experienced Christians, not containing new converts or immature disciples. Such references to *personal* experiences as those in 10:32 f. and 13:7 do not fit a large and mixed community, but a limited and personal congregation. According to 13:24, the readers are to greet *all ἡγούμενοι*, while just before this they are commanded to obey *their ἡγούμενοι*. Probably the leaders of the general congregation and the leaders of the more limited *ἐπισυναγωγή* are here set in contrast.

But have we from other writings any evidence that there were such house congregations in Rome? From Rom., chap. 16, it is to be inferred that there were at that time at least three such in Rome: that of Prisca and Aquila (vss. 3-5), that of Asyncritus (vs. 14), and that of Philologus (vs. 15).<sup>8</sup>

To these considerations Harnack now adds a negative argument. In accordance with the present tendency, he gives up the superscription *πρὸς Ἑβραίους*, and considers it impossible that it represents the original address. At the same time, he believes that the

<sup>7</sup> Heb. 13:24 (*ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*); 13:7, 17, 24 (*ἡγούμενοι* of I Clement and *προηγούμενοι* in Hermas); 10:32 sq. and 13:7 (persecution and martyrdom of *ἡγούμενοι*). Use of the epistle in I Clement.

<sup>8</sup> Ernst von Dobschütz says in his recent work, *Die urchristlichen Gemeinden*: "That there continued to be separate congregations within the [Roman] church is a natural supposition, based on the growth of the city and the probable large size of the Christian community, and is attested for a still later time by Hermas. Hence the impression made by the Epistle to the Hebrews, that it was not written to the whole Roman congregation, but to a definite circle, to a house congregation." (*Loc. cit.*, p. 140.)



title could not well have been lost if addressed to the whole Roman congregation. He thinks a more particular address could have been lost more easily than a general one from which the superscription *πρὸς Ῥωμαίους* could be taken. With this, however, I cannot agree. Whether the address read *πρὸς Φιλόλογον*, or *πρὸς τοὺς σὺν Ἀσυγκρίτῳ ἁγίοις*, or however it may have read, such a title<sup>9</sup> is no more exposed to mutilation, in the literal or in the figurative sense—than are the words *πρὸς Ῥωμαίους*, or their equivalent.

Since Harnack's other observations are correct, one must choose either (1) to attribute the loss of the address to an unfortunate accident; or (2) to combine it with the loss of the author's name (in which case it is customary to attribute the addition of the present address to a misunderstanding—that is, to something desperately like accident); or (3) to revise fundamentally the arguments which have been brought against the superscription *πρὸς Ἑβραίους*.

It is methodically correct to work first on the basis of the third suggestion, viz., to ascertain whether we may not *abide by tradition* and turn to the other two only when this attempt fails. For *πρὸς Ἑβραίους* (mentioned first by the "presbyter" of Clement)<sup>10</sup> is strongly attested by all tradition. Not alone the tradition which ascribes the epistle to Paul, but also that which attributes it to Barnabas, hands down the same *πρὸς Ἑβραίους*. It is especially to be noted that the epistle *may* very well be addressed to Romans and at the same time "to the Hebrews." This possibility was excluded so long as the readers were supposed to be an entire metropolitan church. If, however, we assume a small circle within the general community, there remains absolutely nothing to urge against the possibility that it may have been called *ἐπισυναγωγή* <sup>11</sup> *Ἑβραίων*.

But was this possible *in Rome*? and is it consistent with the contents of the epistle?

In a Roman inscription we find a reference to a *συναγωγή ΑΙΒΡΕΩΝ* (= *Ἑβραίων*) as existing there. We have, to be sure, only the name.<sup>12</sup> We do not know whether it was Jewish or Christian, in what century it existed, nor in what sense the name "Hebrew" was

<sup>9</sup> Compare note 23. <sup>10</sup> Eus., *H. E.*, VI, 14:4. <sup>11</sup> Heb. 10:25.

<sup>12</sup> C. I. G. n. 9909; Schürer, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom* (1879), p. 35.

applied to it, but the mere fact of its existence is suggestive, and something can be gathered from the contents of the inscription. The names it contains, Gadias (Gadiapater ?) and Salome, are Hebrew. But if this synagogue were a congregation of *Hebrew-speaking* Jews, then the Greek wording of the inscription would have been offensive. It is true that the whole Roma Sotteranea has not one entirely Hebrew inscription, but this is easily explained by the fact that the Hebrew congregation, like all others, had lost the Hebrew mother-tongue. They certainly did not take the name because of a conservative disposition especially to cherish the Hebrew language among themselves. Were this the case, then at least the שלום which sometimes occurs, would not be lacking from the grave of the ΣΑΛΩ (μη)<sup>13</sup> ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ ΓΑΔΙΑ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΣΤΝΑΓΩΓΗΣ ΑΙΒΡΕΩΝ.

If, accordingly, the improbability, or even the impossibility, of rendering 'Εβραῖοι "Hebrew-speaking" in the case of the synagogue at Rome is as great as the generally conceded impossibility that the Epistle to the Hebrews should be addressed to readers familiar with the Hebrew language, then there arises a further question, whether 'Εβραῖοι in its other meaning, "people of Jewish descent," is here applicable? Applied to that synagogue, the question is an idle one.<sup>14</sup> But can 'Εβραῖοι in the title of the epistle signify Jews in the national sense?

Zahn, the investigator whom Harnack has followed in so many decisive points, assumes that the intended readers of the Epistle to the Hebrews were, in general, of Jewish birth. If so, the traditional address (which, by the way, even Zahn rejects) would best accord with Zahn's conclusion as to the circle of readers—contemplated in the epistle. This point, however, he can not establish. The recipients of the epistle can scarcely all have been Jews by birth, for Zahn himself remarks:

<sup>13</sup> Is it, moreover, certain that ΣΑΛΩ is to be restored as Salome? Is it not, perhaps, to be read ΣΑΛΩΜ = שלום? The substitution of the Greek for the Hebrew letters would also go to prove that the synagogue of the Hebrews put no value on the written and spoken Hebrew. Had linguistic tendencies had any real significance in the synagogue, there would have been a stone mason at hand who could cut שלום.

<sup>14</sup> Possibly one might conclude from analogy that here also it has no restricted meaning, and thus does not exclude proselytes. But even this conclusion from analogy is suspicious; the lexicographical meaning of 'Εβραῖοι is too variable; e. g., we cannot on the basis of analogy argue from the congregation addressed in the Epistle to the Hebrews to that implied in the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

The author is writing to Christians, who from the time of their conversion (from Judaism) have had nothing to do with a Jewish sacrificial cult. . . . In the whole Epistle to the Hebrews there is not the slightest suggestion of any past or impending relapse of the readers into a Jewish cult. . . . The author does not touch upon the question as to what judgment is to be passed upon the union of Christian confession with legalistic practices.<sup>15</sup>

The above observations upon the content and tendency of the Epistle to the Hebrews are correct; but they do not harmonize with Zahn's own supposition that the readers of the letter were of Jewish nationality; on the contrary, they exclude it. For, if the readers were "exclusively of Jewish descent," they would be especially exposed, because of their ancestral religion, to the dangers of Judaism. But the Epistle to the Hebrews does not enter into the Judaistic dangers. Nay, more, it speaks of the superiority of Christ to Moses and to Aaron, in a tone free from any trace of former Jewish faith, or of regret over the loss of former prerogative. The law, too, receives at his hands such "academic treatment"<sup>16</sup> as would be inconceivable if addressed to a circle of readers to whom the law had formerly been the one exclusive reality. Moreover, the persons to whom the Epistle to the Hebrews is addressed are not interested in the questions which formerly stirred Jewish Christianity—the question of the binding force of the law for non-Jews, of the equality of circumcision and uncircumcision, and of similar problems. Since the path of the writer to the Hebrews often led close to these problems without attracting his attention to them; since, moreover, the readers, as already indicated, are maturer Christians, into whose earlier life the Pauline struggle between gentile emancipation from the law and Jewish prerogative must have penetrated, the best explanation for this indifference is found in supposing that for these Christians such questions, at a time even earlier than this (indeed, when the struggle was on), were matters of personal indifference; that the antinomian problem had marked no epoch in their lives; that they were by no means *exclusively* Jews; and that, if there were Jews (or, in the wider sense, former adherents of the Jewish religion) among them, these must have been long since emancipated, liberal,

<sup>15</sup> *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Vol. II (1899), pp. 136 f.

<sup>16</sup> Holtzmann, *Einleitung* (1892), p. 300.

and free from the law. *Nationalistic* Judaism, in particular, can have had, for them, no significance at all.

But possibly a *religious* Judaism! A few words on this point. In an *ἐπισυναγωγή*, where the Bible is to so high a degree an object of sacred reverence and devotion; where the liturgical songs, the Psalms, were so familiar; where there can have been no lack of practical acquaintance with specifically Jewish wisdom and modes of thinking—in such a communion we may well assume a large percentage of people who were grounded in these things before their conversion; indeed, from their youth up. Although Harnack may be right as regards the *individual* believer when he says: "One cannot and must not place a limit upon the ardor with which the native Gentile, when once he became a Christian, appropriated the Old Testament and adopted its contents to be his possession, his history, his genealogy," nevertheless a body of individuals is more unwieldy than an individual, and one must "place a limit" in the case of a whole group of believers, and say that in a *συναγωγή* such fervent Biblicism is conceivable only when for a large number of the group—and those the intellectual leaders—reverence for the Bible is something not acquired, but native. Thus the Biblicism of the Epistle to the Hebrews compels us to suppose among its readers a considerable number of people who had grown up in the Jewish religion, but who, as has been shown, can nevertheless, not have been trained in the severity of the law. Not Aaron, but Melchisedek, must always have been their priestly-religious ideal.

In the light of these various considerations, we cannot escape the conclusion that the congregation for which this epistle was intended had a *syncretistic* character, and that their Christianity was not of a pharisaical order, but, rather, the outgrowth of a liberal Hellenistic Judaism, which had settled the question of the validity of the law, not from contact with Christian missions, but rather because of their own propaganda among the "gentiles," and had done this, not in a fundamentally antinomian, but in a practical, conciliatory sense.

That there were such Jewish religious freethinkers—indeed, many of them—must be generally admitted since Schürer's investigation "Die Juden im bosporianischen Reiche und die Genossen-

schaften der *σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὑψίστου* ebendasselbst."<sup>17</sup> He shows that in Tanais, under Jewish influence, religious societies were formed which cherished exclusively the cult of the *θεὸς ὑψίστος*.

The religion of these "brethren" was neither Judaism nor paganism, but a neutralized form of both. From Jewish teachers they learned *σεβέσθαι θεὸν ὑψίστον*. Since they did not, as was the custom, in other places, remain in the position of Jews of the second rank as dependents of Jewish congregations, but formed an independent organization, they at the same time absorbed, or retained, Greek elements. . . . This process is instructive for the earliest history of Christianity. There are certain indications that the formation of non-legalistic pagan-Christian congregations was not exclusively the work of Paul. This process seems to have been favored in many places—for example, in Rome—by the fact that the preaching of Christ found especial acceptance in the circles of the *σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν*. Since these circles, which had appropriated only isolated elements of Jewish legalism, dissolved their connection with the Jewish synagogues and formed independent congregations, an entire rejection of the law could easily arise.

This description reads as if especially designed to set forth the peculiarities of the very *ἐπισυναγωγὴ* to which the Epistle to the Hebrews is addressed. An outgrowth from Judaism—and yet essentially gentile! Especially devoted to the sacred religious code of the Jews—and yet free from the law! If the Christian congregation of the Epistle to the Hebrews—for the expression "house congregation" is no longer altogether fitting—developed from such a religious association, or even a similar syncretistic one, then it is easy to see how so rich a religious inheritance from Judaism is compatible with the apparent absence of any acute interest in specific Jewish and Judaistic controversial questions.

Moreover, if this congregation is an original organization existing beside the non-legalistic Pauline churches, a clear light falls upon the origin of our epistle in addition to the Pauline epistles. It then furnishes no "modified Paulinism," but original conceptions, when, instead of the Pauline antithesis of law and grace, it sets forth the contrast between the imperfect shadow and the perfect reality; or when, in the place of the suffering and dying Christ, Christ as the dispenser of future blessings becomes the central point of the dis-

<sup>17</sup> *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vol. III, No. 3 (1897); cf. Cumont, "Hypsistos," *supplément à la Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, 1877, and "Friedländer, *Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*" (Göttingen, 1898; interesting, but to be used with great caution).

pensation. The Hellenistic-Jewish thread in the web of the Christian thought of this epistle no longer appears to be a hellenizing of Paulinism, but rather an element just as original as the pharisaic thread which Paul has woven into the fabric of ancient Christianity.

Before going farther, let us make three observations, not in themselves of great weight, but nevertheless, not without significance in this connection. In *Pontus* the cultus of the *θεὸς ὑψίστος* had its rise and its widest dissemination. When Claudius drove from Rome the Jews *impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes*, it was a man of Pontus, Aquila by name, who with his wife Prisca was forced to take refuge in Corinth. I shall not here urge Harnack's Prisca-hypothesis, but is there not a strong possibility that this *Pontian* Jew Aquila—the only exile whose name we know—through devotion to Christ created a disturbance in the Roman religious association of the *σεβόμενοι*<sup>18</sup>? Surely, there was communication enough between the Pontian and the Roman worshipers of the *θεὸς ὑψίστος*. What we otherwise know of Aquila and Prisca gives color to the supposition that they made use of such communication; instance their conversion of Apollos.

It is, moreover, related in the Acts of the Apostles that Aquila performed a religious ceremony which has hitherto been an unsolved riddle of exegesis. This riddle is explained if understood in the *milieu* of a syncretistic religion:

Ὁ Παῦλος, so runs Acts 18:18, *ἐξέπλει εἰς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Πρίσκιλλα καὶ Ἀκύλας, κειράμενος ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς τὴν κεφαλὴν· εἶχεν γὰρ εὐχήν.*

Aquila, then (for to him, not to Paul,<sup>19</sup> the *κειράμενος* most probably refers), sacrificed his hair, according to a custom not uncommon among Jews and heathen. In his case it may well have been a

<sup>18</sup> We must beware of identifying religious associations, mentioned here and later, with the synagogues, house congregations, etc. At that time of intermingling of religions, such organizations sprang up like mushrooms. Accordingly the investigator will get nearest to the truth, not by the method of identification, but by that of differentiation. On the other hand, the different congregations resemble one another, and among those of like tendencies, we may expect in many regards a close analogy.

<sup>19</sup> As against Harnack, who concludes, from the difference in the readings *κειράμενος*, and *ὅς ἐκείρατο*, that the first expression imposes the vow upon Paul, the second absolves him. Rather the first imposes the vow upon *Aquila*; the second is meant only to make the first clearer and to guard against misunderstanding.

so-called "great vow," a vow after escape from death, such as Philo thus describes:

ὅταν ἀπάρξωνταί τινες ἀπὸ παντὸς μέρους κτήσεως ἀνιερῶσαντες, μηκέτι δὲ ἔχοντες ὕλας, ἐν αἷς διαθήσονται τὴν εὐσέβειαν, αὐτοὺς ἀνατιθέασι καὶ καθιερούσιν, ἄλεκτον ἐπιδεικνύμενοι ὁσιότητα καὶ ὑπερβολὴν τινα γνώμης φιλοθέου. διὸ καὶ μεγάλη προσήκόν τως εὐχή καλεῖται. κτημάτων γὰρ μέγιστον αὐτός τίς ἐστιν αὐτῷ, οὗ παραχωρεῖ καὶ ἐξίσταται.

For deliverance this sacrifice is offered:

διότι τὸν σωτήρα ὄντως θεὸν ἐπιέγραπται τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτίον. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸν ᾗξατο προσαγαγεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἱερὸν βωμὸν οὐ θέμις αἵματι ἀνθρωπίνῃ μιάνεσθαι, ἔδει δέ τι πάντως μέρος ἱερουργηθῆναι, ἐσποιῶσσε λαβεῖν, ὅπερ ἀφαιρεθὲν οὐτ' ἀλγυδόνας οὔτε λώβην ἀπεργάσεται. τοῦ γὰρ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα. φυσικοῦ, καθάπερ δένδρου περιττοὺς κλάδους, τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἀπέκειρε καὶ παρέδωκε πυρί.

Such religious acts are also common to all peoples: ταῦτα κοινὰ τῶν ἄλλων.<sup>20</sup>

Comparing these words of Philo's with our other observations, the incidental notice in Acts, of Aquila's sacrifice of his hair seems to gain life and significance. We get an insight into the sphere of religious thoughts and feelings by which this Hellenistic-Jewish believer in Christ was actuated. Rescued from great danger, he dedicates himself to the god who rescued him. For this he chooses a rite not distinctively Jewish, but common to the Greeks as well.<sup>21</sup> He performs the ceremony at a place which the orthodox Jew would not select for this purpose. Such a one could sacrifice his hair only at the sacred altar at Jerusalem. Unquestionably this rite, composed of Jewish and of Hellenistic elements, recalls the syncretistic votive inscriptions so often erected by the *σεβόμενοι τὸν θεὸν ὑψίστου* in Aquila's native land.

Finally, our third brief consideration. These Judaized religious associations existed for the worship of the *θεὸς ὑψίστος*. Had they priests? We do not know. But we know that they had the sacred books.<sup>22</sup> From these they all knew *ὁπρὶν ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου*, namely, Melchisedek. May there not be a connection between

<sup>20</sup> *De victimis*, 13, 14; Mangey, II, 249 f.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Iliad*, XXIII, 140-53.

<sup>22</sup> The language of the inscription examined by Schürer is influenced by the Bible. These associations had not given up the ancient sacred book.

this and the Melchisedek speculation in the Epistle to the Hebrews?

However this may be on linguistic grounds, all these combinations seem to testify rather against than for the genuineness<sup>23</sup> of the address *πρὸς Ἑβραίους*. Does linguistic usage, indeed, permit the application of the term *συναγωγή Ἑβραίων* to such a Judaized, but yet syncretistic, association?

*Ἑβραῖοι*, it is said, signifies either the language or the nation (cf. above, p. —). These *σεβόμενοι* certainly did not use the Hebrew *tongue* in their congregation. Moreover, there was in the ancient world no room for such a tendency. Neither were they native Hebrews—at least very few of them were—but the majority were of heathen extraction and professed the Jewish *religion*, although not without reservation. Now, in what sense can the name “Hebrew” describe such a congregation?

The Epistle to the Hebrews itself gives us a clue. More than any other writing of the New Testament, it emphasizes the idea that its readers are the “people of god” (*λαὸς θεοῦ* and *λαός* used absolutely, Heb. 2:17; 4:9; 5:3; 7:27; 8:10; 9:7, 19; 10:30; 11:25; 13:12), that they are the “seed of Abraham” (2:6; 11:18). This signifies not the nationality, but the *religion* of the readers.

But cannot *οἱ Ἑβραῖοι* actually have the same sense as *λαὸς θεοῦ* or *σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ* in the epistle? Is it simply to designate the people according to language and nation? In my opinion, Carpzov long ago was right in saying: “*Hebraeorum* nomen *religionem* magis designasse, *Judaeorum* vero et *Israelitarum generis* magis ac *gentis* fuisse.”<sup>24</sup> If so, *οἱ Ἑβραῖοι* is not only a possible name, but is the most fitting of these three. For this name was used by those who were *μὴ γενεαλογούμενοι*, but merely Abraham’s heirs religiously.

Now, the first man whom the Bible calls “Hebrew” is Abram; and this occurs in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, which is so important for the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is Abram, the Hebrew,

<sup>23</sup> The discussion is not concerning genuineness in the sense of whether the superscription is to be attributed to the author, but whether from the first it has correctly designated the person addressed. In this linguistic use the address “to the Romans,” for example, is genuine, although Paul certainly did not apply to his epistle the words *Πρὸς Ῥωμαίους* as superscription. This *Πρὸς Ἑβραίους* can, therefore, not have been given to our epistle before other epistles were in circulation.

<sup>24</sup> *Prolegomena ad Exercit. Philon. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, pp. 3 f.



אַבְרָם הַעֲבֵרִי, Ἀβραμ ὁ περάτης (LXX), who accomplishes the deliverance, and brings the tithes to Melchisedek, the priest of the θεὸς ὑψιστος.

The antinomian sects, the Cainites, the Sethites, the Melchisedekians, were accustomed to choose their *Heros eponymos* from among men who, living prior to Moses, were free from the law. In the light of this same tendency the Abraham speculation of Paul is to be understood. Taken in this sense, can a more appropriate appellation be found for the non-legalistic, yet not antinomian, believers addressed in the Epistle to the Hebrews than one derived from Abram *the Hebrew*, in whom, on the one hand, all believers saw their father; whose act on the other hand acknowledges the superiority of the non-legalistic cult of the θεὸς ὑψιστος to the Levitical cult; and, finally, whose name<sup>25</sup> Ἐβραῖος περάτης furnishes the profoundest symbol for their own religious feeling?

If now, the persons addressed in the Epistle to the Hebrews applied to themselves, in this symbolic and allegorical sense the name Ἐβραῖοι, then traces of this must be discoverable in the epistle. According to the Epistle to the Hebrews, it is the religious ideal of the believers to depart from this world (αὕτη ἡ κτίσις, 9:11), from the visible (τὰ βλεπόμενα, 11:3), from the tangible (ψηλαφώμενον, 12:18), from the created and the mutable (σαλευόμενα, πεποιημένα, 12:27), and *to enter into* the fatherland, the heavenly city (11:14-16), into the true tabernacle (σκηνὴ ἀληθινή, 8:2), into the enduring city (ἡ τοὺς θεμελίους ἔχουσα πόλις), into the kingdom of the heavenly Jerusalem which cannot be moved (12:28, 22), into the invisible immaterial world (11:1, 27). This is not *one* ideal among others, but the central, religious ideal mission of mankind. Man's faith means his departure from sensuousness, from Egypt, and his entrance into the πατρίς. This faith consists in the trust in οὐ βλεπόμενα, and in τὸν ἀόρατον (11:1, 27) during the pilgrimage (11:13) through the visible world of shadows. The reward of this faith is the entrance into that eternal rest which God has prepared for his people.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Ambrosius, *De Abrah.*, II, 1: "Abraham transitus dicitur;" and cf. *Ad Phil.*, c. 4, "immutata est litera propter sonum, ut non vocarentur Abraei sed Hebraei. Si enim origo ex Abraham est, ex ipso trahi debet nomen, non ex Heber." From such violence the Epistle to the Hebrews is indeed far removed, but not from such sentiment.

The type of such a believer, who has come out of the sensual into the supersensual world, is called by Philo in the Alexandrian speculation ὁ Ἑβραῖος. Concerning this, the best authority on the Philonic system of thought says:

The universal symbol for the elevation of the sensuous into the spiritual is the Ebraeus (περάτης<sup>26</sup>). He is the pilgrim who turns from earthly to heavenly things.<sup>27</sup> Those who do this form a γένος οἷς ἔθος ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐπὶ τὰ νοητὰ μετανίστασθαι.<sup>28</sup>

Since the Epistle to the Hebrews is concerned not only in a general way with the contrast between the sensuous and the supersensuous world, but since it also emphasises, especially in the hortatory portions, the "exodus," the "migration," the "transition," the "entering in," the "coming in," it follows that these very striking words, and this peculiar use of language, had a particular meaning and value for its readers.

Let me, then, call attention to those passages in which the use of these words (ἐξέρχεσθαι, ἐξοδος, ἐξαγαγεῖν, διαβαίνειν, διέρχεσθαι, εἰσέρχεσθαι, εἰσιέναι, εἰσοδος) is most striking and surprising. They have parallels in Philo, but not in the New Testament. Even εἰσέρχεσθαι, which occurs very frequently in other portions of the New Testament, never has its meaning determined by contrast with ἐξελεθεῖν.

Ἰησοῦς . . . ἔξω τῆς πόλης ἔπαθεν. τοίνυν ἐξερχώμεθα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς, τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν αὐτοῦ φέροντες· οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ὧδε μένουσαν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπιζητούμεν (13:12, 13).

Χριστὸς εἰσῆλθεν ἐφάπαξ εἰς τὰ ἅγια. οὐ γὰρ εἰς χειροποίητα εἰσῆλθεν ἅγια Χριστός, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν, ὥσπερ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, εἰσέρχεσθαι κτλ. (9:12, 24, 25).

By this "entering in" Jesus passes *through* the veil. The veil is, however, a symbol of his flesh. Thus the whole course of Jesus' life in the flesh appears as a *passing through* (עָבַר). Thus we read (10:19, 20): [προσερχώμεθα], ἔχοντες παῖρησίαν εἰς τὴν εἰσοδόν, ἣν ἐνεκαίνισεν ἡμῖν ὁδὸν πρόσφατον καὶ ζῶσαν διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ. Beside εἰσέρχεσθαι, διέρχεσθαι is also found in this sense: ἔχοντες ἀρχιερεὰ μέγαν, διεληλυθότα τοὺς οὐρανοὺς (4:16).

<sup>26</sup> How well adapted this name is for designating a religious association is shown by the sect of the Perates.

<sup>27</sup> Philo, *id.* Mangey, I, 439, *De migr. Abr.*, 4.

<sup>28</sup> Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandrien* (1875), p. 236.

The Old Testament prototype for this is, naturally, first and foremost the migrator Abraham;<sup>29</sup> ὑπήκουσεν ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὸν τόπον ὃν ἡμελλε λαμβάνειν εἰς κληρονομίαν, καὶ ἐξῆλθε μὴ ἐπιστάμενος πού ἔρχεται (11:8). Abraham's posterity were all ὁμολογήσαντες, ὅτι ξένοι καὶ παρεπίδημοί εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. πατριδα ἐπιζητοῦσι (cf. 13:13).<sup>30</sup> They do not remember the land ἀφ' ἧς ἐξέβησαν, νῦν δὲ κρείττονος ὀρέγονται (11:14, 15). Where the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks, as here, of the *entrance into the πατρίς*, it does not refer to Abraham (who *went out* of his father's house), but (as Philo) to Jacob (Gen., 31:3), the ἀθλητὴς τέλειος.<sup>31</sup> . . . who departs from Laban, the symbol of temporal possessions, into his fatherland concerning which we read, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ γένος ἐστὶ σοι τὸ αὐτομαθές, τὸ αὐτοδίδακτον, τὸ νηπίας καὶ γαλακτώδους τροφῆς ἀμέτοχον.<sup>32</sup>

The distinctly expressed wish of the Epistle to the Hebrews is that its readers may belong to this γένος (5:12-14). Joseph's significance is expressed thus: τελευτῶν περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐμνημόνευσεν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτοῦ ἐνετείλατο (11:22). The "commandment concerning his bones" also implies an "exodus." By this he makes plain, so Philo teaches, that the contrast between earthly things (those of Egypt) and heavenly things (those of Canaan) has been revealed to him.<sup>33</sup> Whoever observes the choice of expression in the Epistle to the Hebrews will admit that he mentions the matter because his conception of it agrees with that of Philo.

Moses, too, belongs in a special sense to these pilgrims: πίστει κατέλιπεν Αἴγυπτον (the *visible*) . . . τὸν γὰρ ἀόρατον ὡς ὁρῶν ἐκατέρησεν (11:27). With this act, exactly as do those who go

<sup>29</sup> The whole eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews reads almost like a Christian paraphrase of the Philonian writing *De migratione Abrahami*.

<sup>30</sup> Beside the Epistle to the Hebrews, there is in the New Testament another epistle directed to *παρεπίδημοι*, viz., 1 Peter. Eusebius (*H. E.*, III, 4, 2) calls this an ἐπιστολή, ἐν ᾗ τοῖς ἐξ Ἑβραίων οὖσιν ἐν διασπορᾷ γράφει. It, too, then is probably an epistle to "Hebrews;" for the Ἑβραῖοι of Eusebius represents the *παρεπίδημοι* of the address.

<sup>31</sup> For the comprehension of this original, basic idea of the Epistle to the Hebrews, it is instructive that Philo applies the term τέλειος not only to the migrating Jacob, but also to the migrating Moses, in so far as he spreads his tent ἐξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς (τέλειος ἰκέτης καὶ θεραπευτής). Mangey, I, 221, *Quod det, pot. ins.*, 44.

<sup>32</sup> Mangey, I, 441, *De migr. Abr.*, 6.

<sup>33</sup> Mangey, I, 439, *De migr. Abr.*, 4; cf. Siegfried, *loc. cit.*, p. 262.

forth *παρέξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς* to Christ who suffered *ἔξω τῆς πόλεως*, he takes upon himself the *ὀνειδισμὸς τοῦ χριστοῦ* (11:26 = 13:12).

Finally, the Epistle to the Hebrews naturally cannot avoid references to the *ἔξοδος* of God's people out of Egypt. *Πίστει διέβησαν τὴν ἔρυνθραν θάλασσαν* (11:29); and the old covenant is, according to Jeremiah, closed, *ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου* (8:9).

The "entering in" corresponds to the "exodus," *οἱ πρότερον εὐαγγελισθέντες οὐκ εἰσῆλθον δι' ἀπειθείαν*, 4:6. But the anchor of our hope is secure and firm, and *εἰσερχομένη εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος, ὅπου πρόδρομος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εἰσῆλθεν Ἰησοῦς* (6:19, 20). To all who pass from the visible into the invisible world, to the people of God—may we not say, to the "Hebrews?"—it is reserved *εἰσερχεσθαι εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν* (3:11, 18, 19; 4:1, 2, 5, 6, 10, 11).

Our purpose in this comparative study has now been attained:

1. In the epistle we find in largest measure those indirect symbolical references to the etymological meaning of the name *Ἑβραῖοι*, which we should expect to find in the case of a congregation which had consciously and intentionally assumed this name.

2. This name is attested by the earliest traditional form of the superscription of the epistle.

3. The lexicographical objections to the application of the name *Ἑβραῖοι*, not to the language and the nation, but to the religion only, have been met.

4. It will not, therefore, seem a wholly groundless conjecture that, the lost address of the Epistle to the Hebrews may have run

[*Πρίσκα καὶ Ἀκύλας, οἱ ἀδελφοί,*<sup>34</sup> *τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις ἐπισυναγωγῆς Ἑβραίων, τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις. χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη κτλ.*

5. From this address the traditional superscription has rightfully appropriated and thus preserved the fitting words *Πρὸς Ἑβραίους*.

<sup>34</sup> Acts 18:27, where Prisca and Aquila are called *οἱ ἀδελφοί*. But I may again point out that my defense of the genuineness of the superscription of the epistle of the need the support of Harnack's Prisca hypothesis. The brackets above are to indicate this.

## CRITICAL NOTES

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### "THE OFFERING" OR THE EUCHARISTIC OFFICE OF THE CELTIC CHURCH

The New Testament does not prescribe any definite ritual for the observance of the Lord's Supper. When instituting the ordinance, our Savior simply said "This do," which cannot be fairly pressed to mean anything more than, "Eat this bread and drink this cup." The apostle Paul had evidently given to the Corinthian church full instructions regarding the proper mode of celebration, for he says: "I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you." But what follows is too brief to furnish an adequate directory to the whole ordinance. We gather merely that it is to be observed in a reverent manner, after penitential self-examination, and with the use of the words of our Lord when appointing the sacrament. But we cannot say that the *ipsissima verba* are essential, for the expressions vary in the several narratives, and in Luke's account some of the most familiar words are connected with the distribution of a cup preceding the breaking of the bread, which cup is also "blessed." It is needless to say that the apostolic norm cannot now be discovered. It may be the skeleton on which all the primitive liturgies are built; but had ritual exactitude been considered material to the validity of the sacrament, we should not have been thus left in the dark.

The rite appears to have been observed, at least at first, every Lord's day, perhaps daily (Acts 2:46). The elements were administered in both kinds; but while it is almost certain that the bread used at the institution of the ordinance was unleavened, and probable that the cup contained water mingled with the wine, these features are not emphasized, nor is the attitude of the partakers alluded to. We may therefore consider these points as indifferent.

Without entering into the much-debated question of the date at which liturgies were first committed to writing, it is quite improbable that any existed in manuscript anterior to the Council of Nicæa (325 A. D.).<sup>1</sup> The eucharistic prayers were extempore at first, and offered according to the discretion and ability of the celebrant. Inasmuch as the hearty "Amen" of the people was a marked feature of primitive worship and commended

<sup>1</sup> F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church*, p. 105.

by the apostles, the prayers would tend to assume a regular form, so that the congregation, remembering them, might know when to respond. Hence there came to be a general agreement both as to order and language, so that when written sacramentaries came into existence they were all upon one general plan. Even the words of the most sacred part of the service are the same, whether they are found at Alexandria, or Ephesus, or Jerusalem, or Rome. For three centuries they must have been preserved by oral tradition, and their exact similarity points to a common source. What that source was we are not called upon to say in this connection. It is, however, to be noted that they are of a highly artificial arrangement, showing that much thought has been bestowed upon their composition. They cannot be a spontaneous enlargement of a simple and informal ritual.

Disregarding minor variations, the eucharistic office, which was originally the sole liturgy of the church, was divided into two parts: all preceding the words "Lift up your hearts" (the "Sursum Corda") was called the "Proanaphora," and all after them the "Anaphora," or communion service proper. The "Proanaphora" varied much according to local usage, and its aim was mainly instruction. The Scripture readings, to which the sermon is an appendix, may be preceded by introit, salutation, confession, etc., and followed by suitable responsories; but the inspired Word of God holds the central place of honor. At the close of the prayers following the sermon the catechumens were dismissed and the service of the faithful began. I translate the word *missa* by "service," because the usual term, "mass," conveys to our prejudiced minds an idea which *missa* did not to those who used it of old. To the second part of the "Proanaphora" belong the "General Intercession," the "Offertory," the "Kiss of Peace," and, later, the Creed. This portion also varies much. When, however, we examine the "Anaphora," we find a striking identity among all the primitive liturgies. The eucharistic prayer is substantially the same, always and everywhere. We find the "Sursum Corda," the "Vere Dignum;" the "Commemoration" of creation, of redemption, and of the institution; the "Triumphal Hymn;" the "Anamnesis," or calling to remembrance of our Savior's death; the "Invocation of the Holy Spirit;" and the "Great Intercession;" followed by the Lord's Prayer without the doxology or the "Amen;" the "Embolismus," or intercalated prayer founded upon the sixth petition, "Deliver us from evil;" and the "Prayer of Humble Access;" the whole closing with the words "Sancta sanctis," "holy things to the holy." Then follow communion in both kinds, the prayer of thanksgiving, and the dismissal with the benediction.

The communion office of the ancient church of the Scots conformed

completely to the type just described. The rite was observed every Lord's day immediately after the office of Terce, or morning prayers; i. e., within three hours after sunrise; but in large churches it was celebrated every day. The officiating clergyman was robed in the vestments then universally worn on such occasions—the tunic and girdle, the maniples, and over all a large square or oval cloth having a hole in the center through which the head passed. This was striped or checkered with eight colors—one more than a king might wear, to show the superiority of the ministerial office to the highest earthly dignity. As he passed the chancel rails on his way to the altar, the celebrant removed his shoes, in imitation of Moses at the burning bush, and placed himself with bared feet, behind the altar, facing the people. This is the position assumed by the pope when he celebrates in St. Peter's, and we know that it was the position of the celebrant in the Celtic church by the frequent references to the play of emotion seen on his face by persons in the congregation. I need not remind the reader that it is still the position of a Presbyterian minister when dispensing the sacrament.

Having made the sign of the cross, he began the service with the words, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," to which the people responded "Amen." This was followed by a general confession, in which all the congregation joined; after which the elements were laid upon the altar with much ceremony. Water had already been poured into the chalice before leaving the vestry, and now the wine was added. The mystical meaning of the various parts of the service is given in a Gaelic tract published, with a translation and notes by Dr. Duncan Macgregor.<sup>2</sup> From it we learn that the whole sacrament is a drama of the incarnation. The church building stands for the overshadowing wings of the Almighty. The altar is a memorial of the sufferings of Christ and his people. The chalice represents the church founded upon the martyrs. Incidentally it appears that the words upon which Rome builds so much, "On this rock will I build my church," are taken to refer, not to Peter personally, but to the soundness of the faith of the martyrs. Such was also St. Patrick's view of their sense. The Celtic church knew nothing of the papal pretensions to universal primacy. The water first poured into the cup represents humanity into which the wine of Deity was infused when the Son of God was made man. The service up to the bigradual psalm is symbolical of the dim vision of the coming Savior vouchsafed to the patriarchs. The first covering is then removed from the elements to indicate that in the prophets the Christ was "declared," although not yet born.

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society*, 1896.

The sacred vessels were covered with two veils, or napkins, the inner one of pure white linen, and the outer of checkered silk.

While these proceedings were going on at the altar, the choir was engaged in singing the introit, or introductory psalm, followed, on festive occasions, by the "Angelic Hymn," or "Gloria in Excelsis." In this, as in all parts of the musical service, the congregation joined. The Celtic church was pre-eminently a psalm-singing church. The service proper began with the collect for the day, suitably prefaced by a few invitational words, and followed by the "Augment," or prayers belonging to any lesser festival which might happen to fall upon the same date. To these and all prayers the people were required to respond "Amen." In those days church discipline was sternly exercised. Anyone who failed to give the response was punished with thirty lashes (*percussa*). The prayers were followed by the epistle for the day, and they in turn by the "Anthem," or "Bigradual Psalm," so called because the deacon stood, while singing the verses, not on the upper step of the ambo, or reading-desk, but on the second one. The response was sung by all to each verse. It is said that Athanasius led in thus singing the Psalm 136 while five thousand of his enemies surrounded the church. The reiterated response, "For his merey endureth forever," was faith's defiance to its foes.

The gospel for the day was then read, followed immediately by a blessing, the exact words of which we do not know; but such expressions of devout thankfulness for the Word of Life are found in all liturgies. Even Presbyterian ministers close the reading of Scripture by saying: "May God bless to us the reading of his Holy Word, and to his name be the glory and praise."

The reading of the gospel was followed by the sermon, which was usually an exposition of the gospel for the day, and was commonly constructed on a stereotyped plan. There was first the literal meaning of the text; second, its mystical or spiritual meaning; and third, its ethical meaning. Sometimes a fourth was added, the anagogical (elevated, mysterious) meaning; that is, its reference to Christ and the church in heaven. It need hardly be said that among the poetical and imaginative Celts preachers were popular in proportion to their originality in dealing with the second head. Some wrote and read their sermons, and others not only preached extempore, but impromptu. All, however, regarded the duty as a very solemn one, requiring the help of the Holy Spirit in an eminent degree. Dr. Macgregor gives the following anecdote in illustration of this: On one occasion Kenneth was at Iona and preached a most admirable sermon. When he was done, Columba said: "Kenneth, who taught you



that sense in the gospel?" "The Son of the Virgin knows," replied Kenneth, "that when I was on an island in Lough Cree, the Lord Jesus Christ himself came to me and taught me that sense in the gospel." Columba himself had many similar experiences. One cannot but be deeply impressed with the vivid sense of the supernatural which these Celtic saints possessed. A superficial judgment sets it down to the credit of natural temperament, but seers have always been "mystics" to a cold and purblind church. The sermon was concluded with an ascription of praise, and a short extempore prayer to which there was a choral response, and for this the cue was given by some familiar phrase, such as "in secula seculorum," or "per Christum Dominum nostrum." In later times, but not until the eighth century, the Nicene Creed was sung after the sermon, on special occasions, but without the "filioque" clause. This was added still later when Romanizing influences ultimately prevailed.

The part of the service called the "Offertory" followed the sermon. This is the point at which, in most liturgies, the elements are brought in. In the Eastern church the ceremony is one of much pomp and magnificence, and is called the "Great Entrance." The "Little Entrance" is the procession at the beginning of the service when the gospels are laid on the altar. We have both still, but the "Little Entrance" is a very small one indeed—the sexton has it all to himself usually, while in America at least we have abandoned the old Scottish custom of the minister and elders bringing in the elements after the sermon, while a psalm is being sung. The first act of the "Offertory" was the removal of the second veil from the elements, because it was said that now the gospels had been read, Christ was "born;" he was now fully revealed as incarnate, and the officiating presbyter took the chalice and paten in his hands and lifted them up to God, while the choir sang the "Sono," a brief anthem on the words, "Offer unto God the sacrifice of thanksgiving," with probably more of the same psalm. The act was evidently an expression of thanksgiving for the gift of Christ and the privilege of commemorating his incarnation. It also fulfilled the ritual of the institution in "taking" the elements, and so setting them apart to the sacred use intended. This first part of "the Action" has been preserved in the Church of Scotland with scrupulous care by those who perceived its significance. A rubric in the *Book of Common Order* enjoined it, and although it is not mentioned in our present *Directory*, it was always performed by the ministers of the Westminster period. Boston and others held that it represented the Father setting apart the Son to the office of Mediator. Dr. Sprott has a most interesting paragraph on this subject in his *Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland*. He

says that the custom began to be discontinued in the churches of Edinburgh about 1740, but has never entirely disappeared. I have seen a minister of the old school holding the cup and the bread in his hands during the consecration prayer, which was one way in which the primitive ritual was honored. Those who cast contempt upon ancient customs because they are mingled in the Roman mass with unscriptural error, ought to remember that this action is entirely according to the "warrant" given us in the Epistle to the Corinthians.

The "Sono" is followed immediately by a "Hymn of Names," in which the *cantores* recited the names of all entitled to communicate, of those for whom intercession was made, and of those of the faithful dead whom it was desired to commemorate. This was sung standing, for it was the act of the whole congregation. It indicates the view held in regard to the priestly functions of the laity. In this ordinance all were "priests," and the "offering" was the corporate act of the congregation. The minister at the altar was a priest only because all God's people were priests. He was but "first among equals." His office derived its validity from the fact that it represented that of the whole church. At a synod convened by St. Patrick it was ordered that a bishop in the diocese of another shall "on the Lord's day offer only by partaking," i. e., as one of a company of "priests."<sup>3</sup> On one occasion Columba stopped the singers and ordered them to add the name of his old friend and classmate, Colman, of whose death in Ireland at that moment he had been supernaturally informed.

The "Offertory" was followed by the silent prayer of the celebrant and the collect "Ad pacem," after which the people saluted each other, the sexes seated apart, with the "Kiss of peace," or the "Pax." This has a place in every ancient liturgy, and is founded upon the apostolic injunction, "Salute one another with a holy kiss;"<sup>4</sup> but it is now replaced by a less oriental mode of expressing friendship. In the Roman order it is confined to the celebrant and assistant clergy. In the Anglican office it is omitted altogether. Other liturgies direct the communicants to bow to one another, or to clasp hands, and some are content with the versicle and response, "The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all;" "Amen."

The "Pax" was followed by the "Immolation," or, as it is still called, "the Action," i. e., *actio gratiarum*, or Eucharist. Amid absolute stillness

<sup>3</sup> Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, art. "Missa omnium offerentium."

<sup>4</sup> Rom. 16:16; 1 Cor. 16:20; 2 Cor. 13:12; 1 Thess. 5:26; 1 Pet. 5:14.

and with the deepest reverence, the voice of the celebrant often trembling with emotion, the "Sursum Corda" was uttered in the usual form; "Up with your hearts." R.: "We hold them to the Lord." V.: "Let us give thanks to the Lord our God." R.: "It is meet and right." Bede tells us in his life of St. Cuthbert that "while in the appointed order he was celebrating the mysteries of the Lord's passion, he himself would imitate what he was doing, namely by sacrificing himself to God, in contrition of heart, and by raising his heart rather than his voice, by groaning rather than by singing, he would admonish the people present to hold up their hearts (*Sursum Corda habere*) and to give thanks to the Lord our God." In the life of St. Kentigern it is said that he seemed to take "upon himself something divine and wholly superhuman," and "while, with hands lifted up in the fashion of a cross, he said 'Up with your hearts,' as he admonished others to do, he held up his own to the Lord."<sup>5</sup> The "Sursum Corda" is introduced at this point in all ancient liturgies, and is designed to draw away the thoughts of the worshipers from the material elements to the Redeemer in heaven, so that they may not think he is otherwise present than by the grace of his glorified humanity. It is a standing proof that the early church did not believe in a material and corporeal presence. The Reformers pressed this argument with unanswerable force, thus showing from the mass itself that transubstantiation was neither an apostolic nor a primitive belief.

The "Sursum Corda" was followed by the "Vere Dignum," a general thanksgiving beginning with the words, "Verily it is meet and right that we should here, everywhere and always, give thanks unto Thee, O Lord," and containing a detailed expression of the various blessings for which it was desired to show gratitude, passing, by a suitable reference to the heavenly host, into the "Ter Sanctus," or, as it was called, "The Apocalypse." This was always sung by the whole congregation, and the words are the same as are still in use, except that the word "whole" is introduced before "earth"—"the whole earth" is "full of thy glory." As it closed the celebrant caught up and repeated its ascription of praise in such words as we find in the "Stowe Missal": "Truly holy, truly blessed, truly wonderful amongst his saints, our God Jesus Christ will himself give virtue and strength to his people; blessed be God whom we bless with his apostles and all his saints who were well pleasing to him from the first of time, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who the day before he suffered, etc.;" continuing the formula of consecration, probably in words similar to those

<sup>5</sup> Duncan Macgregor, *Early Scottish Worship, its General Principles and Leading Details* (Lee Lecture for 1895).

in other usages. The prayer of consecration being ended, the celebrant took three steps backward, bowing thrice in token of the three ways in which man sins—namely, in thought, in word, and in deed—and as he does this the “Miserere” (Ps. 51) is sung by all kneeling, followed by absolute silence. This was strictly enjoined throughout the service, because it was necessary that the mind of the celebrant should be undisturbed. Not only was he guilty of “violating the spiritual order and of being unacceptable to God,” but the sharp discipline of the church awaited him, if he stammered, or inadvertently misplaced or mispronounced a word. Fifty lashes was the punishment for the first offense, a hundred for the second, and imprisonment on bread and water for the third. It is no wonder that he took care to write on the margin of his book opposite this prayer, doubtless in a bold hand and the blackest ink, the warning word “DANGER,” and called the passage “the perilous prayer.”

The supreme moment in the Roman mass is when the priest, having pronounced the mystic words, “Hoc est enim corpus meum,” elevates and adores the host. Then the congregation bows with a lowlier reverence, the great bell in the cathedral tower rings three times three, and all “good Catholics” within sound of it, making the sign of their faith, and repeat the “Angelus” prayer; for they believe that the miracle of the mass has again taken place and Christ has become incarnate on the altar. The Celtic church knew nothing of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and in it the central act was “the Great Oblation” which the minister, having returned to the altar, proceeded to offer. Taking in his hands the paten and chalice, now containing, of course in a sacramental sense, the body and blood of Christ, he elevates them toward God, and with face and eyes uplifted pleads on behalf of the church the merits of that atoning death therein set forth. “This,” says Dr. Macgregor, “was the culmination, and at once the most awful and the most joyful point of the liturgy. It was called immolating the Son to the Father, the outward act being the church’s expression of her trust in the Savior as her only plea before God, and the supreme and all-embracing mode of placing herself in line with Christ’s presentation in heaven of the sacrifice offered by him on the cross. While the solemn act was being performed, the doors of the temple above were opened, the invisible world became, as it were, visible to the worthy celebrant, the Holy Ghost in flames of spiritual fire fell upon the sacrifice, and floods of light, life, and blessing streamed into the souls of the believing people.”<sup>6</sup> St. Patrick “very often became a contemplator of these sacred things of heaven, and beheld the Lord Jesus standing in the midst of a multitude of

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* (Lee Lecture).

angels, and this he was privileged to see as often as he was immolating the Son to the Father or was devoutly singing the Apocalypse of John," i. e., the "Ter Sanctus," which preceded in the order of the office. Four brothers watching Columba celebrating at Iona saw a very luminous ball of fire over his head and a huge column of light streaming from it while he was performing the sacred mysteries. There are many references in Celtic writings to the play of emotion seen on the faces of those who officiated at "the Celebration."

The consecrated elements were now prepared for distribution to the people. The method follows strikingly that of the Eastern church at the present day. The bread was broken into two parts (the "Fraction"), and, dipping the edge of one of them into the wine (the "Intinction"), the celebrant joined the two parts together (the "Conjunction"), and, while the choir sang an anthem (the "Confractorium"), he divided it into a number of parts, varying according to the occasion, and arranged them on the paten in the form of a Celtic cross, the upper part inclining, as in the Greek church, to the left, for it is said, "He bowed his head," and tradition says that our Savior's head rested on his right shoulder. The "Fraction" represented the "breaking" of Christ's sacred body; the "Intinction," the shedding of his blood upon the cross; the "Conjunction," the restored perfection of his body after the resurrection.

The "Fraction" was followed by the Lord's Prayer, prefaced by a brief collect and sung by all the people, but without the doxology or "Amen." The celebrant followed the sixth petition immediately with the "Embolism," or intercalated prayer for deliverance from the evil one, and all forms of evil. The wording of this prayer, like the similar one in eastern liturgies, varied very much. The general belief was that an unworthy minister would, to one who had sufficient spiritual discernment, betray his unfitness by the very tone of his voice. Says Dr. Macgregor, in his charming monograph on St. Columba:

On one of his tours of inspection, the saint came to Trevet. On the Lord's day he and his company attended public worship in the church of that place. Listening attentively, he thought he detected something sinister in the tone or quality of the officiating clergyman's voice. His suspicions deepened as the service proceeded, and at the end of the consecration prayer [when the celebrant says the "Sancta sanctis"] he startled the congregation by shouting, "Pure things with the impure are here seen to be conjoined, namely, the pure Mysteries of the Sacred Oblation handled by an impure man, who hides in his conscience a great crime." All present were astonished at the severity of the judgment, for the priest was esteemed a very pious man, but the priest himself was so surprised and terrified that, falling on his knees, he confessed his wickedness.

The Lord's Prayer was followed by the solemn sacramental benediction, "The peace and love of Jesus Christ our Lord and the communion of all his saints, be ever with you," or some similar form, to which the people responded "Amen." The benediction appears in various forms, and the response also changes. Immediately after the benediction a particle of the consecrated bread was placed in the chalice (the "Commixtion") with the words, as in the "Stowe Missal;" "The commixtion of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ our Lord be our salvation unto life everlasting;" "Amen." The celebrant—or, as he is called in the Gaelic tract referred to, the "Offerent"—then partakes of the particle in the center of the cross, and distributes to the other communicants from the other parts according to a fixed rule. The upper part of the stem was given to bishops; the cross-beam on the left, to priests; the cross-beam on the right, to all subordinate grades; the lower stem, to anchorites; the portion of the circle in the upper left-hand angle, to true divinity students; the upper right-hand angle, to innocent children; the lower left-hand angle, to penitents; the lower right-hand angle, to married persons. It will be noticed that children were admitted to the communion. This was the primitive custom in the East, as seen by the Clementine Liturgy, but it also prevailed in Rome and Gaul. It was vehemently urged by St. Augustine as necessary to complete salvation. It was gradually discontinued. During "the Action," a hymn was sung which still finds a place in modern hymnbooks:

Draw nigh and take the Body of the Lord,  
And drink the holy Blood for you outpoured.

Understanding the terms in the sense intended by the Celtic church, a Presbyterian of today could sing the hymn with great delight. Its poetry and devotional fervor are of a high order. The "Agnus Dei" occupies this place in the Roman use, dating from the end of the seventh century. The sacrament was probably received standing, as in the Lutheran and German Reformed churches, and Warren<sup>7</sup> says, in regard to the post-communion anthem found in the St. Gall MS and "Stowe Missal," that "many of its expressions imply (perhaps simultaneous) communion in both kinds." It is needless to mention that our modern practice of simultaneous communion seated in pews has no support from antiquity, where standing was the universal custom. During the administration appropriate anthems and psalms were sung, and devout persons were accustomed to breathe out fervent ejaculations such as the following, given by Dr. Macgregor from the life of St. Tressan:

<sup>7</sup> F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 177.

Hail, our most blessed hope! Hail, our holy redemption! Hail, most holy Body of Christ! to me most precious, most dear above all gold and the topaz, and most sweet beyond honey and the honeycomb. Hail, most blessed Blood of Christ, given as the price of our redemption and in mercy poured forth for our sins. Hail, Jesu Christ, the Son of God! May thy power defend me from the snares of the old enemy; let not the prince of darkness meet me. I beseech thee that, as thy servant, I may appear the lowest in the rank of thy servants.

Written forms for such exercises were provided for the assistance of those who desired to use them by way of stirring up holy affections. A brief exhortation and prayer of thanksgiving followed, and the service closed with the benediction and the usual formula, "*Missa acta est; ite in pace*" ("*Service is ended, depart in peace*").

There are several features in the worship of the Celtic church which are of peculiar interest to us as their spiritual children. It was not free from the incipient heresies of the time which afterwards became crystallized in the Roman "*Missal*" and "*Breviary*," but it preserved, more than any other ancient national church, the spirit, the creed, and the ritual of sub-apostolic times. The doctrine of transubstantiation had not risen above the horizon of theological thought, hence the ingenuous and glowing language applied to the sacred elements must be taken altogether in a sacramental, and not a substantial or literal, sense. That the consecrated bread and wine were carried about, and sometimes were believed to act in a miraculous manner, arose from a heresy of Celtic imagination rather than one of theological dogma. The thought of the worshiper never rested upon the symbol, but "*was lifted up to God*."

There is no special respect paid to the Virgin Mary. She ever retires behind the throne of her Son. In the calendar, January 18, was the commemoration of the "*death of Jesus' mother*." February 2 marked, not "*the purification of the Virgin Mary*," but the "*reception of Jesus into the temple*." On March 25 was celebrated "*the incarnation of God instead of 'the annunciation'*." A prayer taken from one of the calendars that has survived is: "*May the King, whom our sister bore, call us to the kingdom*." The "*Ave Maria*" was not used. Luke 1: 28, 42, and 35 were sung as an antiphon to the "*Magnificat*," but that is all. The heretical additions of the sixteenth century, in which the intercession of the Virgin is invoked, would not have been tolerated, for to our forefathers there was but "*One Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus*."

The services were conducted with profound reverence and the worshipers took a hearty and intelligent part in them. The Gaelic tract which Dr. Macgregor has translated for us, and annotated with so much learning,

was written for popular use, and shows that the Eucharist was to all a "reasonable" and eloquently edifying service. It exists in two manuscripts only, one dating from the end of the fourteenth century, and the other almost three hundred years earlier. A tract that was in circulation so long must have supplied a felt want very satisfactorily. We can rely upon it as reflecting the standard of popular theology. There is in it no trace of dead formalism, but every act of the service is shown to be instinct with living truth and calculated to illuminate the understanding and stir the affections. Woe to the Celtic worshiper who showed inattention to what was going on. His distraction was taken as a sure sign of his approaching end. He was marked as "a son of death." Dr. Macgregor tells the following story from the life of St. Aid:

St. Aid privately informed king Brandub, then on a visit to him, that there was only one Son of Death (reprobate) in his congregation of 150 members, and that the unfortunate man would betray himself as usual, at the "celebration." Accordingly after Terce, at the Lord's Prayer, one man forgot to kneel. He had been driven from the chiefship of his clan some time previously, and now, on being interrogated, he excused his conduct by explaining that at the moment he had been thinking of his chiefship and of the probabilities of his restoration. Shortly afterwards he was actually restored to his former position, but he was strangled within a week, and so died unprepared for eternity.

It would be well if wandering thoughts were esteemed as great a sin still.

The Celtic church was pre-eminently a praying church and loved to sing the inspired psalms. Its prayer-book was the Psalter. Singing psalms was believed to cleanse the soul, stir up faith that prevails with God, and bring the worshiper into a realizing sense of his union with Christ. When St. Columba was about to pray for a divine interposition of an extraordinary character, he went down on his knees and recited the whole psalter three times. His prayer was answered as promptly as that of Daniel. St. Comgall was attacked by a horde of highland caterans, but, drawing his hood over his head, he sang, "O Lord, my strength, my rock, my fortress, my deliverer" (probably Ps. 18), and his would-be murderers were not permitted to harm a hair of his head. "Something has just come into my heart," said one of the laborers at Iona; "something has just now come into my heart. I know not what it is that makes me so glad that I do not feel the weight of the burden I am carrying." "It is caused," said another of the company, "by the prayers of our good pastor Columba, who, because he cannot be always with us in person, sends out his prayers to visit us with refreshment in the fields."<sup>8</sup> They were never weary with

<sup>8</sup> Macgregor, *op. cit.*



singing. By filling their minds with the thoughts of God they prepared themselves for the worship of the sanctuary.

Extempore prayer was freely employed. It was quite permissible for the officiating clergyman to substitute a prayer of his own for that prescribed in the service-book, and the worth of prayer was gauged by the promptitude with which it was answered. It was dangerous for anyone to become drowsy or even to yawn in church. In a church founded by Finan the Leper (the Apostle of Deeside) anyone who became drowsy was "ducked in the waters of the neighboring lake, because Finan said that his church was built for prayer, not for sleep."<sup>9</sup> The expression "to make a prayer" is common, and shows that devotions outside of the regular services of the church were quite spontaneous, and the gift of impromptu prayer had been cultivated.

The religion of our forefathers was not one of ascetic mortification and cloistral gloom, but was full of exultant gladness over a completed redemption and a glorified Savior. There was no prayer for the pope, and none to or for the dead, although the intercession of the saints in heaven was believed to be of great efficacy in sending down "showers of blessings." Of purgatory they had never heard. They believed the blessed dead to be with Jesus, and awaiting the consummation of all things to enter into full and final blessedness. In a church so filled with evangelical piety and missionary zeal the eucharistic office was no mere form of words, but was promotive of the same exalted emotions as filled the soul of the pious Covenanter who ate the bread and drank the cup with simpler rites when in

"Wellwood's dark moorland the standard of Zion  
All bloody and torn, 'mang the heather was lying."

The following table will enable the reader to compare the Celtic liturgy with that of the primitive churches of European and African Christendom. The numbers correspond. The oriental characteristics of the Celtic ritual are probably due to the fact that all liturgical worship took its origin from Palestine and Asia Minor. Good authorities trace the genesis of the Scoto-Irish church from Egypt through Gaul.

<p>PLAN OF A PRIMITIVE LITURGY (Rev. J. M. Neale, D.D.)</p> <p>PROANAPHORA</p>	<p>4. The trisagion. 5. The lections. 6. The prayers after gospels. Dismissal of catechumens.</p>
<p><i>Service of the catechumens—</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The preparatory prayers.</li> <li>2. The introit, or initial hymn.</li> <li>3. The little entrance.</li> </ol> <p><sup>9</sup> Lee Lecture.</p>	<p><i>Service of the faithful—</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. The prayers for the faithful.</li> <li>8. The great entrance.</li> </ol>

9. The offertory.
10. The kiss of peace.
11. The creed.

## THE ANAPHORA

*The great eucharistic prayer—*

12. The preface.
13. The prayer of the Triumphal Hymn.
14. The Triumphal Hymn.
15. Commemoration of our Lord's Life.
16. Commemoration of Institution.

*The consecration—*

17. Words of Institution of the Bread.
18. Words of Institution of the Wine.
19. Oblation of the Body and Blood.
20. Introductory prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost.
21. Prayer for the sanctification of the elements.

*The great intercessory prayer—*

22. General intercession for quick and dead.
23. Prayer before the Lord's Prayer.
24. The Lord's Prayer.
25. The Embolismus.

*The communion—*

26. The prayer of inclination.
27. The "Sancta sanctis."
28. The Fraction, including Intinction, Conjunction, and Arrangement.
29. The confession.
30. The communion.
31. The anti-doron and prayer of thanksgiving, followed by the dismissal.

ORDER OF THE "OFFERING" IN THE  
CELTIC CHURCH  
(Rev. D. Macgregor)

8. Procession to the altar.
1. The confession. Superposition and veiling of the elements on the altar.

2. The introit ("Gloria in excelsis").
3. The prayers.
5. The lesson of the apostle.  
The bigradual psalm.  
The first unveiling.
5. The gospel, with sermon.
11. The Nicene Creed (after seventh century).
7. The "Sono" and recitation of the names.  
The full unveiling.
9. The first elevation.
10. The kiss of peace.

## THE ANAPHORA

12. The "Sursum Corda."  
The immolation.
13. The "Dignum."
14. The "Sanctus."
15. The post-sanctus.
16. The "perilous" prayer.
15. }  
17. } Commemoration of Jesus Christ.  
18. }
19. The Great Elevation.
28. The Confractorium.  
The Fraction.  
The Intinction.  
The Conjunction.  
The Arrangement.
24. The Lord's Prayer.
25. The Embolismus.
27. The "Sancta sanctis."
28. The Eucharistic Benediction, and the Commixtion.
30. The Administration.
31. The post-communion, and prayer.  
Consummation, followed by the "Missa acta est: ite in pace," with apostolic or other benediction.

T. F. FOTHERINGHAM.

ST. JOHN, N. B.

AN APPEAL FOR THE RECONSIDERATION OF SOME  
TESTING BIBLICAL PASSAGES

Slowly, very slowly, does the guild of biblical scholars, and of historical students of the Jewish and Christian religions, grant admission to novel ideas which come from outside. And though we may congratulate ourselves that our guild now fully recognizes the illustrative value of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions (not to speak just now of any others), yet we are not on the very best of terms with the more audacious Assyriological pioneers who have, with the speed of Jonah's gourd, sprung up, and, it is said, annexed the Bible, and we show considerable reluctance to give a favorable consideration to their philological and historical theories. This, however intelligible, is unfortunate; for in dealing with new problems audacity is called for. "Be bold" is a good motto from the *Faerie Queene*, though certainly "Be not too bold" is almost as good, and should be combined with the other. We biblical critics are in much need of stirring up, and really we ought to be thankful to anyone who, after taking some pains to realize our deficiencies, will stir us up. A great chance of renovating our study is offered to us, and it seems to some that we are not making the best of it. Not yet have we quite emerged from the stage represented by the first and second editions of Schrader's excellent work, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, and the point of view so lucidly presented in the third is not congenial to us.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it may plausibly be held that the emphasis with which Delitzsch, Winckler, and others have put forward their far-reaching claims on behalf of Babylon is producing a reaction in our minds against cuneiform research regarded as a source from which anything like even a partial regeneration of our study may be expected. And the somewhat disparaging treatment accorded by these Assyriologists to Old Testament critics contributes to the unpleasantness which has arisen.

It is true that in England (or must I say Britain?) and in America less harm appears to have been done than in Germany by the impetuosity of some of the Assyriologists, and there is, if I am not much mistaken, in England a growing impression that one great want of our schools of learning is a supply of Assyriologists who are in touch with the theologians, or, better still, a certain number of Assyriological theologians in our theological faculties. In writing this I do not mean to imply that we in England are

<sup>1</sup> May I be permitted to say that my appreciation of the work of Winckler and Zimmern does not imply that I think their revolutionary treatment of good old Schrader's work fully justified?

suffering from an Assyriological famine. I only mean that the supply of scholars who are more or less in touch with Assyriologists is not equal to the demand, and that upon the whole our biblical scholars tend to take rather too external a view of Babylonian and Assyrian life and religion. One more criticism I am bound to make. It applies not only to British, but to almost all critics of the Old Testament known to me, and, though in much less degree, to the most audacious of all the would-be annexers of the Old Testament among the Assyriologists—Hugo Winckler. The Old Testament critics, as a rule, together with Hugo Winckler (could I do him a greater honor than by so mentioning him?), are too conservative in their treatment of the Massoretic text. Winckler himself is strangely unequal. Sometimes he is as bold as it is permissible to be, though seldom, indeed, does he give equal proof of judgment; I do not blame him—how can one man succeed in everything? At other times he is just as much in the fetters of the Massorettes as if he were an ordinary professor of the Old Testament. Sometimes he sees problems with an acuteness which is really surprising, even though, from want of experience, he only now and then solves them. At other times he does not see them at all, and then gives way to the temptation of applying the Assyriological key where it cannot open the lock. And as for the guild of Old Testament workers, they too are in other ways sadly disappointing. It appears to me that even the more progressive of them are in the habit of using methods which, though right enough in themselves, need to be applied with much more moderation, and to be supplemented by new methods derived from a wider and deeper study of the text, and a much fuller classification of phenomena. Perhaps a similar comparison may have to be passed upon those of us who have much to do with the Septuagint. We seem to be as powerless to recognize what is the ultimate text which underlies the Hebrew text produced by retroverting, as we are to discover the ultimate text underneath the Massoretic. I hasten to add that I am not unwilling to take these criticisms back, if critics will only prove them to be inapplicable to their case.

In this state of things it must be difficult to use the Assyriological, and indeed also the Egyptological, or any other key, with perfectly satisfactory results. Even from a liberal-conservative point of view, a really keen criticism would probably disclose a certain amount of weakness in some of the supposed Assyriological and Egyptological confirmations of biblical history. And if we will but throw aside prejudice, and recognize the extreme probability of the corrections of the Hebrew text suggested in 1898 by Hugo Winckler, on the ground of his discovery of the Arabian

Muşri and Kus, we shall inevitably, in the course of no long time, come to the conviction that many more references to the neighboring Arabian regions must exist underneath our present Hebrew text than Winckler in 1898 brought to light.

It has therefore appeared to me that if there is any kernel of truth in what I have said, before we proceed to greater lengths in applying the Assyriological or the Egyptological key, and indeed before we go much farther in popularizing "confirmations from the monuments," we ought to re-examine the text of the Old Testament on a large scale, using new methods as well as old, and controlling our textual criticism, wherever possible, by a regard to Winckler's discovery. My own advocacy of this view has thus far had but slight success, and yet I may venture to hold that thus far the liberal-conservative scholars of our day have not done their best work in the textual criticism of hard passages, though some glosses have, I am glad to think, been successfully pointed out. I feel bound, therefore, as my next step, to ask a few questions of my fellow-students, that I may know whether they are for the most part really satisfied with the exegetical explanations of a number of passages current in the commentaries and lexicons. If they are, then there is nothing more that I can say; one must still wait patiently for further developments. If, however, they admit that there is much that is provisional in the current explanations, then I hope that my own supposed critical failure will stir them up to produce some fresh explanations of these passages, which may have a chance of compelling the assent of all keen-sighted critics. And in any debate which may then arise I hope that we shall set an example of that tolerance and mutual respect which ought surely to distinguish biblical scholars. I propose to base my questions on Exod., chaps. 1-19; Deut., chaps. 12-26; and Leviticus.

In Exod. 2:3 we read that the mother of Moses daubed the box of papyrus reed containing the infant with bitumen and with pitch. Are critics satisfied with Dillmann's observation that the Egyptians procured their asphalt from Palestine (Strabo and Diodorus)? The question has a bearing on the genesis of the story of the birth of Moses.

Can critics show some fresh reason for adopting the theory that "Mosheh" (see Exod. 2:10) is a Hebraized form of the Egyptian Mesu, in spite of the first of the objections urged in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col. 3205? This, of course, is a branch of the larger question, whether the exodus was from Egypt or from Muşri, but the question ought to be determined philologically.

Exod. 3:2. Dillmann evidently feels that "out of the midst of the

thorn-bush" (מִחוּךְ הַסִּנֵּה) has not been adequately explained. In Deut. 33:16 we have "the good-will of him that dwells in the thorn-bush" (שִׂכְנֵי סִנֵּה). The enigma has, I know, been half solved. But a larger inquiry seems to be wanted to solve it entirely. If I am wrong, let our critics strike out an entirely new and cogent explanation. On "the angel of Yahweh" as equivalent to Yahweh, see below.

How do our critics reconcile the strange story in 4:26 with the fact that Moses has just received such a great and honorable mission? The story would be more natural if the assailant of Moses were one of those malicious jinn, or earth-demons, whom an Arabic folk-lore of primitive origin represents as at feud with man. What had Moses done that was wrong? He had neglected to be circumcised, say some, and Zipporah supposed that it would do if her son were circumcised instead of Moses. Are critics satisfied with this? Will they pledge themselves to the correctness of the text? If not, can they produce any adequate corrections which have been reached by sound methods?

Is it likely that two Hebrews should have had colloquies (see 5:1, etc.) with a king so fenced in by etiquette as the king of Egypt? Such a story reminds us of Jonah's successful preaching in Nineveh. There is no evidence that the writer considered Moses to have held a rank in Egyptian society which facilitated his admission, together with Aaron, before Pharaoh.

In 6:12, 30, is the phrase "uncircumcised in lips" correct? The argument that Moses is not eloquent has already been offered by him as a reason why he should not be sent to the Israelites; in 6:12, 30, we expect a new and special reason why he should not be sent to the oppressive king. Will the critics solve this enigma?

Can they either produce a new explanation of הִתְפַּאֵר עָלַי (8:5), or correct the text by sound methods? "Let your Majesty vouchsafe" (Baentsch), and "Be pleased to appoint" (Kautzsch), seem to be very difficult.

Do the "established principles of criticism" which my opponents think so perfect and all-sufficing suggest to any of them a self-evident explanation of וְיִמַּשׁ חֹשֶׁךְ (10:21)? "And let one handle darkness" is the natural rendering, but this, of course, will not do. Why must the text be right?

12:37. Are the critics satisfied that Pithom and Etham are the same name, and are to be equated with Succoth? This view is held by Professor W. Max Müller (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 1936), in spite of 13:20. It should be noticed, however, that we have a Succoth in Gen. 33:17 and elsewhere. Are the critics sure that the name has not the same origin

and meaning both in Genesis and in Exodus? A large inquiry is necessary; are the critics prepared to institute it?

12:37. "About six hundred thousand on foot—the men, apart from the children?" On this "enormous number" (Baentsch) recent commentators, and Colenso before them, have had much to say. Is there no shorter and better way to account for it than Dillmann's? Is there nothing suspicious about the reading? Much depends upon the answer.

12:38, עֲרִיב רַב, according to Siegfried-Stade "a numerous mixture," i. e., "aliens of various origin," comparing Neh. 13:3. It is usual to regard this as a synonym of אֶסְפָּסָה, Numb. 11:4, as if "a collection." Do our critics feel quite happy in repeating these views? Granting that the *Encyclopædia Biblica* must have missed the mark, cannot its censors suggest something better?

12:40. In the present state of the exegetical discussion of this passage, as given in the Massoretic text and in the versions, in combination with Gen. 15:13, one may fairly ask if someone of the bolder critics among my opponents will not seize the opportunity for distinguishing himself. There must be something better to say on this matter than has been said, for instance, by Dillmann.

12:42. What does שְׂמִרִים mean? The critics do not agree. Nor is this all the difficulty. In Kautzsch's Bible I find four dots between "out of Egypt" and "for all Israelites;" i. e., Socin and Kautzsch are hopelessly baffled by הוּא הֵלִילָה הוּדָה לִידוּדָה שְׂמִרִים. From my own point of view, the difficulties arise from corruption of the text, and few, I hope, will assert that the text is quite sound.

14:6 f. In vs. 6 Pharaoh prepares his chariot (*sing*), but in vs. 7 we hear of six hundred choice chariots, over every one of which were *shalishim*. It is surely a weak remedy for these difficulties to invoke the theory of a difference in the sources. Professor Paul Haupt has rightly felt that the first thing to do is to examine the text with the view of correcting it. But are the critics satisfied with his suggestions? For my part, I am not. My own view has long been written down, but since the critics referred to have hardly as yet changed their attitude toward my work, I would respectfully urge them to produce something fully worthy of their critical reputation. Perhaps Professor Haupt may see his way to improve upon his first suggestions.

14:19. "The angel of God" (הַמַּלְאָכִים) is here evidently equivalent to the "Yahweh" of 13:21. For this there are, of course, parallels enough (ch. 3:2) which I need not mention. But how is this usage to be accounted for? How can a Being who was virtually identical with

the God Yahweh be called a messenger? It is no use to refer to the phrase "the angel of his face" in Isa. 63:9, and the "angels of the face" in Enoch and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; for these too have to be accounted for. Surely we critics ought not to rest content till we have explained these phrases and the way they are used. Let my fellow-scholars produce an adequate theory, and then they will have a good reason for their inattention to my own explanation.

16:3. Can no one deliver us from the improbable supposition that, whether in Egypt or in north Arabia, the Israelites had a regular flesh diet? The same difficulty, I know, arises with regard to Numb. 11:4, 5; but Professor Gray, with his usual candor, has already set forth the difficulties, or, let me rather say, flagrant improbabilities, of that passage. Will not some of our clever young scholars exercise their critical ability here without falling headlong into my own deplorable heresies? The reputation of the prevalent school of criticism seems to me to be at stake.

17:15, 16. From my own point of view, the article "Jehovah-nissi" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* opens the way to an adequate solution. It is not, however, clear that the explanation there given is right. The critics may, therefore, perhaps be justified in refusing to listen to it; for few scholars take the trouble to look for the element of truth in an imperfect theory. I shall be only too glad to be converted to the truth, if the critics can find it. If, however, they fail, I may be excused for adhering firmly to my own revised and, as I hope, adequate explanation.

19:13. "When the ram's horn is blown." Does יֹבֵל really mean (1) "ram," (2) "ram's horn"? Lev. 25:13 is still more difficult. If the critics will criticise the word יֹבֵל anew, it will be a favor.

I now pass on to the central part of the Book of Deuteronomy. Let me begin by asking whether critics really accept the rendering "under every green tree," for תַּחַת כָּל עֵץ רֵעָנָה, in the famous formula relative to the places where the Israelites, against the will of the prophets, worshiped other gods than Yahweh? My question is suggested by Deut. 12:2, but the formula which contains this phrase is also to be found in 1 Kings 14:23; 2 Kings 16:4; 17:10; Isa. 57:7; 65:7; Jer. 2:20; 3:6, 23; 17:2; Ezek. 6:13; 18:6, 11; 20:28. Supposing the vague "green" to be abandoned, what is to be the substitute? "Sappy"? "Pliant"? Merely to mention these words is to show how difficult it is to be sure what such an expression can have meant. Had the phrase been עֵץ עֲבוֹת, which occurs in Lev. 23:40; Ezek. 20:28; Neh. 8:15, it would perhaps have been easier. But here too, as is well known, there is a difficulty, not as yet removed. For we expect the name of some definite kind of tree,



standing as עץ עבה does between "palm-trees" and "willows." Nor is עבה quite properly rendered "with thick foliage." I would therefore ask whether those who work on the "established principles of criticism" have no light to throw, first and chiefly, on the phrase rendered "under every green tree," and, secondly, on that rendered "thick tree"? For no one has ever said that the principle *de minimis non curat lex* applies to criticism. If anyone really could throw some fresh light on phrases like these, it would probably lead on to some more distinctly fruitful line of inquiry.

Passing along the text, which, on the whole, is agreeably smooth, I am next arrested by the singular precept—also found in Exod. 23:19; 34:26; in a different context—"Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk" (Deut. 14:21b). Will critics kindly say whether they are satisfied with the current explanations of this? Is this a precept of humanity like Lev. 22:28, Deut. 22:6, 7? But in this case we should have expected more definite language (cf. Lev. 22:27), nor is בִּשְׂלוּ, "to seethe," generally synonymous with אָכַל, "to eat." Or does the law mean, "Thou shalt not boil kid's flesh in milk," and shall we see in it an allusion to the custom still common among the Arabs of boiling flesh in sour milk? But how can גִּדִּי mean "kid's flesh"? And could the charge of inhumanity, suggested by the reference to "its mother," have been brought against the cook? Robertson Smith proposed a new idea. Milk having been sometimes viewed by the ancients as analogous to blood, as containing a sacred life, the prohibition may have reference to an ancient form of sacrifice similar to the sacrifice of blood.<sup>2</sup> Milk-offerings have, in fact, no place in the Hebrew cultus. Do the critics feel satisfied that this idea can be applied without violence to the Hebrew? Or do they feel more attracted by the older view<sup>3</sup> that some magical broth designed to fertilize the fields is intended? Have any of these theories the quality of naturalness? The words, however, are plain enough; why cannot the critics, with all the resources of philology and comparative religion, explain them?

Will our critics, I wonder, go on much longer rendering 16:21 either, "Thou shalt not fix for thyself an Asherah (composed of) any kind of wood," or, "Thou shalt not plant for thyself an Asherah—any kind of tree?" In either case the apposition is, I should have thought, intolerably harsh, and in the former case to render נָטַע "to fix," when עץ

<sup>2</sup> *Religion of the Semites*, 2d ed., p. 221, note; cf. p. 220, and Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, pp. 262, 396.

<sup>3</sup> *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 2877, quotes Spencer, *Lsg. Heb. Rit.*, Vol. I, pp. 335 ff. 1732.

follows, is difficult. The passage is, of course, important in its relation to the discovery of the name of a goddess *Asirtu*, equated with *Astart* in the Amarna correspondence, and also in the first of the Taanak cuneiform tablets.

Apropos of 18:11, I must again confess the perplexity which I feel at the attitude of scholars. Can it be that they are satisfied with any of the current explanations of *אֵלֶּבֶת* ("familiar spirit") and *דִּיעָנִי* ("wizard")? Does the former word mean "a bottle," or "a hollow cavern," or "a soul which returns" (a *revenant*)? Or is it connected with *אָב*, "father"? And does the latter really mean "a very wise one?" The sense is plausible, but how, if we adopt it, is the *yidde'oni* to be distinguished from the *'ōb*? "It is hard," remarks a writer in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (col. 1121), "to establish the distinctions offered by Robertson Smith and Driver, the data for forming a judgment being so slight." Must we, then, confess ourselves baffled? Can no one lead us a step forward? Can we not find any point of connection between these difficult words and others already (as we may reasonably hope) explained, in such a way as to open a window into Israelitish beliefs?

Exegesis has been sorely tried by the three enactments in 22:9-11, and critical lexicography by the strange-looking word *שֵׁעִטָּה* in the last of these three precepts. Why should a vineyard not be "sown with divers seed" (i. e., as Dillmann thinks, planted with grain or vegetables between the vines)? And why refer, in prohibitory terms, to the singular case of plowing with an ox and an ass together? Dillmann, it is true, thinks that "plowing" was suggested by the legislator's peculiar interpretation of the word usually rendered "thou shalt cause to copulate," in the parallel passage, Lev. 19:19, and with reference to the use of mules, now become common. Why, too, should there be a prohibition of garments composed of linen and wool together? A writer in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* ("Dress," §7) suggests that the object of the law may have been to mark the distinction between the priest and the layman. But did the priests wear garments of the mixed material? This may be supported by Josephus,<sup>4</sup> but is opposed to Ezek. 47:17, where it is said that "no wool shall come upon them." And can *שֵׁעִטָּה* really have been taken to mean "linen and wool?" The writer of Deut. 22:11 may seem indeed to have given the word this meaning, but the Septuagint, with its *κίβδηλον*, shows that some early students thought differently. Surely *שֵׁעִטָּה* cannot be the right reading. Nothing is gained by conjecturing that the term, and indeed the law itself, may be of foreign origin (*Encyclopædia Biblica*), unless some other reason than our convenience can be offered for the conjecture.

<sup>4</sup>*Antiquities*, iv, 8, 11.

Let me add that Professor Bertholet, in Marti's series of commentaries, candidly admits that "the sense of these prohibitions is no longer evident." He conjectures that they have arisen out of a primitive conception that different things belong to different circles of cultus, and these ought not to be mixed. Somewhat similarly, Steuernagel supposes that the forbidden practices stand in some relation to the cults of the powers of nature, and may soon have symbolized the fusion of two deities. Can no better explanation be offered? Is it not time that some fresh key were applied?

I doubt whether any commentator has yet explained how the reference in 24:9 to what Yahweh did to Miriam (Numb. 12:10) can be a reason for obeying sedulously all the directions of the priests respecting leprosy. If so, is it not time for the critics to take up the problem again, and perhaps to attempt a methodical correction of the text?

The reader is not to suppose that I have myself no answers to give to these questions. I only wish to make sure that those who shrink back in horror from what I have recently proposed have something far better to produce than my own textual corrections. I now pass on to the Book of Leviticus. I wish that I could profitably offer a larger number of doubts for the critics to remove. But these passages (on which I hold views of my own) appear to me to be well deserving of a renewed investigation, and to explain them adequately would be a contribution toward a final proof of the soundness of the prevalent criticism.

In 2:19 I find in the Authorized Version, as the rendering of **גֵּרֶשׁ כִּרְמֵל**, "corn beaten out of full ears," and in the Revised, "bruised corn of the fresh ear"; Professor Driver's version in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* is unfortunately not at hand. Of course, the chief difficulty is with **כִּרְמֵל**, and we are in the same evil plight with 2 Kings 4:42, where **כִּרְמֵל** is supposed to have the same unusual meaning as in Lev. 2:14. Will not some experienced textual critic, for the credit of "established principles," gird himself to the task of accounting for, or correcting, the word **כִּרְמֵל** in these two passages?

In 5:15 are our critics really satisfied with the current explanation of **כֶּסֶךְ שֶׁקֶלִים**? Kautzsch, in his *Old Testament*, actually gives us "einen Wert von mindestens zwei Sekeln." Knobel and Dillmann also affirm that, according to the legislator's intention, the ram is to be of such a size as to be worth "shekels in the plural, even if only two." I should also like a justification of the phrase **שֶׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ**. If what is meant is the Syrian or Phœnician shekel, why does not the law expressly say **שֶׁקֶל צֹר**? Unless this difficulty can be removed, I fear that textual correction is called for. Will the "established principles of criticism," I wonder, stand the test?

16:8. "One lot for Yahweh, and one lot for **קדעזל**." I find that the methods I use suggest a plausible explanation for Azazel. But our critics are so sure of their ground, and so confident that I have made a critical failure, that I feel bound to ask them if, stirred up by my misfortune, they cannot outdo all previous explanations, and solve the problem of Azazel. No self-love on my part shall hinder my acceptance of a genuine solution offered by the critics.

17:7. Who are the **טעירי**? Professor Gray's article "Satyrs" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* is thoroughly satisfactory as a conspectus of current opinions with reasonable criticisms. But it seems to come to very little. I have the same notice to give, and the same appeal to make, as in the preceding paragraph.

18:21. Are critics satisfied with the view that **מלך** derives its vowels from **בִּשְׁת**, "shame"? And is the connected view that **בִּשְׁת** in "Ishbosheth" is an edifying substitute for **בעל** free from serious objection?

25:10. "Year of the ram's horn." The explanation given in *Critica Biblica*, on Josh. 6:4, may of course be wrong; certainly it needs development to suit Lev. 25:10 ff. But it reposes on a number of observed phenomena. Is it discourteous to ask that those who may condemn it will justify this condemnation by giving some better-supported theory?

Such are the questions which I have been led to put to the advocates of what some have called the "established principles of criticism"—principles which I for my part have no wish at all to disestablish, but only to regulate and to supplement. It would have been much more congenial to me to continue on the "old paths," refining and refining, building stage upon stage of our *zikkurat* according to the plan sketched by our predecessors. So much learning and skill have been lavished on this great erection that I cannot speak otherwise than respectfully of those who still guard and embellish it. But I believe that both from the side of oriental archæology and from that of textual criticism it is destined to suffer severely, and I think that it is best that members of the guild of critics should themselves lay careful hands on the sacred structure. The choice, if I am not much mistaken, lies between demolition and skilful reconstruction.

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## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

### SOME MODERN ESTIMATES OF JESUS

Recent developments have disclosed in a somewhat painful way to German theological scholars how great the distance is between them and the rank and file of the church people. A result of this discovery has been a quite unusual activity on the part of the scholars to popularize their point of view by means of lectures to the people. While the outcome will doubtless be the peaceable fruits of righteousness in the end, for the present it is grievous for the lecturers. Ecclesiastics, with their stationariness, respectability, and fear lest the foundation be removed, and their weapons of misinterpretation and ridicule, are doing their best to pre-occupy the minds of the people against the scholars of Germany and annul their influence. In not a few instances these violent assaults upon the lecturers have led them to publish their lectures in self-vindication.

Such was the case as regards the book under review.<sup>1</sup> In the winter of 1902-3 Weinel delivered these six lectures in Solingen, setting forth his scientific and religious views concerning Jesus. The attack came as usual, bitter enough; then the book. In the first lecture Weinel traces the destruction of the traditional portrait of Christ—*Christusbild*—by historical criticism. The ecclesiastical press treated Weinel as if he were responsible for the process of disintegration, whereas he merely described genetically what had been consummated by Reimarus, Paulus, Lessing, Strauss, Bauer, and the modern theology. In the second lecture he views Jesus as *Reformer* of ethics and cultus in the light of liberalism—here passing under review the works of Renan, the free-religious movement, and Egidyaner Wolfgang Kirchbach. The third lecture is devoted to Jesus in the light of the social question (Richard Wagner, social democrats, Christian socialism). For the fourth, Weinel discusses Jesus in the light of the *Kulturproblem* as preacher of a Buddhistic self-redemption (Schopenhauer, Wagner, theosophists, Nietzsche, Naumann, Haeckel). In this he is especially vigorous in urging that Jesus was no weary, nervous decadent with pain-drawn countenance, but a veracious, heroic man, full of tenderness and kindness, his heart filled with a victorious faith in God. "All

<sup>1</sup> *Jesus im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*. Von Heinrich Weinel. Tübingen und Leipzig: Mohr (Siebeck), 1903. iv+316 pages.

that is nobly human and natural is not his foe, but inwardly akin to him." Was Jesus a foe to art? No, for he was a poet. To science? By no means, for back of everything else as presupposition of scientific work there must be veraciousness and courage, of which Jesus was the embodiment. It is not Christian material that makes a Christian art, but the way in which all this material is viewed; and—would that our American churches might lay this to heart!—it is not the ecclesiastical or "Christian" results that make a science Christian, but the sincerity and integrity of the work and the courage which seeks and says the truth. As to Buddhism, the gospel is not a Buddhistic self-redemption, not a philosophy, but faith in the Father, yearning for redemption from guilt through the Father's forgiveness, and hearty love for men which impels us to work for them and against pain of every kind.

The last lecture treats of the religious question of the present; and the positions appreciated are those of Tolstoi, Chamberlain, Harnack, Rosegger, Bourrier, Schell. Here, too, the standpoint of the author himself grows more distinct. It is that no dogmatic affirmations concerning Jesus can be made, consistent with the gospel, which are inconsistent with Jesus' *real* and *full* human nature. True Weinel does not say this in so many words; but what he says amounts to this. And in this Weinel is right; for otherwise we have no sure criterion for the valuation of Jesus, who, moreover, would else be more or less of a spook or phantom in history; and the marble coldness of his dogmatic sinlessness as a donation could not command our respect ethically, nor stir and thrill our hearts redemptively. To avert panic, it may be added at once that, given our modern conception of immanence, and the divineness of Jesus follows as a matter of course; and that, given personality as principle of world-evolution, and the consequent possible gradedness of the free expression of that principle makes room for the possibility of both the ontological and ethical incomparableness of Jesus in actuality. The question of his dignity then comes to be one of fact.

But this brings me to remark upon what in Weinel's addresses was most objectionable of all to the church party. In connection with New Testament conceptions of Jesus, Weinel (p. 282) raises the question: "Did Jesus on his own part regard himself as more than a man, and how high up in the scale of beings did he place himself? The question has agitated men's minds from the beginning. And yet"—here is the offense—"it is, in my opinion, a scientific duty to confess that we can no longer answer it with certainty." To this Professor James Denney, in *The British Weekly* (April 7, 1904), in a spirited review, not without a touch of the tragical,

replies: "If we really found ourselves in this position, it would be a scientific duty to make the further confessions, that, so far as it has a religious character involving a confession of Christ, the Christian religion has gone astray from its birth, and that if it is to have a place in the world of the future, it must radically change its character." Is this true? Even if it is, does it constitute a refutation of Weinel? We cannot adjudicate a question of fact by panicky conclusions as to *status quo*. The inconvenience of the escape of the horse does not prove that the barn door was shut. As a matter of fact, scientific historians, characterized by impartiality and objectivity of method, are not at all in the habit of "answering it with certainty." And their conscientious scruples are well grounded. For one thing, it is precisely at this point that the painting over of the historical picture of Jesus by the faith and adoration of the later community has been most pronounced. For another thing, Jesus himself, naturally—the deeper the secret, the finer-grained he was, the more certainly—would have observed chaste reticence concerning this nameless mystery of his person, concerning this his highest faith in himself. Finally, one must be oblivious to the universally accredited truths of epistemology, (according to which nothing is known simply as *given*, but only as *constructed* by the knower, who must use the concepts and content of his own consciousness), to suppose that by some strange alchemy we can release the Jesus-of-history from the Christ-of-faith, and thus see and hear the bare Jesus-in-himself. Has Kant's *Ding-an-sich* perished from metaphysics but to be enthroned in the center of biblical science?

It is on account of such considerations as these that Weinel's conception of scientific duty must be treated with respect, whatever be the "radical change" in Christianity supposed to be necessitated thereby. But is Dr. Denney right as to this further contention? His thought is: Christ's confession of faith is Christianity; Christ's confession of faith in himself is the kernel of Christianity. We know "with certainty" what this last is, and must make it our own; otherwise it is all over with Christianity. I have pointed out the difficulty as to this "certainty." It remains to ask whether it is required that we confess Christ's confession in order to be counted within the pale of Christianity. There are two decisive reasons to the contrary, one psychological, the other moral. If it be true that every man is a unique miracle, that the like of him was never born before and never will be again, then it is also true that every faith is unique in the world; then it is true for psychological reasons that I cannot confess what another man has believed, were this other man a Spurgeon, a Luther, a Paul, or even—as the case in question—Jesus himself. His faith would

be no warranty for my faith, the truth and sincerity of his confession would not prove the truth and sincerity of my confession—just as my being moral consists in my ability, not to “keep,” but inwardly to create, the Ten Commandments out of myself. But this is to trench upon the other reason: Dr. Denney’s position is legalistic—the legalism of the Jesus of history. In holding this position, orthodox Protestantism has moved a long way, inconsistently enough, from the external authority of a verbally inspired book; but the underlying principle is the same in both cases. To be moral, my valuation of Jesus must be mine and not his. It is not what I think of his dignity, but whether I possess his spirit or not, that determines whether I am his. How can I be sure how great Jesus was? He might be so great that I could not understand how great he was even if he had told me. But Jesus requires no blind faith. What the gospel that saves requires is that I confess not Jesus’ confession, but my own—with Jesus-like pains, courage, sincerity, and in the use of all the material at my disposal, of which he is chief, that will enable me to make a goodly confession. Even then it is as true today as ever that not everyone that saith to Jesus, “Lord, Lord,” or—*mutatis mutandis*—“Messiah, Messiah;” “second person in the Trinity, second person in the Trinity;” “Deity of Christ, Deity of Christ;” but he that doeth the will of his father. And if participating in the gospel that saves does not consist in making Jesus’ confession, certainly it does not consist in making the church’s.

How diverse that confession has been! First, Jesus was confessed to be the Jewish Messiah, the mighty lord of the judgment day, the restorer of Israel, the supernatural man who holds in one hand the sword of destruction, in the other the message of peace and reconciliation with God.

A century or so passes, and the Greek spirit replaces the Jewish. The bloody Messiah of the race of the Maccabees gradually vanishes from Christian feeling, and Jesus is confessed to be the radiant image of the Word of God, the Logos.

Other centuries have fled: the antique world is nauseated with itself; saints fly to wilderness and cloister; the wild joy of living is gone; the last word of wisdom is: forego fatherland, family, enjoyment, and the duties of society; the dominion of the monk has begun—and slowly the shining image of the Greek Logos-Jesus vanishes. On the horizon, like a pale moon, the sallow, faded countenance of the oriental Christ, the Byzantine Christ, is visible: the typical ideal of the monk and the ascetic.

Other centuries go by, and German peoples overrun Europe with their ignorance and rawness. The sluggish barbarian blood streams into the veins of the church. The light of antique culture is darkened. The



Greek Christ of an Origen and a Chrysostom no longer speaks to the people of the eleventh century. They cannot understand him. They need a God whom they can see or touch. They need a sensible representation of the Savior. And the priest hoists the host, and the church has a sensible Christ who communicates himself to these new confessors through their bodily organism.

More centuries pass. Luther and Calvin thunder. Renaissance awakens the human spirit. The Bible is given back to believers. A part of Christendom give up the mediæval Christ. Doctors of theology take the place of priests, and for two hundred years theological systems are the soul of the church and the strength on the field of battle. And, behold, Christ has become a doctor of theology, a cold Christ, exacting obedience, rationalistic, inexorable toward those who do not confess his confession.

The nineteenth century dawned. Some philosophers lifted their voices. There was a rebirth of liberty. Historical criticism was born. The theological Christ, like King Lear, is turned out in the street with none so poor as to do him reverence. A new *Christusbild* is produced. A new one, did I say? Rather, a whole art gallery of them: the romantic Christ, the socialistic Christ, the prophetic Christ, the mystic Christ, the rationalistic Christ, the idyllic Christ. It is a most instructive fact that there have never been so many as there have been since historians have undertaken to exhibit the history of his life. The lessons are obvious. If being a Christian consists in thinking about Jesus as he thought about himself, then Jesus is the only Christian that there is. "Christianity is Christ," we are told. Which Christ? "The Jesus-in-himself whom biblical science desires to see," comes the answer; "he is great, and I am his prophet." Which one of you? It is strange that the historians who apotheosize the historical in Christianity will learn no lesson on this matter from history. There is no Jesus in himself that you can get at to see; say what you will, he is no bare datum, but construct as well. Was there no Christianity in the world before the historical-science Jesus was exhibited to the world? Religion is grounded throughout upon its inner power and truth, not upon "historical arguments." Nothing in the past that is in the past only, and not also in the present, belongs to the essence of the gospel that saves and sanctifies the soul.

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## NEW LIGHT ON SOME FAMILIAR NEW TESTAMENT PROBLEMS

The study of New Testament thought is entering upon a new phase. The older phase was a close, exegetical study of the New Testament text, with little reference to the life revealed in it, and less reference to any literature outside, excepting the canonical writings of the Old Testament. The phase now opening recognizes that the New Testament is not an isolated field, but is in contact with the surrounding life of Judaism and Hellenism. So New Testament theology is merged into the history of religion, where the emphasis is always upon life, and literature is viewed only as the expression of life. This new phase of study is now coming to consciousness. One indication of it is that German works which ten years ago would have appeared as *neutestamentliche Theologie* now are named *religionsgeschichtliche Forschungen*.

Two of the names most prominent in this newer phase of study are Gunkel and Bousset. Both have contributed to its development by their studies of apocalyptic literature. Bousset's *Religion des Judenthums* is an example of the phase. So is Gunkel's *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*.

In 1903 Bousset and Gunkel began the publication of a series entitled "Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments." The first volume was Gunkel's *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments*. The second volume is Heitmüller's *Im Namen Jesu*.<sup>1</sup> According to the sub-title, the book is especially concerned with the use of the term in the baptismal formula of the early church. The preface raises the question: "What meaning has baptism 'in the name of Jesus' in the oldest Christianity?" The first part of the book is devoted to a linguistic investigation of the formulæ, *ἐν, ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τινος*, and *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τινος* in the New Testament and other early Christian literature, in the LXX, and in profane Greek. For the last, the recently edited ostraka and papyri from Egypt furnish especially rich material. His conclusion (p. 127) is that the reduction of these terms in the modern translations to the dead level of a single term, "to baptize in the name of Christ," is a loss of an important original distinction. The phrases "to baptize *ἐν* and *ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι*" serve as a description of the act of baptism. They affirm that the baptism was performed under the naming

<sup>1</sup> *Im Namen Jesu: Eine sprach- und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Neuen Testament, speziell zur altchristlichen Taufe*. By Wilhelm Heitmüller. Göttingen, 1903. Pp. 347. M. 9.

of the name of Jesus. To baptize *eis τὸ ὄνομα*, on the other hand, indicates the purpose and result of baptism. It affirms that the person baptized has passed into the state of belonging to Jesus. But in this phrase, also, the element of naming the name is contained. The second part of the book discusses the religious significance of this naming. It is here that the characteristics of the *religionsgeschichtliche* school most clearly appear. This part of the book is a study of the "name-philosophy" of the world in which Christianity arose, not only in Judaism, but also in the syncretistic paganism of the first Christian century. The demand that the facts of New Testament life and literature must be explained in the light of the ideas of the time is not, indeed, new; but the older study, somewhat timorously, refused to admit for serious consideration those phases of thought which we now regard as superstitions. As long as New Testament thought was regarded as infallible, and in all departments forming the measure and standard of our own beliefs, such exclusion was natural. New Testament ideas must agree with our own. On the other hand, if the New Testament is the record of what "men of their time" thought, and if that phrase is not empty rhetoric, then we may expect to find in it elements of the superstition common to the time; only the historical student has no use for the word "superstition." That is a word of conscious superiority, used in judgment. He prefers to take the attitude of the interpreter; and so Heitmüller uses Origen's term, "name-philosophy." The name of God stands in the closest connection with the essence of God. It takes part in this essence, participates in the power of God. It not merely represents the thought of God's power; it is a sort of hypostasis of him, a doublet of God. To know this name and to name it over any person or object is to exercise the power of God with respect to that person or object. In the possession of this knowledge one may rule the world. Especially is the Name a power in the conflict with the realm of demons. The naming of the Name, then, is the exercise of objective power. It becomes thus a sacrament "in the Catholic sense." So the naming of Christ in the act of baptism falls under the rubric of a widespread custom, behind which stands a very definite and positive belief. That it was believed in the post-apostolic church to have this power of exorcism our author is easily able to prove by abundant evidence. His claim is that in the New Testament the name of Jesus is also used in this sacramental, magical way. It is certainly not difficult to see such a use of the name in Mark 9:38 and Acts 19:13. These belong to the same class of magic that Simon desired to exercise in Acts 8:18 f. But these were cases outside the Christian community. Heitmüller claims that

within the Christian community the Name was also conceived to have this power; and that baptism was the especial means of the magical working. The baptized person belongs to Christ. He is objectively freed, by the naming of the name of Christ over him, from the power of the evil demons. Baptism, including the use of the Name, was the most powerful means which the Christian church possessed of bringing defeat to the realm of the demons. Certainly this was the case in the post-apostolic church. Baptism was, through the naming of the name of Jesus, "a kind of exorcism." The author maintains that this is also the case in all phases of New Testament thought.

Here, then, the issue is clearly joined. Was baptism considered in the New Testament church to be a magical, or, if one chooses the term, a sacramental act, with actual objective value? Or was it only the symbol of an inner and ethical fact? This raises an old question, but on totally new grounds. One is compelled to say, too, that it puts the burden of proof on those who would disclaim, for the New Testament, the sacramental character of baptism. If the surroundings of the New Testament contain this magical name-philosophy, and if it appears in the later phases of Christianity itself, its absence in the New Testament stands to be proved. It will hardly suffice to press the emphasis on the ethical as against the external in the teaching of Christ, especially as the formula of baptism in Matt. 28:19 is, to speak mildly, of doubtful authenticity. An argument for the ethical character of baptism has a better standing from the Pauline usage. It may be that one must draw a distinction between the conceptions common in the Christian community, and even perhaps between one phase of Paul's own expressions, and the peculiar personal views of Paul, with their strong emphasis on the ethical as over against the external interpretation of religion. The case may be similar to Paul's use of the Spirit, which includes both the ordinary use of the Christian congregations and the use peculiar to himself. Heitmüller plants himself upon Rom., chap. 6, where, it is not difficult to argue, baptism is considered to be the introduction to "a mystical physical-hyperphysical union with Christ" which is best explained by the sacramental sense of baptism. Even so, it does not go without saying that "to be in Christ" expresses for Paul no other idea than the sacramental. It seems to the reviewer that we must sometimes distinguish between the phases of thought which Paul borrowed from his Jewish and primitive Christian surroundings and those which belonged to his own contribution to growing Christian thought; and it may be doubted if Paul himself always saw with perfect clearness the precise shades of difference between them.

Another smaller book by Heitmüller discusses the Pauline teaching regarding both baptism and the Lord's Supper.<sup>2</sup> He holds here that the difference between symbol and sacrament is modern; that with Paul, as with the ancient world generally, the natural and the ethical were not distinct; that both together form the natural ground for the sacramental, "the characteristic of which is the obscure confounding of the natural and the spiritual in the personal;" but that Paul's sacramental conception of baptism is not in harmony with the central ethical idea of his religion. Kindred ideas are advanced regarding the Lord's Supper. That, also, is with Paul a sacrament. The sacramental character of it does not rest upon the preaching of Jesus. It is incongruous with Jesus' teaching of the Kingdom of God. His words, "This is my body," are to be understood parabolically. The sacramental idea comes into Christianity from the atmosphere of myth and mysticism with which the church was surrounded in the first Christian century. Is, therefore, the real significance of baptism and the Lord's Supper to be limited to the sacramental? Not at all. "There is no doubt that our modern Protestant estimate and value of them" are correct and must go on developing, "but we are thereby abandoning the ruling conceptions of them in Paulinism, and also in the other parts of the New Testament." We venture to suggest that these are books which must be reckoned with by future students of the ordinances of the church.

For the study of the teaching of the New Testament concerning the Holy Spirit there are two problems of prime importance. They are the questions of the origin and content of this teaching as found in the Johannine and in the Pauline writings. Each of these questions has elements of very great difficulty, and upon neither, perhaps, has the last word yet been spoken. The oft-discussed problem of the Pauline teaching is approached once again by Sokolowski.<sup>3</sup> His study is described on the title-page as *Eine exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*. Its preface begins with a reference to that fruitful book of Weinel's, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister im nachapostolischen Zeitalter*, which, while not bearing the name, is itself one of the most important *religionsgeschichtlichen* works that have yet appeared. No part of the biblical doctrine of the Spirit has received so much attention as the Pauline. Sokolowski goes

<sup>2</sup> *Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus: Darstellung und religionsgeschichtliche Beleuchtung*. By Wilhelm Heitmüller. Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903. Pp. 56. \$1.20.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Begriffe Geist und Leben bei Paulus in ihren Beziehungen zu einander*. By Emil Sokolowski. Göttingen, 1903. Pp. xii + 284. M. 7.

over the general subject again, but from the point of view of Paul's conception of life. This leads him to minimize the theological problems of the ontology of the Spirit. He is concerned with Paul's theory of the way the Spirit acts upon man rather than with the nature of its relation to God. This changed point of view is characteristic of the history of religion, rather than of theology. The scope of the book will be indicated by an enumeration of its parts: "The Conception of Life;" "Life and Spirit;" "The Method of the Working of the Spirit;" "The Anthropological Presuppositions;" "The Origin of the Pauline Conceptions." The last part occupies nearly half the book.

The author's view is that life, in its specific sense, means for Paul the permanent "life eternal." It rests upon the hope of the resurrection and includes a freedom from the present "body of corruption." But life is also a present good. As such, it consists of a condition of moral righteousness which is not conceived as future, but as present, so that one may not say he will be saved and attain life, but, he has been saved and has life. The resurrection life of the future and the ethical life of the present are so united that life means essentially one thing, whether present or future, physical or spiritual; but its unity does not rest on a physical basis. This single life, present and future alike, has its origin in the "life-giving Spirit." Yet the life is not the Spirit of God alone, nor human consciousness alone, but the product of both together. This, then, is the Pauline idea; a unity between life in the present and in the future, and both under the direct guidance of the Spirit. What is the origin of these conceptions of life and the Spirit? The idea that the present life finds its real essence in holiness is Jewish. The idea of a continued life in the future, which with Paul stands unreconciled beside the idea of a resurrection life, is Greek. The life as holiness was thought of in the Old Testament as due to the Spirit. (Rather, the reviewer thinks, the holiness of life in the messianic age was thought of by the Judaism of Paul's time as coming from the Spirit, as in Mark 1:8.) The idea of the Spirit in the present life had a Jewish origin. But Judaism supplied no idea of the Spirit in the future life. The full rounding of Paul's thought of the Spirit is due neither to Jewish nor to Greek thought, but to Paul's own experience. This conclusion is that to which most recent study of this subject is leading, whatever may be its point of departure. The Spirit was in a peculiar sense connected with life, since it was the explanation of experiences.

The theology of the early church is generally as much the outgrowth of experience as the inheritance of a dogma, and that is emphatically true here. On this subject life certainly produced theology. Sokolowski has

approached this problem of life and the Spirit from a somewhat new and decidedly fruitful point of attack.

Brief mention must suffice for two less extensive monographs. One is in the *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, edited by Schlatter and Cremer.<sup>4</sup> It examines the conceptions of grace in the different phases of New Testament thought, noting their differences. Their common ground lies in the idea that sinful man may enter through Christ into fellowship with God.

The other<sup>5</sup> is a study of Paul's consciousness of sin; an attempt to reconcile the lofty apostolic consciousness with the deep consciousness of sin. The reconciliation is found in the perpetual inclination of the *σάρξ* toward sin.

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### THE ESCHATOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

The extent to which the historical methods are permeating biblical theology is already known to those acquainted with German theological literature of the last ten years. American and English scholars, with one or two exceptions, have not been following very closely along the same paths. It now appears, however, that this condition is changing. Within the past few months there have appeared a number of books which represent the new tendency to apply our knowledge of contemporaneous thought to an understanding and estimate of the teaching of the New Testament, and among them two dealing with the vital matter of eschatology.

The volume by Mr. Muirhead<sup>1</sup> has an elaborate table of contents, which at least names many of the problems connected with the subject. The treatment, as a whole, however, can hardly be called more than sketchy. The volume is composed of lectures given on the Bruce foundation, and is subject to the limitations of its origin. The first lecture considers the presuppositions of the study; the second, the relation of the Jewish apocalypses to Jesus; the third, the actual teaching of Jesus concerning the consummation of the Kingdom; and the fourth, inclusively, the Son of man. Such an outline certainly shows a strange perspective and fails to raise the vital

<sup>4</sup> *Der Begriff der Gnade im Neuen Testament*. By R. Vömel. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 1903. Pp. 50.

<sup>5</sup> *Der Apostel Paulus als armer Sünder. Ein Beitrag zur paulinischen Hamartologie*. By Max Meyer. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 1903. Pp. 58.

<sup>1</sup> *The Eschatology of Jesus*. By Lewis A. Muirhead. New York: Armstrong & Son. Pp. xxvii + 224. \$1.50.

question: What is the modern man to find in such teaching as Jesus gives? Further, like most British works dealing with the New Testament, this volume is controlled by dogmatic presuppositions. Chief among them is this: Jesus cannot be charged with intellectual inconsistencies. What such a presupposition can accomplish appears on p. 134, where we read that

in a discussion regarding any fact of real importance in the life of Jesus, the decisive factor is not any arithmetical balance between reports of what he said and reports of what seemed the opposite, but rather our certainty, arising from our knowledge of his character, of what he must have thought and meant. It is useful to remember that even in matters of criticism the supreme evidence is Jesus himself—Jesus as we know him here and now, Jesus as we knew him in God's providence and by God's spirit through these gospels.

By means of this application of religious experience to criticism the author concludes that the statement concerning the coming of the Son of man within the lifetime of Jesus' contemporaries, and the further statement as to Jesus' ignorance concerning "that day" (which really means the coming of the Son of man) refer to the destruction of Jerusalem, and that this event was to usher in the development of humanity into a more glorious condition.

It is by appeal to this same presupposition that Mr. Muirhead holds that, if Jesus were ignorant of one of these two aspects, he must have been ignorant of the other. He overlooks the very simple explanation that Jesus might have been convinced that the consummation was to come during the lifetime of his generation, and yet not have known the precise day.

That Jesus recognized the certainty of the fall of Jerusalem no one can deny, but it is impossible to hold, with Mr. Muirhead, that either he or any one of his followers regarded that event as the consummation of the age. It was rather the guarantee of the approach of that cataclysm. There is in early Christian literature no interpretation which would give first importance to the event which modern writers have so remarkably emphasized. If there is any one thing in the history of Christianity which seems unimportant, it is the fall of Jerusalem. When that event came, history had long since outgrown Judaism, and Judaistic history was on the way toward its subsequent fate. According to Mr. Muirhead, Jesus regarded the destruction of Jerusalem as the changing of the then existing world-order, and saw in his own death that by which humanity should enter a new and glorious career which should be seen even by the men of that generation.

Taken altogether, the book, though stimulating, suffers from the fault which besets all exegetical studies dominated by presuppositions. Mr.



Muirhead has said some very sensible things, but his volume presumes an attitude of mind which is now dominant in certain quarters, namely, that one may go the length of literary criticism and yet refrain from dogmatic or historical changes.

In decided contrast with the method of Mr. Muirhead is that of H. A. A. Kennedy. His, too, is a volume of lectures—the Cunningham.<sup>2</sup> It treats of practically every question involved in its subject, but in every particular it shows a decided advantage over recent British scholarship in the New Testament. It never mistakes rhetoric or pious expression for data, and appeals to no theological presuppositions as criteria for exegetical processes. Its knowledge of recent literature is exhaustive, and its treatment has all the method which we had almost given up finding in any writers except the German.

So thoroughgoing is the book that it is impossible to take up its various subjects in detail. In fact, it is a series of exegetical studies rather than a treatise on eschatology. It does not discover any particular novelty in Pauline thought, and its conclusions will be found more acceptable to the literalist than to those theologians who would reduce questions of immortality and eschatology to an appendix. Mr. Kennedy holds correctly that the message of Paul is essentially eschatological; that the apostle's approach to Christian teaching is from the point of view of the resurrection and of the coming Kingdom; that ethics and even the religious life are conditioned by these conceptions; that life and death are not figurative expressions, but are genuine states into which the personality enters; and that a merely ethical death and resurrection is not to be found in the apostle's teaching.

Further, Mr. Kennedy does not attempt to force Paul into systematic consistency. In this particular his treatment of the apostle's correlation of salvation and the judgment are worth consideration by the rank and file of theological writers.

And all these results are reached by an appeal to a wealth of historical and literary material. There is not a volume of importance which has escaped the author's attention. The exegetical studies are done, not only with the precision of a lexicographer, but, notably in the case of "life" and "death," from the broader point of view of the student of anthropology. His recognition of the influence of Jewish, as distinct from Greek, thought upon the apostle is likewise commendable. Even when, as in his treatment of Jesus' expectation of his second coming, one is inclined to differ with the results which Mr. Kennedy has reached, it is not because of his failure to

<sup>2</sup> *St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things*. By H. A. A. Kennedy. New York: Armstrong & Son. Pp. xx + 370. \$1.50.

adduce evidence. His treatment of this and every other disputed matter is serious and extended. And it is to be noted, in passing, that Mr. Kennedy's accounts of recent workers in his chosen field are generally fair and well balanced. Kabisch alone seems to disturb his scholarly neutrality.

While thus we are in hearty agreement with the author in most of his conclusions, it is to be regretted that Mr. Kennedy, no more than Mr. Muirhead, has treated the entire subject from the normative as well as from the exegetical point of view. For even after we know precisely what Jesus and his great apostle taught, the question still remains as to how much of the form, and even of the content, of this thought has survived the changed world-view. For the consideration of this vital matter the mere exegete is as incompetent as the merely metaphysical theologian. After all has been said, the critical issue for an historical Christianity is precisely here. Mr. Kennedy, and to a less degree Mr. Muirhead, have furnished materials, but the issue itself they have bequeathed to other hands.

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## TWO SIGNIFICANT BOOKS ON THE OLD TESTAMENT

The task of estimating the value of the posthumous class lectures of Dr. Davidson<sup>1</sup> is to a conscientious reviewer both pleasant and unpleasant. It is a pleasure to note throughout both volumes the keenness of observation, the gift of interpretative insight, and the incisive style which are conspicuous in all the writings of the lamented biblicist; while it is with deep regret that the limitations and misdirections of the treatment of the themes must be pointed out. The latter task is especially invidious because the writer has already said his last word, and also because he himself did not prepare any of his lectures for publication. It is, on the one hand, impossible to tell what form Professor Davidson would have given to works bearing the titles of these two books. We do not even know whether he would have used as the main material of such supposititious works the lectures from which the present volumes have been compiled. Of one thing we may be reasonably sure: that both in form and substance these books would have been unlike what we have now before us. Of this the

<sup>1</sup> *The Theology of the Old Testament*. By the late A. B. Davidson. Edited from the Author's manuscripts by S. D. Salmond. ("International Theological Library.") New York: Scribner, 1904. 553 pages. \$2.50.

*Old Testament Prophecy*. By the late A. B. Davidson. Edited by J. A. Paterson. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1904. 507 pages. \$3.50.

editors seem to have been to a certain extent aware. Professor Salmond says in his preface:

Had Dr. Davidson been spared to complete his work and carry it through the press, it would have been different, no doubt, in some respects from what it is. It would have been thrown into the best literary form. Its statements at some points would have been more condensed. It would have had less of that element of iteration of which he made so effective use in the class room. (P.vi.)

That they would have been more seriously changed than Professor Salmond seems to imagine may be inferred from a comparison of the *Prophecy* with the article "Prophecy and Prophets" in the *Dictionary of the Bible*. The difference here is not merely a matter of form, as Professor Paterson in his preface seems to indicate. The *Dictionary* article is much shorter, but it contains important material not found in the separate work. Moreover, the method of treatment is different. The article is not only more cogent and direct, but its whole spirit and manner are changed. Take the topic, the origin of prophecy. Strange to say, in spite of its importance, this theme is not treated in the published volume, except perhaps by use of remote allusion, and in the casual references to divination by means of arrows, rods, and ventriloquism (p. 297), by the ephod (p. 47), the lot (pp. 47, 53), Urim and Tummim (pp. 47, 66, 107), and the teraphim (p. 67). To these may be added a general statement made under the heading "The Source of Prophecy-Inspiration," on p. 144. There are, besides, in the volume brief remarks on dreams and dreaming, and on prophetic excitation, under the topic of "The Prophetic State" (pp. 117 ff.); but these, like the others just referred to, have no bearing on the earlier history or the development of prophecy, but only upon the character of its manifestations. If now, following Professor Paterson's suggestion, we turn again to the *Dictionary* article (Vol. IV, p. 107), we find all these biblical facts and old Hebrew practices which are associated with manticism and prophecy carefully selected and arranged, along with acute and luminous remarks which prepare the mind of the candid reader to form a conclusion for himself, and stimulate him to further inquiry, though the author withholds his own opinion as to their bearing upon the origin of prophecy.

Another ample indication of the difference in the two modes of treatment may be given. In the published volume, under the head of "The False Prophets," it is asserted practically that "Canaanitish prophets" tended only to corrupt the religion of Israel (p. 297). Here, as elsewhere in the volume, it is assumed that the influence of the non-Israelitish religions was only evil. Contrast with this the statement of the article, in which the author admits not only that Israel, by entrance upon the Canaan-

ite civilization, attained to a broader and fuller human life, but that "the conception of Jehovah, by taking up into it some of the thoughts connected with the native gods, became enlarged and enriched." To summarize the results of a detailed comparison of the volume on *Prophecy* with the *Dictionary* essay, it would be fair to say that matters which have formed the chief subjects of controversy in recent times are in the former viewed as of subordinate moment and dealt with casually, allusively, and indirectly, while in the latter they are taken up seriously, independently, and with comparative fullness. Their treatment in the one is apologetic, and in the other expository; in the one homiletic, in the other scientific; in the one incidental, in the other systematic.

The contrast between Professor Davidson's class lectures and his work written for the wider public would have been more striking still if he had lived to fulfil his promise of preparing a work on *Old Testament Theology*. The volume which has appeared under this title must in any case be subjected to a closer examination than is due that on *Prophecy*, because of its wider range of topics and more numerous relations and implications. And as the book is presented to us, it must be criticised with reference not to what the author might have done, but to what has been given to the world under his name. The character of the work becomes of more importance by reason of its having taken its place in the "International Theological Library," which, according to its general preface, is conducted "in the interests of theology as a science," and aims "adequately to represent the present condition of investigation and indicate the way for further progress." What, then, are its characteristics, as viewed in the light of these professions? One of the editors of the "Theological Library" is the editor of this volume on *Old Testament Theology*. It is only fair to test the character of the volume by the standard thus set for the series of which it forms a part.

It should be stated at the outset that, while the editors have made no change in the language of the lectures as they found them, they are responsible for the selections which they often had to make from different "editions" of the same lectures, for the order in which they are now printed and for the divisions into chapters and sections. Dr. Davidson dated none of his lectures, and the order in which they were originally given had to be arrived at by guesswork. The reader, however, will have little fault to find with the arrangement that has been made; and it is equally certain that, as far as the material is concerned, we have before us a good representation of the work done by the writer for and within the classroom.

The method and scope of the lectures in the volume edited by Dr.

Salmond may be fairly well gathered from the first chapter, on "The Science of Old Testament Theology." The treatment of the subject in the work as a whole is foreshadowed in the definition of biblical theology, given on p. 1, as "the knowledge of God's great operation in introducing his kingdom among men presented to our view exactly as it lies presented in the Bible." Such verbiage as this is surprising as coming from a master of clear and precise expression, and our wonder becomes greater when we see that on p. 6 he says that this definition does not differ from another which he cites as being in vogue: "The historical and genetic presentation of the religion of the Old Testament," or: "That branch of theological science which has for its function to present the religion of revelation in the ages of its progressive movement." On p. 11 also we find the simple statement that "our subject really is the history of the religion of Israel as represented in the Old Testament." It is, however, the definition first given that is adhered to. That is to say, the author's whole conception of Old Testament theology as unfolded in these lectures is dominated by a modern theory of the character of revelation, founded, not upon an Old Testament, but upon a post-biblical, apprehension. It is true that the idea of the "Kingdom of God" is a New Testament one, and therefore biblical; but it can be brought into relation with the actual religious content and life of the Old Testament only by trying to co-ordinate the abstract with the concrete, or the ideal with the actual, and by confounding the consummation with the process or the end with the means.

The introduction to the whole work, which is contained in the first chapter, is an attempt, naturally unsuccessful, to explain what Old Testament theology is from the standpoint of one who holds at the same time both of the opposing or inconsistent definitions above presented. Thus it is said (p. 6):

The one definition speaks of the religion of the Old Testament, and the other of God's operation in bringing in his kingdom. But these two things are in the main the same. The Kingdom of God is within us. To bring in the kingdom was to awaken a certain religious life in his people and to project great thoughts and hopes before their minds. This life and these thoughts are reflected to us in the Old Testament Scriptures. These various definitions all imply the same distinct characteristics.

He then goes on to detail the characteristics which they imply (pp. 6-11). The first is that "Old Testament theology is a *historical* science. It is historical in the same sense as that in which the Old Testament is historical." To prove this, however, he does not follow the historical order of the contents of revelation, but enters into an *a priori* course of reasoning

to show that "the inbringing of the Kingdom of God" must necessarily have been "historical and gradual;" and the same kind of commendation must be granted to the subsequent presentation of reasons of an analogous kind to show that "Old Testament theology is *genetic*," and that it "is a *development*." This sort of introduction must strike one as being both eccentric and superfluous, when one observes that all of it is used with reference to what is called Old Testament "science." The immediate occasion of the phenomenon is obvious. It is the employment of the peculiar definition involving "God's great operation in introducing his kingdom among men."

A somewhat closer examination of this introductory chapter is necessary, if we wish to test the soundness of the leading definition and of the whole method of treatment which consists therewith. The author, in showing that the definitions "imply that the presentation of the Old Testament religion in Old Testament theology is *genetic*," speaks of the place occupied by the religious institutions of Israel, and observes:

Of course, it must be maintained that the perfect form of the Kingdom of God, the form which it was to have in the New Testament, was contemplated from the beginning. There was a determinism impressed on the Old Testament kingdom toward its perfect form; it was a growth, an organism of which we see the complete stature only in the New Testament kingdom. But we must not regard those institutions in Israel as having only this use of foreshadowing the future. They were real institutions and offices there, and their reference to the future was probably, in many instances, not understood or even surmised. The way they bore reference to the future in the minds of the people was rather this: The highest thinkers among the people, such as the prophets, perceived the idea lying in these offices and institutions, and expressed their longing and certainty that the idea would be realized. Thus it was with the kingship. Its idea was a king of God's kingdom, a representative of God sitting on the throne in Jerusalem. Such an idea of the kingship led to the most brilliant idealizing of the king and his office. Being king for God and in God's kingdom, he had attribute after attribute assigned to him, all reflections of the divine attributes, till at length he was even styled the 'mighty God,' he in whom God himself would be wholly present. And not only the kingship, but other offices and other characters appearing among the people, were idealized; and as it by and by came to be felt that such ideals could not be realized in the present, the realization of them was thrown into the future.

This explanation is true in the main of a considerable portion, and that the most valuable, of the Old Testament. But everyone will at once call to mind that the kingship was not always regarded from the point of view here elaborated. Nor was this aspect of the kingly office the only one that

appealed to the religious sense of the prophets. Quite as prophetic, and for the moral history of Israel perhaps even more important, is that conception of the actual character of kingship in Israel in the famous censure put in the mouth of Samuel, when the people first made a general demand for a common permanent supreme ruler, and the stern old patriot told them that their act was disloyalty to God (1 Sam., chap. 8). To be sure, for the purpose of the author in showing the genetic character of Old Testament religion, it was not necessary to mention this latter conception of monarchical rule as being really opposed to the divine plans for Israel's government; but, from the point of view of one who regards the whole of the Old Testament as "God's operation in introducing his kingdom among men," and considers the kingship to have been of divine ordinance for the purpose of shadowing forth the character of that kingdom, the presentation of diverse biblical conceptions of the kingly office would have been accompanied by a measure of difficulty. One who keeps to the simpler and more obvious definition (which is also approved by the author) would have no difficulty whatever, since he would simply have to observe the rules of historical science, and present the facts as being phases in the history of Old Testament thought. Our first general observation, then, is that at the very beginning of the volume we note a tendency to systematize and rationalize, with a view to co-ordinate the Old Testament teaching with extraneous and later conceptions. This procedure would seem to go beyond the province of Old Testament theology as a science.

In strict accordance with the assumptions of his favorite definition, the author, throughout his book, takes the chief doctrines of modern church teaching as already given in the Old Testament, and finds them illustrated in all the material which he chooses to examine for the purpose. The theological topics thus provided form the headings of the several chapters. It would help toward an appreciation of Dr. Davidson's treatment if the principal contents of some of the more recent works on the same subject were to be looked at for comparison: One might refer to Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* (1893); to Marti, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion* (1897); to the *Alttestamentliche Theologie* of the late Professor Schultz (5th ed., 1896; 4th ed. translated by J. A. Paterson, 1892), especially its first main division; and to the elaborate introduction in Dillmann's posthumous *Alttestamentliche Theologie* (1895). Of works written in English, Professor Duff's *Old Testament Theology*, or the *History of Hebrew Religion* (1891 and 1900), as yet unfinished, is historical throughout in spirit and method; and Professor Bennett's little book on the *Theology of the Old Testament* (1897) is quite up to date, and has an eye to the future as well as to the past of Old Testament study.

These lectures of Dr. Davidson thus stand in striking contrast with similar works by representative progressive biblical scholars of the time. As are the introductory chapters, so is the collection as a whole. It is instructive to observe how he makes concessions to the historical spirit and the inductive method formally at the outset, and by implication at various critical points throughout, only to abandon them when general conclusions are to be drawn or traditional opinions are involved. The only passage of any length which is written from the standpoint of "biblical science" appears to be the admirable summary of the "Great Historical Periods" (pp. 15-22), where the author had to deal with facts which are practically accepted by all present-day students. Yet even here the exposition is colored now and then by touches of conventionalism. For example, the fourth period, from the Exile to the close of the Old Testament canon, includes prophecy, the priestly legislation, the Psalter, and the Wisdom. This division is, of course, correct. But this is what is said of prophecy:

The second half of Isaiah is usually placed in this era. Its contents refer to this period. If Isaiah was its author, he was enabled to project himself in spirit into the Exile, and see and estimate that period with its personages and forces, precisely as if he had lived during it in the body.

Naturally, when the author comes to speak of theological doctrines as they are treated by the Deutero-Isaiah, there is no course open to him but to assume that the prophet was contemporary with the events described. We know, moreover, from abundant evidence that Dr. Davidson held firmly to the latter view. Yet it must be said that the apparent concession to the older opinion is characteristic of the book.

There is no explanation in the lectures themselves of the peculiar method adopted, but it is of interest to see how the editor views the question. In his preface (p. vi) Dr. Salmond says:

One thing that gave Dr. Davidson much concern was the question of the plan on which a work of this kind should be constructed. His object was to bring the history and the ideas into living relation, to trace the progress of Old Testament faith from stage to stage, and to exhibit the course along which it advanced from its beginnings to the comparative fulness which it obtained at the end of the prophetic period. But he never carried out the scheme. He had increasing distrust of ambitious attempts to fix the date of every separate piece of the Hebrew literature, and link the ideas in their several measures of immaturity and maturity with the writings as thus arranged. . . . In his judgment, the only result of endeavors of this kind was to give an entirely fictitious view of the ideas, in their relative degrees of definiteness, the times at which they emerged or became certainty, and the causes that worked to their origin and development. The most



that we had scientific warrant to do in view of the materials available for the purpose was, in his opinion, to take the history in large tracts and the literature in a few broad divisions, and study the beliefs and the deliverances in connection with these.

This not very self-consistent conception, held by the editor of the author's attitude toward the historical treatment of Old Testament theology, is the only attempt at an explanation of his method which appears in the volume. Instead of explaining the anomaly, it makes it more puzzling than ever. No one knew better than Dr. Davidson how "to take the history in large tracts and the literature in a few broad divisions;" but in the work as edited by Dr. Salmond he did not "study the beliefs and deliverances in connection with these." The author's assumption throughout is that the Old Testament is practically a religious unity; and in the discussion of the various doctrines or data of the post-biblical creed, whose relation to the Old Testament is the real subject of the lectures, he as a rule ignores the historic gradations of opinion held as to these doctrines or ideas; and when he does note any such distinctions, he minimizes their importance.

Let us take, as a fair example, the discussion of the fundamental topic, "The Doctrine of God" (pp. 129-82). Here, if anywhere, one would expect some recognition of a historical progress in ancient Hebrew religious thought. But of such an apprehension there is hardly a trace. The nearest approach to it is found in the use of the term "development" with reference to the "holiness of God." In treating of this attitude, the author rightly begins (p. 145) with the original usage of the term as describing what is peculiar to God or the gods, and then as designating men or things that are sacred from their association with deity. And we have a little later (p. 147) the remark that "the development of the idea of holiness may be regarded as moving on two lines, the ethical and the æsthetic or ceremonial." But, as far as any reader of the volume has a chance to learn from the subsequent exposition, he would be left entirely in the dark as to where in the Bible he is to find the starting-point of the respective lines of development and what are its several stages. In illustrating the ethical development, the quotations are made exclusively from the prophetic literature. Indeed, the assumption is made (p. 146) that it was the prophets who endowed the word "holy" with its right meaning. This is true enough of the ethical import of the word. But what about the pre-prophetic literature? Does it not form a distinct division of the Old Testament from the point of view of the progress of religious thought?

The same sort of impression is made by the treatment of the closely related topic, "The Righteousness of God" (pp. 129-44). All the refer-

ences except two are to the prophetic and its dependent literature, and there is nothing whatever to show how the conceptions of the divine righteousness were widened with the process of the history, or indeed that they were genetically associated at all. The people of this age need and desire a plain statement of what the sacred writers really thought about God, and how and why they came to think as they did about him; above all, the question of God's righteousness and its treatment in the Bible is of urgent importance. There is no question upon which an answer is so fiercely demanded from the professional expounders of the Bible as just this one of the righteousness of the God of revelation. To answer this question one needs to study the extra-prophetic far more than the prophetic literature, for it is that which has proved the great stumbling-block to multitudes of honest and righteous souls.

Let us see how the question is treated elsewhere by inference or implication. The other rubrics under "The Divine Attributes" are "The Natural Attributes" (pp. 160-69), a term borrowed from the jargon of metaphysical theologians, supposed to be in some way antithetic to "moral," and including God's "power, his foresight and omniscience, the unsearchableness of his understanding or mind, and such like"—attributes all of which are illustrated here only from Second Isaiah; "The Redemptive Attributes" (pp. 169-74); and "God's Relations to Nature and to Men," (pp. 174-82). It is under the last heading only that biblical passages of crucial ethical import are cited, and they are not dealt with from any critical standpoint. Thus on p. 175 the drought of three and a half years "for the idolatry of Israel under Ahab and Jezebel" is correlated with "the two greatest wonders of Deity to the ancient mind, that he set bounds to the sea and that he gave rain." And the author adds:

In punishment of Saul's attempt to exterminate the Gibeonites, in defiance of the solemn oath by which Israel under Joshua had bound itself to spare their lives, he sent a drought and a famine which were only alleviated when expiation was made for the blood which Saul had shed, and, to chastise the pride of David in numbering the people, he devastated the people with a pestilence. In all these cases his rule of nature, though absolute, appears to be for moral ends, as in the instance of the flood and Sodom.

Comment upon this passage is superfluous, but one cannot help noting the apologete's representation of the pitiful outcome of the blood-feud between the Gibeonites and the house of Saul as described in 2 Sam., chap. 21.

The conclusion reached by Dr. Davidson on the Old Testament conceptions of the doctrine of God is given on p. 180:

My impression is that even in the most ancient passages of the Old Testament essentially the same thought of Jehovah is to be found as appears in the prophets and the later literature. The doctrine of Jehovah receives few developments during the course of the Old Testament period. It is stated more broadly in the later books, but in the oldest writings the germs of it are contained. Instead of quoting separate passages, it will be enough, in bringing this statement to an end, to refer to one passage which gives a very vivid picture of what may be called the consciousness of God in the mind of Old Testament saints.

Then follows a detailed exposition of Ps. 139, one of the latest productions of the Old Testament canon, and about as fairly representative of the history of Old Testament theology as "In Memoriam" is of the history of English poetry of the spiritual life.

Attention might be called to some of the consequences of the author's backward-looking attitude in these lectures, as he regards biblical conceptions from the standpoint of systematic instead of biblical theology. A whole chapter (pp. 115-29) is devoted to "The Doctrine of God—the Spirit." The discussion refers throughout to the spirit of God as a person, the initial capital being always written, or at least always printed. The conclusion, expressed guardedly (pp. 128 ff.), is, of course, in favor of the view that the phrase "the spirit of God" has not a personal application. One may be surprised to observe that there is no chapter or section upon God, the Son. Even the chapter on "The Messianic Idea" (pp. 356-95) contains nothing that illustrates this dominant constituent of our creed. Why, then, should the author pursue the phantom of "God the Spirit" in the Old Testament? A brief remark would have sufficed to dispose of misunderstandings which have been popularly based on a mere coincidence of phrase, and which can have no significance for a biblical theology that claims to be exegetical and inductive.

Another obvious consequence of the unhistorical attitude and method of the lectures is that beliefs and conceptions which were a revelation of later times are attributed to ancient "saints," such as Abraham and Jacob. The author makes an elaborate argument to show the reasonableness of the view that these earlier worthies actually received such revelations. He cites, from the early histories "the representation of Jehovah as *predetermining* and *revealing* all these dispositions of his in regard to the nations long before they actually occurred," and adds: "Now, most modern writers regard all this as just the actual situation which history brought about reflected back upon a much earlier time." He next speaks of Jacob and Esau as being equivalent, in the symbolic meaning of their secondary names, to the historic careers of Israel and Edom, and of the promise to Abraham

of the land of Canaan as being a reflection of the actual possession of Canaan by Israel. Then he goes on to say:

How much truth there may be in these representations I do not stop here to discuss. There may be some with regard to Jacob and Esau. This, however, is a question by itself. The point deserving of notice is that when these histories were written these conceptions of Jehovah prevailed. . . . In Gen., chap. 15, Jehovah is represented as making a covenant with Abraham promising that the land of Canaan should be his. . . . Is it anything incredible that this should have been revealed to Abraham? Amos says: "Surely the Lord God will do nothing but he reveals his secret with his servants the prophets." . . . Was the case different with Abraham? If he was anything like that character which these early histories describe him to have been, nothing would seem more natural than that he should be made to know what the goal was to be to which his history looked.

The answer to these pleas is obvious: (1) Abraham was a prophet only "by courtesy." He is called a "prophet" (Gen. 20:7; cf. Ps. 105:14 f.) in connection with the cowardly and selfish fraud which he is said to have practiced upon Abimelech, the second of the kind recorded of him. (2) The saying of Amos, so profoundly true, does not apply here. It means that the interpretation of actual history, in terms of divine providence, is the exclusive prerogative of God's prophets in any age. (3) Abraham in the record was a "character" of a kind, or rather of many inconsistent kinds, such as the world has never seen and never will see. The sooner such a "character" is denounced by both biblical theology and biblical apologetics, the better it will be for "the interests of theology as a science."

From the standpoint of biblical science, which is but another name for biblical truth and righteousness, the case against the present publication may be stated in a single phrase: it treats the Old Testament as not only a literary, but a moral unit. This is really the essence of the inadequacy and untimeliness of the book. It is doubtless possible, by the use of abstract terms, which may in successive ages connote widely divergent concrete spiritual facts, to create or to maintain an impression that the worship and the beliefs of Israel were in all periods of its history essentially the same. This possibility has given a temporary advantage to the traditional method of interpreting the Scripture records. But this time-honored method has also the disadvantage that it is obliged to ignore the facts of history, the principles of human nature, and, above all, the fundamental connection between religion and morals. For the *dictum* of Jesus that "if any man wills to do his will, he shall know of the teaching whether it be of God," is of unlimited application. Applied to Old Testament "teaching," it forces us to believe that "the ancient saints," who habitually

practiced deceit, adultery, or murder, were not under the control of the God of righteousness and justice, the God of the prophets, the God and father of our Lord Jesus Christ. And it equally compels us to reject the notion that a God who enjoined upon his people the wholesale slaughter of innocent women and children, who decimated his own nation by pestilence because of the ambition of its king, who slew tens of thousands of his own worshipers because they looked into one of his sacred symbols, is the God neither of righteousness, nor of prophecy, nor of redemption. He is obviously a tribal god, the development of a worship at once ceremonial and demonic, the god whose inspiration, once credited to Jehovah (2 Sam. 24:1), was on a certain occasion in a later age ascribed to Satan (2 Chron. 21:1).

Such phenomena of the moral world are not taken account of by Dr. Davidson as cardinal data for his lectures on Old Testament theology. They are either ignored entirely or, when mentioned, are said to come under the category of God's "rule of nature," which, "although absolute, appears to be for moral ends." The fact is that these lectures must be repudiated by biblical science in as far as they fail to indicate Israel's progress in religious thought and make the Old Testament literature an illustration either of the New Testament teaching or of our modern creeds. They must also be disowned by the "higher criticism," of which Dr. Davidson was more or less an exponent, because they fail to apply an ethical test to religious belief. For the essential motive and permanent justification of the historical method are that, by distinguishing between facts, opinions, and teachings that really differ, it makes it possible for modern men to worship the God of the prophets. Even from the standpoint of apologetics, it does not pay to trifle with the principle of gradual development; for the Old Testament religion is given historically by divers portions and in divers manners, and the apologete who disowns the historical principle virtually recants the doctrine of a providential revelation.

What has been said in criticism of the volume on *Old Testament Theology* is to some extent true of that on *Old Testament Prophecy*. In the latter much space is wasted in dealing at length with out-of-date questions, such as the Isaianic problem (pp. 242-72); and the endeavor to unify and systematize the Old Testament, rather than to explain or unfold it, is revealed in such an expression as the following (p. 55): "It was not one act of Saul's, but a prevailing disposition or type of mind, that caused his rejection." But the book on *Prophecy* is much less open to objection on ethical grounds than is the larger work, since in it the author was dealing mainly with the highest type of Old Testament religion.

The question comes up of itself: Why should these volumes have been published? They were merely lectures intended for students who were being prepared to serve in the ministry of an orthodox church. There is wanting in them, as they now appear, the personal charm of a great teacher, and that power of oral statement which seems to have been the highest endowment of the lamented author. That they want consistency and finish is of comparatively little moment. But it is deplorable that Dr. Davidson's reputation as a biblical scholar should be cheapened and his influence impaired by the publication of lectures which were neither prepared nor intended for the public. The regret and the mystery are increased when we remember that the author, not speaking from his chair, sometimes estimated rightly the real problems of the early religious history of Israel. See his finely suggestive program of inquiries given in the *Critical Review*, Vol. VII, p. 431. If the problems there propounded had been fully dealt with in the volume before us, critics would have been satisfied. But if it were not for the suggestion of scruples and difficulties here and there in the volume, one could hardly trace in it any advance upon the standpoint occupied by the author in his inaugural lecture on "Biblical Theology" given in 1863. Since then what a revolution has taken place in the prevailing attitude of biblical scholars toward questions of Old Testament criticism!

In this connection the reviewer may express disappointment that some one of the specialists who, it may be presumed, were consulted about the propriety of publishing the lectures, did not himself undertake the task of editing for publication the classroom deliverances of such a self-restrained and subjective thinker. If this had been done, they would possibly never have been brought before the world. It will be remembered that Professor Kittel, the well-known Old Testament expert, hesitated long before he finally decided to publish the far more finished and competent lectures of Dillmann, although he could not doubt that Dillmann's whole mind and heart had been committed to the manuscript. It will be admitted, at any rate, that the lectures before us should not have been announced as "Dr. Davidson's long-promised work on Old Testament theology." Thus they are styled in Professor Paterson's preface to our author's *Biblical and Literary Essays*, another posthumous publication. It is a consolation that commentaries on several Old Testament books remain to the world which illustrate some of the finest powers of Professor Davidson and will prolong his legitimate influence.

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## LUTHER AND HIS LATEST CRITIC

It is paradoxical to say that Luther has been a blessing and a curse to the Catholic church, yet it is true. Though he broke forever her dominance over a large part of Germany, though he wrought her irreparable injury, though no one fought her more bitterly, more manfully, more powerfully than he—for which reason he is more intensely hated than any other man by Catholics, so intensely hated that it is a question whether many of them hate Luther or the devil more—yet it is true that he did her great service. I do not mean in the general results of the Reformation, which reacted in all lands to the purification of the Catholic church; but I mean that Luther by his limitations, his extravagances, his coarseness, his errors in conduct, in speech, or in writing, has furnished such a handle to criticism that he has been a valuable asset to the Catholic church. She has won many a victory exploiting his failures; her best weapons she has forged out of his writings, and when she wants to win converts or keep her own faithful, she gives them a dose of Luther. In fact, she has made the failures of the Reformers, and especially of Luther, a kind of Catholic apologetic which she has wielded with tremendous, popular effect. This is her syllogism: If God, were to reform his church he would choose good, pious men to do it. The Protestant Reformers of the sixteenth century, and especially Luther, were not such men. Therefore God did not choose them to reform his church. They were not sent by him.

When I was a theological student, and later, I read a good deal of Catholic literature, and that was the burden of their song. Of course, I would deny both the major and minor members of that syllogism in the sense in which the Catholics use them. God uses the best men available for his work, whether or not they come up to his ideal of piety or to ours. Henry VIII, for instance, wrought a work of incalculable value to the church and state of England in reference to Rome, and yet he was one of the most cruel, most tyrannical and unscrupulous, of all English sovereigns. In fact, it is sometimes those very qualities, the excess of which makes one a bad man, which enable God to use a man for his purpose. I would also deny the minor member of the Catholic syllogism. The Protestant Reformers of the sixteenth century, on the whole, were good men and pious, who feared God and loved the truth. They had their failings; they made their mistakes both in doctrine and practice; but, on the whole, they were men who were worthy of their call. One need not agree with Renan when he calls Calvin "the most Christian man of his age,"<sup>1</sup> to recognize in what light the Reformers may appear under impartial judgment.

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in Religious History*, p. 83.

I said the Catholics have not been slow to exploit Luther. Let me give two or three instances. As giving a clue to the method followed with so much success by later writers—that is, taking extracts from Luther's own writings—may be mentioned the convert John Pistorius, *Anatomiae Lutheri pars prima; that is, out of the seven bad spirits of many lost souls, the first three spirits: the fleshly spirit, the blaspheming spirit, and the lazy spirit. Also four other spirits which Luther paints in his own words, by which one can infallibly conceive and trace whether he is a prophet of God*, etc. (Cologne, 1595; in German). The latest successor of Pistorius calls him the "celebrated Pistorius," the "feared, unconquerable opponent of Protestant pastors and theologians."<sup>2</sup> The polemic of the sixteenth century reached its culmination in the Jesuit Conrad Vetter (died 1622), who wrote one hundred controversial tracts and books, mostly against Luther and the Protestants.<sup>3</sup> In order to awaken more credibility among the latter, he wrote under the name of "Conrad Andrea, natural brother to Jacob Andrea of blessed memory," this lie on the title-page being a good introduction to the abusive and unscrupulous methods of his pen in the body of his books.<sup>4</sup> A perfect thesaurus for later attacks is the slander-book of J. R. Weislinger, *Friss Vogel oder stirb* (1722; many later editions). Eusebius Englehard came as a good second in his book, with its engaging title: *Lucifer Wittenbergensis, or the Morning Star of Wittenberg; that is the complete life of Catherine von Bora, the presumed wife of Dr. Martin Luther, composed mostly out of the books of Luther, out of his dirty tabletalk, spirited epistles, and other rare documents, in which all her apparent virtues, invented achievements, false appearances, and miserable wonderworks, by the side of the whole canonization process, are related by her husband during her lifetime* (2 vols.; Landtsberg, 1747; 2d ed., 1749; German).

The nineteenth century brought a more worthy tone, which was particularly shown in Möhler's *Symbolik* (1832; 9th ed., 1884; translated into French, Italian, and English). Johann Adam Möhler was a brilliant professor of church history, first at Tübingen and then at Munich, who died at the early age of forty-two. He was almost the first Catholic to treat Protestantism with anything approaching a scientific spirit, and his work was received with acclaim by both parties. Of course, in real objectivity and adequacy of representation there are serious lapses in Möhler's book, but it was such an advance on anything that had gone before that it marks

<sup>2</sup> Denifle, as below, pp. 302, 697.

<sup>3</sup> Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesu*, 2d ed., Vol. VIII, p. 617.

<sup>4</sup> For him and others see Kolde, *P. Denifle: Seine Beschimpfung Luthers und der evangelischen Kirche* (Leipzig, 1904), pp. 10 ff.



a new era, and German Roman Catholic historians, like Alzog, Funk, and Kraus, have been true to his spirit, and have never descended to the depths of their predecessors. Something of the old method, however, came back in 1846, when Döllinger, the successor and friend of Möhler at Munich, wrote his two-volume *History of the Reformation*, and followed it in 1851 by his *Lutherskizze*. Döllinger brought back the old Pistorian method—of course, scientifically brushed up—of using the writings of Luther and the other reformers and their contemporaries as witnesses to discredit them and their movement. His two books have done fine service for Roman Catholic controversialists, but are without scientific value, because they do not estimate the scope, the meaning, the connection, of the passages quoted, nor the historical or theological considerations behind them, but are simply collected and placed so as to put Luther and the Reformation in the worst possible light. The Erlangen professor, Johann Christian Hofmann, saw this weakness in Döllinger's work, and showed what the same method would do with Paul.<sup>5</sup>

A true successor of Döllinger in his method of treating Luther and the Reformation was Johannes Janssen, a Roman Catholic layman, who wrote a *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgange des Mittelalters* (6 vols., 1876-88; 14th ed., 1887), a masterful work, written with great skill and power, but with such a use of his sources as to give a distorted and at times false picture of Luther and the Reformation. The Reformation was an apostasy, an immoral revolution which brought the downfall of the nation. This was followed by books in the fourth centenary of Luther's birth, 1883, the chief on the Catholic side being Evers—formerly a Lutheran pastor (6 vols., 1883 f.). These Ultramontane distortions reached a fitting climax in P. Majunke's *Luthers Lebensende* (1890), in which he tried to prove that Luther committed suicide. To the credit of the Catholics, however, be it said that in 1896 and 1898, in two pamphlets, Dr. Nic. Paulus gave a final quietus to the suicide myth. Since that time no important work on Luther has come out on the Catholic side until 1904, when Father Heinrich Denifle, O.P., published his massive *Luther und Lutherthum in der ersten Entwicklung* (Mainz, Vol. I, 860 pages).

This Dominican friar has been well and widely known for his works in church history, especially for his books in mediæval history, as that is the period he has most cultivated. With Ehrle he edited the *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* (1885-93); wrote three or four

<sup>5</sup> Paulus: *Eine Döllingersche Skizze*, 2d ed. by Kolde, 1890. In his *Luther in rationalistischer und christlicher Beleuchtung* (Mainz, 1904), p. 65, Denifle calls Hofmann's pamphlet "miserable rubbish" (*elenden Quark*).

books on the mystics of that time; a great book, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400* (2 vols., 1885 ff.), which, however, shows a caustic controversial temper; edited the chartularies of the University of Paris (4 vols., 1889-97); wrote a book in French on the desolations of the church and monasteries in France about the middle of the fifteenth century (1897); and was selected by Pope Leo XIII as one of the editors of the definitive edition of the works of his favorite St. Thomas of Aquinas (1883 ff.). So that when his book on Luther appeared, Protestant scholars greeted it with high expectation, thinking that here at last was a scientific work on Luther from a Catholic pen—a pen guided by love of truth and by a hand trained in historical investigation, whose previous products in mediæval historical research had been thankfully received, utilized, and praised by Protestant students.

What was their surprise, however, to find that we have to do with a book written in the bitterest spirit of the controversialist, a huge propagandist pamphlet, inspired, as he says in the preface, by the *Los-von-Rom* movement in Austria, full of the harshest judgments of Luther's person and writings, attributing to him all kinds of wickedness, making him a monster the like of which has hardly been known in the history of the world, distorting and misrepresenting all that he said and did, putting the worst construction on everything, and thus presenting a huge impeachment in the style of a prosecuting attorney. It is impossible, of course, that Denifle's learning in mediæval literature, especially in Aquinas, should not make that part of his book where he criticises Luther's use of the mediæval writers and Luther's representation of mediæval teaching of independent value, and here and there, besides, he gives welcome information; but, so far as contributing to the understanding of Luther, or to an exact estimate of his character, work, and influence, is concerned, the black and bitter hate which pervades it, its fierceness of objurgation, its wealth of contumely, deprive it of any value. After reading, one is forced to the conclusion, not that Denifle has purposely misrepresented Luther, but that his hate makes him blind and drives him to the result we have before us. It seems morally impossible for a Catholic, much less a Catholic priest, still less a Catholic monk, to understand Luther and the Reformation. From the start their whole intellectual and spiritual vision is so prejudiced that they cannot see things as they are; everything is yellow with the jaundice of their hate. That seems to be the charitable view of their Luther work.

On the contrary, Protestants have given us admirable and most appreciative studies in Catholic history. Neander's *Church History* is so impartial that it might be used as a textbook in a Catholic seminary. One of

the most enthusiastic books we have on a Catholic saint is our own Dr. Storr's *Bernhard of Clairvaux* (1893)—a book that errs, if anywhere, on the better side. When Paul Sabatier's book on St. Francis of Assisi came out in 1894, the pope was so pleased with it that he was on the point of sending, or actually did send, a letter of thanks to the author, the book showing such an inner and tender appreciation of the Christlikeness of its subject. In fact, we have a series of books on St. Francis, or editions of his writings, by Protestants that almost any learned Catholic might have written. No Catholic could be more appreciative of the moral heroism of Savonarola, or could write more impartially about him, than does Villari, who has given us his best life, translated into most of the languages of Europe. Will there ever be a Catholic Villari of Wesley? John Henry Newman was about the only Catholic who had a good word to say of the great evangelical leaders of England, and the centenary of Wesley's death has called out hardly a single appreciation by a Catholic hand of his immense significance in the moral progress of the race. The fact that he did not favor Catholic emancipation in Ireland, and did not denounce the Gordon riots of 1780, is so set against him that his whole life of beneficent activity goes for nothing.

Let us now take some of the points alleged by Denifle against Luther and see what can be said concerning them.

Denifle rejects *in toto* the whole religious development of Luther as understood by Protestants for three hundred years. This development centered around a struggle for religious peace and certainty, carried on especially in his cloister days. This certainty he could not find in obedience to the instructions of his church, but he finally found it partly through the teachings of Staupitz, partly through his study of Paul, especially the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians, in faith in Jesus Christ. Resting on him alone he found peace of conscience and certainty of salvation. He could not see the full implication of this at first, nor work himself clear from many Catholic views—he never worked himself clear from all of them; but through various external and internal impulses—notably, of course, the indulgence crusade of Tetzl—he was led to make his protest, and finally was excommunicated by the papal bull of 1520. Now, this has been the common understanding of Luther's development, based upon various hints here and there in his writings. Denifle says all this is fiction; that he never had any struggles in his days as a monk; that he never had any difficulty with Catholic teaching of which he became cured by his so-called faith; that this faith was a pure makeshift, a manufactured confidence, something invented to ease his conscience and cover his scruples so that

he could sin the more readily. Denifle says the only trouble with Luther was his lust, his sin, and that to be free to sin, to be free to indulge his passions, he broke from the church, he repudiated his vows as a monk, he made up this doctrine of salvation by faith, which was not salvation from sin, but rest in sin; that it represented no inner cleansing, but an artificial covering of a life to be given over to indulgence—indulgence not only in the so-called small sins, but in gross transgressions. This is Denifle's philosophy of Luther's life. This is his portentous reconstruction of Reformation history.

I merely throw out, in passing, the question whether this tallies with the history of the world as we know it? Can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit? Can the moral revolution which sprang from Luther; which sent tides of new intellectual and religious life eventually to all shores; which was the origin of the Reformation in England so far as it was Protestant—for Professor Jacobs has shown that all the positive evangelical elements in the Anglican confessions came from the Lutheran creeds;<sup>6</sup> which helped to create Puritanism and nurtured Methodism, the two most powerful forces for moral regeneration and perfection in modern history—for in those doctrines of sin, and justification by faith alone, which Denifle imputes to Luther, the Reformed churches stood on the same platform with him, and Methodism sprang full-grown from his preface to the Epistle to the Romans; I say, can this moral revolution have sprung from a degenerate and a scoundrel, from a worthless, lustful drunkard and poltroon?

I want now to test this account of Luther's development from his own words, and then ask: Was his doctrine of justification a cloak for sin?

As early as April 8, 1516, in his letter to a brother Augustinian, Spenlein, he shows himself working toward another conception of justification. He asks him whether he has not grown weary of his own righteousness, and does not wish to learn to confide in and aspire after the righteousness of Christ, that righteousness of God which is freely and fully given to us in Christ. "I once stuck in this error myself, but I have fought against it, though I have not yet perfectly overcome it."<sup>7</sup> Here we read of a struggle going on in Luther after what he considered an evangelical basis of confidence. This was in 1516. Denifle says these struggles are an invention of Luther in his later life.

In his explanation of Psalm 51, written in Latin in 1532, he speaks

<sup>6</sup> See his *Lutheran Movement in England* (Philadelphia, 1890; rev. ed. 1894).

<sup>7</sup> Enders, *Briefwechsel Luthers*, Vol. I, pp. 28 ff. See Kaweran, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1904, No. 4, p. 615, to whom I am indebted for the quotations.

thus of the words, "My tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness":

The word "justice" has cost me much sweat. For they readily explain it; justice is the truth whereby God for cause condemns or judges badly those who merit it, and they oppose the mercy of justice by which believers are saved. This exposition is very dangerous, besides that it is vain, because it stirs up secret hatred against God and his justice. For who can love him—those who are against his justice are willing to carry on their sins? Wherefore remember that the justice of God is that by which we are justified or receive the remission of sins.<sup>8</sup>

In a "Table Talk" given in Lauterbach's *Tagebuch* from Kummer's *Tischredenhandschrift* we read:

These words *justus* and *justitia Dei* were to me a thunderbolt in the conscience, anon I am filled with fear. Just, therefore he punishes. But once in that tower in the Augustinian cloister in Wittenberg, I am thinking of these words: "The just shall live by faith by the justice of God;" then I think: if we just live by faith, and if the justice of God is for the salvation of all believing—anon my soul is lifted up. Therefore the justice of God is that by which we are justified and saved. These words are most pleasant to me."<sup>9</sup>

In a "Table Talk" of September 12, 1538, we read:

That word *justitia* was in my heart like a thunderclap. For while in the papacy I used to read, "In justice thou shalt free me" (Psalm 31:2 Vulg.), that is, in thy truth, soon I am thinking of that justice vindicating its fury, that is, of the divine wrath. I was in my heart an enemy to Paul where I read: "The justice of God is revealed by the gospel." But afterward when I came to see that the Scripture says that the just shall live by his faith, and, moreover, could consult Augustine, then I was joyful; where I perceived the justice of God as mercy regarding the just, there the remedy touched my affliction.<sup>10</sup>

More distinctly still he says in a "Table Talk" of the winter of 1542-43, where he remarks on Rom. 1:16, 17:

This was always sticking in my mind. I could not understand this word *justitia Dei*, in any other way than that he was just and would judge justly. I was urging this with myself; I was standing and beating about if peradventure there might be someone who might explain it, and there was no one. I knew nothing of what it meant until, going on, I read: "The just shall live by his faith." That sentence is the exposition of this justice of God. When I found this, I was so pleased, in such great joy, that nothing could be more so. And thus it appeared clear where I read in the Psalms, "In thy justice make me free," that is, "In

<sup>8</sup> *Opera exegetica*, Vol. XIX, p. 130.

<sup>9</sup> Lauterbach, *Tagebuch*, p. 81, note.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130; Forstemann-Bindseil, *Tischreden*, Vol. II, pp. 143, 170; Bindseil, *Colloquia*, Vol. II, p. 274.

thy mercy free me." Before that I was in terror, and I hated the Psalms and the Scriptures where the justice of God was mentioned; that is, that by which he became just and judged according to our sins, not that by which he accepted us and made us just. All Scripture stood thus as a wall until reading I learned, "The just shall live by his faith." From this I have learned that the justice of God is faith in the mercy of God by which he justifies us freely by his grace."<sup>11</sup>

Here we have five distinct and independent witnesses out of Luther's life from 1516 to 1543, first, that he at the start regarded the righteousness of God as that which condemned sinners; second, that he came to look upon it as the forgiving righteousness of God which comes to sinners through faith; and, third, that that change of view was attained only after struggle and anxiety, like bright sunshine after thunderpeals.

We must think, therefore, that Denifle does Luther great injustice in denying these narratives, making them pure inventions. Besides, they coincide with the whole course of Luther's life and explain it.

In one respect, however, Denifle is more accurate than the Reformer. Luther says that all the doctors except Augustine interpret Rom. 1:17 as referring to the retributive justice of God, and not as referring to the mercy by which he considers the sinner righteous by faith. On this assertion of Luther, Denifle says:

Of sixty teachers until Luther whose printed and MS writings I have searched through after that interpretation and conception of Rom. 1:17 and related passages (Rom. 3:21, 22; 10:3) falsely ascribed to them by him, not a single one of them (of whom Luther knew several) has confessed that; all, on the contrary, by the righteousness of God have not understood the anger of God or his retributive righteousness, but that by which we become justified, his unmerited justifying grace, of which one takes part through faith, a true and real justification of man from the side of God (of course, not in the sense of *sola fides*, faith alone, rejected by the whole church); and here, as especially in Rom. 10:3, have placed this justification after the manner of St. Paul over against their own.

Luther was not a scholar or a fair controversialist. He either did not read his mediæval texts correctly, or he did not quote them correctly, as Denifle has shown. In other places Luther quotes his authorities with a rough correctness, but not with exactness. But Kawerau, the professor of church history at Breslau, has shown on his side that Denifle speaks too hastily here.<sup>12</sup> For Lyra explains Rom. 1:17 ("from faith to faith") as from informal faith to formal faith, and it is only this last whose "*actus meritoriis* is of *vitae beatae*, which vivifies and justifies perfectly." Peter Lombard, the great mediæval teacher, says: "When Christ speaks of

<sup>11</sup> Kroker, *Luther's Tischreden*, pp. 309 f.

<sup>12</sup> Kawerau, *loc. cit.*, pp. 618, 619.

*justitia*, the distributor or judge of merits is shown."<sup>13</sup> But I suppose that it was not so much definite passages out of the great church teachers which Luther had in mind when he thought of Christ as the angry judge and when he imputed that thought to the church, but rather the general sentiment in the church, both among its teachers and the people. "We have feared before him" (Christ), says Luther, "more than before Moses; we knew not otherwise than that Christ was an angry judge, whose anger we with our good works and holy life would pacify, and whose grace we must obtain through the merits and intercession of the loving saints."<sup>14</sup> That sentiment was a fact. Kawerau quotes the Dominican Joh. Herold: "Whom the Son would destroy by his justice, the Mother draws in through mercy and indulgence." A song to Mary of 1477 says: "Mary, turn his wrath from me." A Franciscan vision in the *Liber conformitatum* sees two ladders leading to heaven. On the top of one is Christ; on the other, Mary. St. Francis exhorts his brethren to ascend by the first. They try, but fall. Then they try the Mary ladder. "Forthwith, without any labor, they are received by the Virgin Mary into the kingdom of the heavens."<sup>15</sup> It was this common feeling, this general sentiment concerning Christ as a judge and Mary as a helper, which Luther had in mind perhaps more than definite teachings of great theologians. In that sense he was right, even if in the last he was incorrect.

Denifle claims that this invented doctrine of justification by faith alone, was simply a cloak for sin, that it brought about no renewal, and had no necessary connection with good works. On this I would say:

It was characteristic of all the Reformers and all the Reformation creeds to lay tremendous stress on sin, on the fact of depravity. Sin clung to a man through his whole life. He could never get entirely rid of it, however sanctified he became. That idea, sprung from the misinterpretation of Rom., chap. 7, and from Augustine, passed into all the Reformation and post-Reformation creeds, and has ruled the Protestant churches from that day to this. Wesley was the only church teacher who saw the matter in its right relation, and who was bold enough to take at its face value the great words about the blood of Christ cleansing us from all sin, and yet insisted on total depravity in the sense that no man can be saved without the grace of God inciting; and after he is saved and entirely sanctified—as far as it is possible to be sanctified—he still has sins of weakness, inattention, and forgetfulness, for which to ask pardon.

<sup>13</sup> *Sent.* IV. Dist. 46, §3 [Migne 192: 953].

<sup>14</sup> *Werke*, Erlangen edition, Vol. I, pp. 20, 26; Vol. IV, pp. 33, 38.

<sup>15</sup> Kawerau, with the references which he gives, p. 619.

But this overemphasis on depravity and the ever-remaining sin in Luther no more than in Calvin and the other Reformers meant that there was no saving element in justification and regeneration, and that the sin must not be striven against and conquered, and step by step driven out of the life. That is a calumny still repeated by Catholic and high-church writers. Luther says distinctly that we

must strive and fight against lust and the evil desires in us which excite us to sin. . . . As often as thou feelest thyself tempted to sin, thou shouldest think immediately that thou withstand these darts, and pray to the Lord Jesus that these sins do not overtake and conquer thee, but that thou shalt overcome through his grace.<sup>16</sup>

Whereas Denifle says that his doctrine was only a pretext for a secure resting in sin, Luther really taught the exact opposite:

Even therefore teach we faith, that therewith the law may be fulfilled. . . . Certain mad spirits preach, "Even if thou do not keep the commandments and simply believest, thou shalt be saved." No, dear man, that is not so. Thou shalt never possess the Kingdom of Heaven. It must come to this, that thou keepest the commandments and art in love with God and thy neighbor. So through Christ thy sins become altogether forgiven. But not thereto that we should not fulfil the law, but that it is only now possible to keep the law which is the eternal, irrevocable, unchangeable will of God. Therefore it is necessary to preach grace that one may find counsel and help how one should come to this (fulfilment of the law).<sup>17</sup>

What we teach of faith is that it may serve thereto that we are able now to keep the Ten Commandments, that we may know how we may do that, whither and whereby such power can be received.<sup>18</sup>

When will this eternal falsehood down, that Luther's doctrine of faith is only a cover for sin!

I do not say there was nothing lacking in Luther's conception of faith, regeneration, and sanctification. Here he was too external and Catholic. Faith as a personal, ethical appropriation of the saving Christ, as a living grip on the Savior, he did not emphasize as much as he should. His idea of faith remained too mediæval. Köhler, of the University of Giessen, in his able pamphlet, *Ein Wort zu Denifes Luther*, has some admirable remarks here. He says:

What danger lurks in the unqualified form of Luther's statement, "Always and eternally certain of life in Christ!" We too easily rob it of its strength if we find

<sup>16</sup> *Loc. cit.*, Vol. XV, pp. 53 ff.    <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 179 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 94. An excellent discussion of this subject is found in Professor Walther (of Rostock), *Denifes Luther* (Leipzig, 1904), pp. 30-40.



in it only the consciousness of being constantly supported by God. It means much more to Luther. It signifies for him, as for Paul, a standing in a super-human sphere, a transcendent existence, a "spiritual consciousness of the Lord." There man is "certain," so certain that he can demand of God the gift to him of powers of grace. If God does not respond, man can then present his account as Shylock did his bond, and if God will not acknowledge the receipt written by the blood of Christ, then man can wash his hands of the entire matter. Luther constantly guarded against the misinterpretation of this "certainty" in the sense of moral laxity (Paul's freedom as a cloak for wickedness, Gal. 5:15; 1 Peter 1:16). He was never an out-and-out quietist. His ethical nature broke out again and again. The process of salvation was so strong that in the antinomian strife he, against Agricola, attacked the freedom from moral condemnation through law preceding faith, and rejected the view that one can have a saving faith while remaining in the grossest sin against the law of God—but with all that Luther never found a satisfying relation between morality and religion. These two thoughts, inwardly sinful, outwardly justified, were both emphasized too strongly by Luther for him to solve satisfactorily the problem of religion and morality, from the side of religion in the process of salvation as well as from morality in everyday life. There was too little morality in both cases. No sufficiently firm theological dam was erected at that time against misconception; else we should not be able to explain the immorality that was carried on among the Lutherans under cover of Christian liberty. Nor can we explain the whole Anabaptist superstitious movement: it was a protest against the threatened mechanism of the Lutheran justification doctrine, and its neglect of moralism.<sup>19</sup>

Let me take a few other points in Denifle's indictment. He says that Luther misrepresents the teachings of the Catholic church in claiming that it holds to two classes of persons—the perfect class, those who have taken the monastic vows, and the imperfect, the general run of Christians. But here Luther is right and Denifle wrong. St. Bernard of Clairveaux was a good Catholic when he said that the monastic life, on account of its perfect renunciation of the world, the wonderful height of its spiritual life, overtops all the other kinds of human life, and makes its confessors similar to angels, and other men dissimilar.<sup>20</sup> St. Thomas Aquinas says that all men ought to strive for perfection, and places the so-called evangelical counsels only as a means of acquiring it. But these counsels are sure means, and the highest means; therefore he can call the monastic state the *status perfectionis: ex tribus votis status religionis integratur* ("the state of religion is perfected by the three vows").<sup>21</sup> He says again that if "one pledges his whole life to God, so that he can attend upon him in perfect works, he assumes simply the condition or state of perfection."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Ein Wort zu Denifles Luther* (Tübingen and Leipzig, 1904), pp. 44, 45.

<sup>20</sup> Migne, Vol. CLXXXII, p. 889.

<sup>21</sup> *Summa*, 2. 2. q. 186 a. 7.      <sup>22</sup> *De perfectione vitae spiritualis*, chap. 17.

The Catholic conception of fulfilling such a pledge was the priesthood or monastery.

Luther says that there is a dependence on works rather than on Christ in the absolution formula; and Denifle says that Luther lies, that there is no mention of works, and never has been, in the absolution formula (p. 339). In his commentary on Galatians Luther gives a formula which the monks used among themselves, as follows:

Form of monastic absolution: The Lord have mercy upon thee, brother! In the remission of thy sins, in the increase of merits and of grace, and in the reward of eternal life, may there be granted to thee the merit of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the blessed Mary, always Virgin, and all the saints, by the merit of our order, weight of religion, humility of confession, contrition of heart, good works which thou hast done and shall do for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Now, inasmuch as Luther was himself a monk, and must frequently have heard this absolution, it is incredible that he invented it. Besides, his brethren could say: "We never heard of it." Nor is there anything contrary to Catholic doctrine in it. An actual form of absolution is that given in the *Rituale Romanum* (Regensburg, 1888), p. 58:

May the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, the merits of the blessed Virgin Mary and all the saints, whatever of good you may do, or evil you may sustain, be to thee in remission of sins, augmentation of grace, and reward of eternal life.

Luther says that the Catholic authorities represented entrance into a monastery as virtually equivalent to a second baptism, as a purifying from sin.<sup>23</sup> Denifle denies it (p. 231). Did they or did they not? Luther's contemporary, the Franciscan of Leipzig, Marcus von Weida, says that those who enter a cloister, therefore giving up their free will to honor God, "receive grace from God, so that they are clean from all sin, and they are looked upon by him as an innocent child that has just been lifted out of baptism."<sup>24</sup> This was not an extravagant opinion of the Leipzig Franciscan, but went back straight to the Doctor Angelicus, Thomas of Aquino, who teaches that all men who out of right thought take the monastic spiritual life, if they are obedient, deserve the perfect forgiveness of all their sins, are freed from pain and guilt, and are considered equally by God and the church as though they had just now come from the sacrament of holy baptism.<sup>25</sup> So much for the so-called monk's baptism.

<sup>23</sup> *Loc. cit.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 278.

<sup>24</sup> See N. Paulus, "Markus von Weida," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, Vol. XXVI (1902), pp. 253 f.

<sup>25</sup> IV *Sent.* dist. 4, q 3 a; *S. Th.* 2. 2. 9. 189 a. 3 ad. 3. See Kolde, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-42; Köhler, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-17.

Luther says (which angers Denifle) that the Catholic church by its monastic vows, despises and dishonors marriage and woman. This brings up Luther's whole teaching concerning marriage, which has been one of the chief causes of the hatred of him by the church. Luther based marriage on the physical constitution of the race, on the command of God to be fruitful and multiply; and he looked upon any rejection of that constitution, such as vows of celibacy, as a blasphemous infringement of the divine order of the world. For this reason he spoke with scorn and fierce invective against the Roman church which, while ostensibly making marriage a sacrament, had really lowered and actually rejected it in the case of thousands who sadly needed it, as results showed. He did not say that none had a call outside the life of marriage; he provided for such cases. He believed that God's wonder-working grace was sufficient for them. But marriage is a physical necessity for the race, and the church in denying it to so many of her members was a mother of immorality. In one respect Luther was still Catholic in his thought of marriage. Augustine and all the mediæval teachers looked upon marriage as a kind of lesser and necessary evil, permitted on account of the concupiscence of mankind, which might, of course, be turned into a blessing by God's grace, but which was to be avoided by those who sought the higher reaches of holiness. Luther always abode in that sensuous, physical side. The modern conception of marriage as an intellectual and spiritual union, as a sacrament of love where two souls are united—emblem of the self-sacrificing love of Christ for the church, which therefore excludes polygamy as destroying the very essence of marriage—that spiritual side of marriage was out of Luther's thought, as it was out of the thought of his time. But that man could serve God better single, that there was sin in the marriage state, or that that state was lower than celibacy, Luther rejected with his whole soul. For that reason Catholics have turned the vials of their wrath on the Reformer.

Let me close with a thought or two growing out of this study. Luther undeniably offended in many ways. His coarseness of language was sometimes unendurable even to that coarse age. His denunciations of the church were sometimes too fierce for truth. He exaggerated, he quoted from memory, and so misquoted at times. His controversial methods, as judged by our exact and polite age, were abominable. So the birds have come home to roost. Time has brought about its revenges. With what judgment he judged he has been judged. All the coarseness and fierceness and exaggeration which he dealt out to his adversaries, they have from that day till now dealt out to him. They have paid him back in far worse

than in his own coin. Not only so, but literary men among Protestants have joined in the war against Luther. Sir William Hamilton, the great Scotch philosopher, wrote a most damaging assault upon him. He has been followed by many, especially in the Episcopal church. Unless we love truth more than all things else, unless we are chaste in lip, honorable in controversy, charitable and broad-minded in our dealings with others, the measure we have dealt to others will be dealt to us. Our exaggerations, our misrepresentations, our lapses and slips, will come back upon us.

But, for all this, Luther abides, for what he was and for the work he did, as the most significant man of his century. As a path-breaker for the human spirit he even overtops Calvin, in some respects a better and greater man. No man since Paul surpasses Luther in historical significance. Says Professor Seeberg, of Berlin:

He was no "saint," and the traits of those demonic qualities of the leaders of world-history give not only light but shadow. That is true also of Luther. But that signifies nothing over against the knowledge that he proclaimed the gospel to his people with a power and an innerliness as no German has before or since; that with a courage and a God-confidence such as scarcely anyone had before him since Paul he set forward the truth against a world of enemies; that he served, not himself, but the cause in the depth of battle no less than on the heights of success. That is always true of a great man and of a great Christian. Over against this, what will it do to say that he had his faults, that his historical learning had gaps, that his system was immature, that his polemic was sharp, and in some cases wrong?<sup>26</sup>

What, then, is Luther's significance for us? (1) He broke the back of Roman Catholic theology by restoring Christ's and Paul's doctrine of justification by faith alone. With that went a herd of false things—necessity of a priesthood between God and man, power of the priesthood, sacrifice of the mass, pilgrimages, shrines, Mariolatry, and all the thousand implements of mediæval piety. Man stands again face to face with his God. That was the central point of his theology—not his sacramental doctrine, not his predestination, but that alone; and that has been the most fruitful acquisition which any man has given to the church since Paul's brave spirit went up to God outside of the walls of Rome. (2) He restored home to the clergy, made the ministry again a thing of naturalness, power, and Christian influence, resting on a pure morality centered on the divinest institution on earth—the home. Now men could begin to live among their fellows as men, loving God and their brothers, and finding the highest joy and the highest service and the highest reward in doing God's will

<sup>26</sup> *Luther und Luthertum in der neuesten katholischen Beleuchtung*, (Leipzig 1904), p. 30.

where He had placed them. (3) Luther will always remain as an example and inspiration, as the greatest of modern men, who counted all things but loss, and dared death itself for the cross and the truth. "Here I stand! I can do no otherwise! God help me!" And he, being dead, yet speaketh.

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## RECENT LITERATURE IN CHURCH HISTORY

### GENERAL AND ANCIENT CHURCH HISTORY

Dr. Schubert<sup>1</sup> has produced an animated and valuable general survey of church history from the beginning to the present time. He is altogether optimistic as to the future of the faith. For example: The result of the "missionary century" is twelve millions of conversions from heathenism, and in the last quarter of this century many more conversions took place than in the first three-quarters taken together.

Pope Leo XIII conceived the idea of a universal ecclesiastical history which should embody the results of the latest critical researches. Of this great work eight volumes have already appeared, some of which have passed through four or five editions, and fifteen or more volumes are now in preparation. Each subject is assigned to an historical scholar of recognized ability, and the treatment of each subject is complete in itself. We notice here the volumes devoted to Africa and the Persian Empire. The former covers the period from the beginning of the third century to the middle of the seventh, and describes the origin, growth, decline, and fall of the church in Africa.<sup>2</sup> Its most interesting chapters are on Tertullian, Cyprian, Donatism, Augustine, the Vandals, and Justinian.

With *Christianity in the Persian Empire*<sup>3</sup> under the dynasty of the Sassanides (224-632) Christian readers, whether Protestant or Catholic, are less familiar. In the main it is the history of the Nestorian heresy in the time and place of its greatest triumph. For his information the author has gone to the sources—a task of extreme difficulty, since these are written in the Syriac language, the official language of the church of Persia, and since many of these source-texts, moreover, have never to this day been

<sup>1</sup> *Grundzüge der Kirchengeschichte: Ein Ueberblick.* Von Hans von Schubert. Tübingen und Leipzig: Mohr (Siebeck), 1904. 304 pages. M. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Afrique chrétienne.* Par Dom H. Leclercq. Paris: Lecoffre. xlv + 435 + 380 pages. Fr. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse.* Par J. Labourt. Paris: Lecoffre. 372 pages. Fr. 3.50.

even published. Out of these documents the author has, so to say, reclaimed for modern readers the history of the ancient Persian church.

Those who desire an exact acquaintance with the faith of the Greek oriental church may find all the documents essential to their purpose in a single volume<sup>4</sup> by Michalcescu, of Bucharest. He gives us first the doctrinal decisions of the seven councils which the Greek church regards as ecumenical and authoritative. Then follow the four famous treatises in which these creeds are worked over into the forms of systematic theology, and given a philosophical interpretation, beginning with Gennadius, bishop of Constantinople from 1453 to 1459, and closing with Metrophanes, who became patriarch of Alexandria in 1630. Metrophanes studied at the Protestant universities of Germany, and his work shows some slight departures from ordinary Greek theology. The other treatises are held as authoritative by the Greek church; his is not. Following these treatises we have liturgical extracts, such as prayers and hymns, to show how the Greek faith is expressed in worship. Thus the book contains a somewhat complete apparatus for a knowledge of the Greek oriental theology. Hauck contributes to it a brief introduction, in which he expresses his gratification that at length a place in our literature vacant until now is so worthily filled by this book.

Of all the papal decretals which is the most ancient? And what light does it cast upon the condition of the church at the time from which it comes to us? These questions are considered by Babut<sup>5</sup> in a thesis presented to the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris. The decretal had been already examined by several critics. Babut differs from his predecessors in assigning it to a quite early date. He attributes it to the reign of Pope Damasus, and to a period near the year 374. It is important to those who study the development of discipline in the church. Babut gives us a learned introduction to its contents, a discussion of the manuscripts containing it, and the text resulting from a critical collation of them.

A much more important book by the same author has the Council of Turin<sup>6</sup> for its subject. It is based upon a letter of the council to the

<sup>4</sup> *Die Bekenntnisse und die wichtigsten Glaubenszeugnisse der griechisch-orientalischen Kirche im Originaltext, nebst einleitenden Bemerkungen.* Von Jon Michalcescu, Lizentiaten der gr.-or. Theologie (Universität Bukarest). Eingeführt von Albert Hauck. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. 317 pages. Paper, M. 5; cloth, M. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *La plus ancienne décrétale.* Par E. Ch. Babut. Paris: Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition, 1904. 90 pages.

<sup>6</sup> *Le Concile de Turin: Essai sur l'histoire des églises provençales au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle et sur les origines de la monarchie ecclésiastique romaine (417-450).* Par E. Ch. Babut. Paris: Picard et Fils, 1904. xi + 313 pages.

churches of Gaul, the manuscript original of which has no date. Babut has established a probable date, and has thus made clearer a period of French church history hitherto obscure. At the beginning of the fifth century the bishops of the French church were largely independent of the papacy. When Pope Zosimus undertook to govern them as a sovereign, they resisted. The Council of Turin was called to heal the breach, and succeeded in doing so in a certain measure. Twenty-eight years afterward Leo the Great repeated the attempt to govern the French church as its rightful lord, and met with the same resistance. Thereupon he called to his aid the emperor, Valentinian III, and the French bishops yielded to a threat of civil penalties. In this manner the papacy got itself fully established in France, though the French bishops have always been relatively independent in spirit, and have given the popes much anxiety and trouble. Babut merits our hearty thanks for this addition to our knowledge of early French ecclesiastical history.

#### THE REFORMATION PERIOD AND AFTER

It is surprising and most gratifying to receive from an American author, an instructor in an American theological seminary, such a study of the bigamy of Philipp of Hesse<sup>7</sup> as Mr. Rockwell gives us. If we should find any fault at all with it, we might say that it is too exhaustive. It cites all the books on the subject ever written. It lays before us all the extant manuscript evidences. It pours out a flood of footnotes and appendixes in which the text is sometimes lost from sight. It closes with elaborate indexes. Hereafter those who wish to become thoroughly acquainted with the case will find all that they need assembled in this volume. The case, however, has lost its importance. It created a greater uproar than any other marriage which ever took place, and played a somewhat conspicuous and unsavory part in the German Reformation. It threatened to commit the Lutheran church to a tolerant attitude toward polygamy. But, in fact, it did the exact opposite, and led the entire Protestant world to perceive that monogamy is based authoritatively on the declaration of Christ that "they twain shall be one flesh." Perhaps the most interesting and helpful part of Mr. Rockwell's book is the third, in which he brings together the opinions of both the Catholics and the Protestants of the period of the Reformation concerning polygamy.

Caroli was a Frenchman who was placed at the head of the Reformed church of Lausanne in 1536. Soon afterward he accused Calvin of Arian-

<sup>7</sup> *Die Doppelhe des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen*. Von William Walker Rockwell, Instruktor der Theologie in Andover, Massachusetts. Marburg: Elwert, 1904. xx + 374 pages.

ism. A controversy arose between the two, and troubled Calvin for ten years. Bähler traces its course,<sup>8</sup> working from the original sources, which have long been in print. He tries to write without prejudice, but his antipathy to Calvin is so great that it is difficult for him to preserve a judicial temper. He suggests that Calvin may have been led to his implacable hostility to Servetus, in part at least, by his desire to clear himself from the last shadows of suspicion that his views with reference to the Trinity were not sound. He tells us that Servetus and Calvin have completely changed places: Servetus, the thinker rejected by the contemporary world, has received a perfect rehabilitation from the after-world, while the fame of his victorious opponent has gone down in darkness. This is news indeed. It had not seemed to us that many persons admire Servetus, and we had supposed that the power of Calvin over human thought and conduct was greater than ever. However, notwithstanding his prejudices, Bähler writes an agreeable and instructive narrative. It will be especially welcome to those who wish to know more of Caroli, as it brings together in a moderate compass all that is known about him.

Before us are three or four unpretentious works treating of church affairs in the troublous times of the Stuarts. The first<sup>9</sup> is by a devoted son of the Church of England, who, in four lectures, describes the perils by which that church was beset in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I. He does not hide from his eyes the follies and sins of these sovereigns, nor, on the other hand, is he unmindful of their loyalty to the Anglican church. Bad as these rulers were, they never abetted the machinations of the Jesuits, the Puritans, or the Independents. These parties were intent on ecclesiastical revolution, and at last brought about the downfall of episcopacy and monarchy, but the faithful ones were loyal to the historic religion, and rallied to the standard of Charles because he was "the defender of the English church and of the Book of Common Prayer."

In writing of this period let a Papist or a Presbyterian hold the pen, and we should have another story. For example, here is a small volume on the Westminster Assembly in which, by way of introduction, the Puritan side of that great struggle is duly praised, and the Anglican church is seen to be in league with ecclesiastical bigotry and political despotism. This,

<sup>8</sup> *Petrus Caroli und Johannes Calvin: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Kultur der Reformationszeit.* Von Eduard Bähler. Thierachern bei Thun, 1904. 126 pages.

<sup>9</sup> *English Church History from the Death of Archbishop Parker to the Death of Charles I.* By Alfred Plummer. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner. x+179 pages. \$1, net.



however, is incidental. Coming to the main matter, we may say that accounts of the assembly are usually so overloaded with details that clearness is sacrificed and the reader's patience is exhausted. It is a pleasure to read a short history like this by Beveridge,<sup>10</sup> in which the calling, the personnel, and proceedings of the assembly are concisely related. All that one needs to know of the events leading up to the assembly, of its organization, of the Solemn League and Covenant, of the discussions on church government, and of the construction of the Directory, the Confession, and the Catechisms, is here told in few and plain words.

In "Literary Lives," edited by Dr. W. R. Nicoll, John Bunyan, a victim of the tyranny of a later Stuart, is assigned to W. H. White.<sup>11</sup> Little stress is laid on the biography, the chief object being to follow the thread of thought in Bunyan's principal works, such as *Grace Abounding*, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *Life and Death of Mr. Badman*, and the *Holy War*. The author foregoes all attempts at interpretation, but indulges here and there in doctrinal and literary criticism. If the reader would spend the amount of time required to read this book in the careful perusal of any one of Bunyan's great pieces, he would probably catch more of the spirit of the Bedford Dreamer, and gain a clearer and higher conception of his genius, than these pages by Mr. White are able to furnish.

The latest life of John Knox<sup>12</sup> is by Professor Stalker. The form in which the subject is treated is unique and admirable. The work is in three parts. In the first all the biographical material is presented. In the second the ideas of Knox are systematically arranged, as these ideas find expression in his books, in his religious convictions, and in his political opinions. In the third his ideals are set forth, as these are exhibited in the three great ecclesiastical documents of which he was the chief author, viz., the *Confession of Faith*, the *Book of Common Order*, and the *Book of Discipline*. Quotations from the writings of Knox are extended enough to give the reader a real acquaintance with the literary style, the broad statesmanship, and the reforming spirit of this truly wonderful man. Judged by modern standards, he was far from perfect, and his serious defects Dr. Stalker is not slow to see; but all in all he stands forth Scotland's greatest religious genius and foremost religious reformer.

<sup>10</sup> *A Short History of the Westminster Assembly*. By W. Beveridge. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner. xviii+165 pages. \$1, net.

<sup>11</sup> *John Bunyan*. By W. Hale White. New York: Scribner. 222 pages. \$1, net.

<sup>12</sup> *John Knox: His Ideas and Ideals*. By James Stalker. New York: Armstrong; London: Hodder & Stoughton. viii+250 pages. \$1, net.

## ITALY

The output of books pertaining to Italy during the past year has been considerable in quantity and excellent in quality. First comes a general treatise by Professor Deecke.<sup>13</sup> This book aims to be a popular account of Italy, with its people and its institutions, including Malta and Sardinia. It is popular in the very best sense of the word. In the first place, it is comprehensive. It includes boundaries, geology, climate, hydrography, plants and animals, population, history, products, commerce, political institutions, church and public worship, art, language, and science, and topography. It also includes thirty plates and maps very finely executed, and eighty-one illustrations in the text. It contains full statistical tables at the close of almost every important section, and an excellent index making its use for reference almost as easy as possible. In the second place, it is compact. All this material is put upon 485 pages  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 10$  inches in dimensions. One's first impression may be that the treatment is meager, but this is not so; the work is simply a marvel of condensation. In the third place, the book is exceedingly readable; and this contradicts the natural expectation that it is dry as dust. The only adverse criticism we have is that the statistics are not quite up to the present, and the reader will want constantly to refer to later tables. But in other respects we do not know of another book on Italy at once so comprehensive, so accurate, and so interesting.

We notice that the interest in Dante does not flag, and so we have to mention a translation of the *De Monarchia*<sup>14</sup> of Dante. This work is important from many points of view. It expresses the aspirations of a great soul for peace. Peace could come only through unity, and unity was empire, and empire should be in the Roman people under the leadership of Henry of Luxemburg. This piece is, moreover, one of the three constituent conceptions which combined in the *Divine Comedy*. The message of *De Monarchia* was political, that of *Convito* was philosophical, while that of *Vita Nuova* was religious. Dante was fully conscious of his message to his fellow-men. Far too often the man with a message is a great bore, and a weariness to the flesh; but not so Dante. His *De Monarchia*, his *Convito*, his *Vita Nuova*, and most of all his *Commedia* are among the abiding forces that man will use in his incessant struggle

<sup>13</sup> *Italy*. By W. Deecke. Translated by H. H. Nesbitt. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan, 1904. 485 pages.

<sup>14</sup> *The De Monarchia of Dante Alighieri*. Edited, with Translations and Notes, by Aurelia Henry. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1904. 216 pages. \$1.25, net.

for freedom. It is accordingly with peculiar gratitude that we call attention to this excellent translation of one of the masterpieces of mediæval thought—the work of a genius and a patriot who concerns himself “in laboring for posterity in order that future generations may be enriched.”

This translation of the *De Monarchia* is accompanied by a translation of the *Inferno*.<sup>15</sup> We believe that Professor Vincent is correct in his contention that the study of Dante should have a place in the curriculum of every theological seminary, and that this place should be in the department of church history. This is true because of the central position that Dante occupies in the thought and activities of the Middle Ages—or the transitional ages, as we begin to think of them now—and because this fact is so prominent at present in the minds of leading mediæval students. This is the author's justification for a new translation of the *Divine Comedy*. He does not attempt a smooth English translation. This he does not think is possible. He rather attempts a literal translation in blank verse; and in general he seems to have been fairly successful. The student is led without useless ornamentation directly to the poet's conception; and this is what most students want. The notes on the text occupy 118 pages, and will be extremely helpful to most readers who have neither the time nor the facilities for getting the general information which is necessary to any understanding of the *Commedia*. We shall await with interest the succeeding volumes.

We are glad also to call attention to another book that will facilitate the study of the great master. The serious student of Dante is overwhelmed with material. The beginner is lost in the labyrinth. He does not know where to begin or how to advance. He needs an intelligent guide to point out the central sources of information, and direct him to what is at least representative in these sources. Such a guide will, we believe, be found in Mr. Dinsmore's *Aids to the Study of Dante*.<sup>16</sup> Its selections are made from such original sources as Boccaccio, Villani, and Bruni, and from such secondary sources as Dean Church, Charles Eliot Norton, Dr. Moore, and Adolph Gaspary. The work is an admirable companion to the author's previous work on *The Teachings of Dante*.

As a fitting sequel to the above books comes Mr. Everett's book on *The Italian Poets since Dante*.<sup>17</sup> The key to this work will probably be

<sup>15</sup> *The Divine Comedy of Dante: The Inferno. A Translation and Commentary.* By Marvin R. Vincent. New York: Scribner, 1904. 305 pages. \$1.50.

<sup>16</sup> *Aids to the Study of Dante.* By Charles Allen Dinsmore. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1903. 485 pages. \$1.50, net.

<sup>17</sup> *The Italian Poets since Dante.* Accompanied by Verse Translations. By William Everett. New York: Scribner, 1904. 251 pages. \$1.50, net.

found in the Preface, page x, where the author says: "If the views appear mistaken, or their presentation dubious, they are yet the result of *reading* the authors, of which there is now far too little, and not of *studying* [italics in both cases ours] them, of which there is now far too much." He does not set out to find any *Tendenz* or *Zeitgeist* in the poems whether or no. He proposes to throw off all the trammels of personal equation and go where the authors lead him. Moreover, he brings to his task an extensive preparation in general literature. Leaving out of account a certain overconfidence here and there, and certain extravagant statements, the reviewer finds himself in sympathy with Mr. Everett's whole method of treatment; and a general acceptance of the spirit of this book would be an indication that the pendulum is about to swing back toward the methods of fifty or sixty years ago. But, notwithstanding the author's disavowal of *Tendenz*, he frequently reads it *out* of his poem, but never *into* it. From what has been said, the reader may safely anticipate an animated and fascinating interpretation of *The Italian Poets since Dante*. There are eighteen of them in Mr. Everett's collection. Among them are Petrarch, Pulci, Ariosto, Tasso, Marino, Goldoni, Alfieri, and Leopardi. But the reviewer cannot cease to regret in a book of such value the abusive personality on p. xi of the Preface, where the author speaks of "Boyd's contemptible version of Petrarch's Trionfi." This comes as a hard blow where it is least expected.

But good work has likewise been done in Italian matters of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. We refer especially to Dr. Schnitzler's work on Savonarola<sup>18</sup> in the "Munich Church History Seminar." No. 2 of this series deals with Savonarola and the fire test. It is a critical investigation into the sources. The purpose is to give due weight to all sides of the subject. Consequently, the author begins with a consideration of the antecedent history of the case, and follows it up with the depositions of his friends, his enemies, and the neutrals. From all this he determines the present status of the case and seeks new light on this obscure subject. To Savonarola's enemies he is constrained to attribute atrocious wickedness and baseness. In No. 3 Dr. Schnitzler takes up one of Savonarola's opponents, Bartolomeo Cerretani; not because he was a great man—which he certainly was not—but because of the general testimony that he gives concerning others. The investigation turns out to be exceedingly profitable. The entire series will require the careful attention of all students of Savonarola's life and times.

Last, but not least, in this collection comes a new study of the Florentine

<sup>18</sup> *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Savonarolas, II und III.* Von Joseph Schnitzler. München: Lentner, 1904. 174+1x+110 pages. M. 3.80.

historian and political writer. Machiavelli<sup>19</sup> will perhaps always be a riddle to students of ethics and politics. But, at all events, there is in these days a disposition to do him justice. It is certainly unfair to judge him by *The Prince* alone, because many passages in the *Discourses on Livy*, the *Art of War*, and his *Correspondence* directly contradict the impression one gets from reading *The Prince*. In *The Prince* he was dealing with one particular situation in one particular age—his own age; and this treatise was written to meet that particular exigency. It does not appear that he had any thought of writing on general political science. He was in line with patriots who had gone before in seeking unity and peace by word or by deed, and with other patriots who came after and at last realized Italian unity and freedom. Notably he was influenced by Dante's intellectual and political conceptions, and especially by the *De Monarchia*. His mind was strenuously centered in the accomplishment of a great and worthy end. Moral considerations found no place in his mind, and he did not dream that this omission would be a ground of offense. He found a prince in the flesh in Cæsar Borgia, and a portrait of the Roman people in the Swiss soldiers; and, completely absorbed as he was in this one purpose, he fell in with the ordinary rules of conduct observed by the average men about him. Mr. Dyer, from a fresh study of the sources, and with such aid as he could get from accomplished Machiavellian students—as Villari and Burd—has given us a valuable little volume in three chapters: "The Prince and Cæsar Borgia," "Machiavelli's Use of History," and "Machiavelli's Idea of Morals."

#### THE AMERICAN CHURCHES

Very great interest has recently been shown in the origin and history of the Methodists on account of the occurrence of the second centennial of the birth of John Wesley, the founder of Methodism. The celebration of this event has been marked by the appearance of many new volumes on the life and work of Wesley (see this *Journal* for January 1904, p. 211), and of new editions of old volumes. To the list of new volumes belongs *The Methodists*<sup>20</sup> by Professor Faulkner. The work is concerned principally with the development of the Methodists in America. The history of the Methodists is always a thrilling story of struggle, sacrifice, and conquest. This volume is written by one who possesses fine literary taste, the impartial historic spirit, and command of all the sources of information

<sup>19</sup> *Machiavelli and the Modern State*. By Louis Dyer. Boston: Ginn; London: The Atheneum Press, 1904. 163 pages.

<sup>20</sup> *The Methodists*. ("The Story of the Churches" series.) By John Alfred Faulkner, New York: Baker & Taylor, 1903. 264 pages. \$1.

on the subject. It gives in concise and clear form the information most people interested in the history of Methodism would seek concerning the origin and development of the body.

*A Constitutional History of American Episcopal Methodism*<sup>21</sup> by John J. Tigert, is a revised and enlarged edition of a well-known and authoritative work. Its title indicates the phase of Methodist development which it covers. Methodism has always given large attention to organization, has believed in its efficiency, and has succeeded measurably by reason of it. The study of such a work as that of Professor Faulkner makes clear that the Methodist church has succeeded by reason of three things: evangelical doctrine, lay itinerant ministry, and organization. Dr. Tigert has made an exhaustive and careful study of the organic side of Methodism, and presents the results in this volume.

Congregationalism always offers an interesting field of study to the student of American church history. Its connection with the founding of New England commonwealths, and its signal influence upon American religious life through all the history of American Christianity, assign it a place of first importance. Leonard Woolsey Bacon has long been recognized as an appreciative and authoritative student of American religious life through the publication of his *History of American Christianity* a few years ago. A new volume from his pen on *The Congregationalists*<sup>22</sup> takes a worthy place beside his previous volume. Dr. Bacon has a great theme and has brilliantly executed its treatment. It is written by one who knows familiarly the story of Congregationalism, and rather takes for granted on the part of the reader an intimate knowledge of the history. To one who knows little or nothing of its history this volume would not be as informing as one written with a more purely didactic purpose.

Two other recent works belong to the history of Congregationalism: *The Great Awakening*,<sup>23</sup> by F. L. Chapell, a series of lectures delivered before the Baptist Church of Evanston, Ill., is a well-written and appreciative study of the part played in that movement by John Wesley, Jonathan Edwards, Gilbert Tennant, George Whitfield, and James Davenport; *The Edwards Bicentenary*<sup>24</sup> contains the addresses and exercises in com-

<sup>21</sup> *Constitutional History of American Episcopal Methodism*. By John J. Tigert. Nashville, Tenn.: Smith & Lamar, 1904. 626 pages. \$2.

<sup>22</sup> *The Congregationalists*. By Leonard W. Bacon. ("The Story of the Churches" series.) New York: Baker & Taylor, 1904. 280 pages. \$1.

<sup>23</sup> *The Great Awakening*. By F. L. Chapell. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1903. 144 pages.

<sup>24</sup> *The Edwards Bicentenary at Andover*. By J. W. Platner and others. Andover, Mass.: The Andover Press, 1904. 126 pages; appendices, 65 pages.

memoration of the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Jonathan Edwards, held at Andover Theological Seminary, October 4 and 5, 1903. The addresses are upon phases of Edwards' thought and influence, by Professors J. W. Platner, J. E. Woodbridge, E. C. Smith, James Orr, and a poem by President S. V. Cole. It is a valuable contribution to the Edwardsian literature.

Two denominations have historically given special attention to the cultivation of the church-covenant idea, the Congregationalists and the Baptists. Champlin Burrage has made a careful collection of these covenants, with comments, and has traced their origin and development, from their earliest appearance to the present time, in a volume entitled *The Church Covenant Idea*.<sup>25</sup> The work is the result of patient and thoroughgoing research conducted in the libraries of America and England. The covenant has little or no place in modern church usage; consequently the work will have small interest to any but students in that special field. It is a splendid specimen of scholarly method and interest.

The *History of the Baptists in Maine*,<sup>26</sup> by H. S. Burrage, by reason of its fulness and detail, its clear organization of material and literary style, and its recourse to the original sources, leaves little to be desired by persons interested in the Baptist history of the state of Maine. It will not be of wide interest to persons even of the Baptist denomination outside of Maine. Such investigations of local religious history as Dr. Burrage has conducted are indispensable to the historian of the larger movement.

*The Episcopalians*,<sup>27</sup> by Daniel Dulany Addison, is the work of a fair-minded student of the denomination's history, and is written with more than average literary power. It is conciliatory and appreciative of the best elements of the religious life and character of Episcopalianism, as such a work ought to be, and presents the system in its most inviting aspects. Too much space is given to the history of the body in England, which leaves little space for the treatment of the movement in America. This is due to the desire of Episcopalian historians to present the denomination in an unbroken continuity from the earliest Christian history in England to the present time. The essential facts relative to the origin and growth of the body are to be found in this volume in an interesting narrative.

<sup>25</sup> *The Church Covenant Idea*. By Champlin Burrage. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1904. 230 pages.

<sup>26</sup> *History of the Baptists in Maine*. By Henry S. Burrage. Portland, Maine: Marks Printing House, 1904. 497 pages. \$2.

<sup>27</sup> *The Episcopalians*. By D. D. Addison. ("The Story of the Churches" series.) New York: Baker & Taylor, 1904. 252 pages. \$1.

## MISCELLANEOUS

In *Vies des saints*<sup>28</sup> one can see how far the Catholic church is ready to go in the acceptance of ecclesiastical miracles. This volume forms the beginning of a *Vie complète des saints*, and declares on the title-page that it is written with the purpose not to "cut out the miracles with which it has pleased God to glorify his servants." Such a string of stupid and ridiculous performances it would be difficult to duplicate.

*Quelques motifs d'espérer*<sup>29</sup> is a collection of miscellaneous essays, in each of which a note of hopefulness and encouragement is sounded. In many respects the Roman church in France is in a bad way, and to doubting minds the outlook is inauspicious; but there is a brighter side, to which these pages call attention. Notwithstanding discouragements, there are numerous favorable indications, which ought to lift the true-hearted Catholic above all despair.

If someone would render *L'Américanisme*<sup>30</sup> into English, many Protestants would become acquainted for the first time with the party divisions which exist among Catholics both in America and France. As among Protestants there are the conservatives and the progressives, precisely so among Catholics there is a strong party pledged to mediævalism and a party strongly influenced by the modern spirit. Gibbons, Ireland, and Spaulding are representatives of Catholic liberalism who have had a deal of trouble with old-school prelates, which trouble has caused the pope no end of vexation. To this new democratic liberal spirit and movement has been given the significant name "Americanism." As yet the movement has seriously affected only the United States and France, but with increasing enlightenment it will spread to other countries also.

In other numbers of this *Journal* we have noticed from year to year *Annuaire pontifical catholique*.<sup>31</sup> Those for the seventh and eighth years, 1904 and 1905, have now appeared. It is a most valuable yearbook of the Catholic world. The number for 1904 is of special interest, since it summarizes the pontificate of Leo XIII, the personnel and meetings of the conclave of 1903, and the inauguration of the new pontiff, Pius X.

We have before us an interesting and beautiful monograph, which is

<sup>28</sup> *Vies des saints*. Paris: Féron-Vrau.

<sup>29</sup> *Quelques motifs d'espérer*. Par Félix Klein. Paris: Lecoffre. x+296 pages.

<sup>30</sup> *L'Américanisme*. Par Albert Houtin. Paris: Nourry. vii+494 pages.

<sup>31</sup> *Annuaire pontifical catholique*. Par Albert Ballandier. Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1904, 1905. 639 pages. Fr. 4.10.



not simply a reproduction of what the author has said on Lausanne<sup>32</sup> in the second volume of his life of Calvin, but is to be regarded as a second edition improved and enlarged.

Feret's book on the theological faculty of Paris<sup>33</sup> in the seventeenth century is a volume of 520 pages. Among the important subjects that it discusses are Jansenism (1640-53), Gallicanism before the Declaration of 1682, and Aristotelianism and Cartesianism.

The Greek church in Russia is afflicted with a thousand and one sects, most of them the offspring of ignorance and superstition, and many of them concealing themselves in her own communion. One of these sects is brought before us in an important book by Grass,<sup>34</sup> which will find a reception all the warmer for the prevalent interest in Russian subjects, and especially in the religious condition of the Russian empire. The men of the Skopzen practice self-mutilation in order to be numbered with "the hundred and forty and four thousand" pictured in Rev. 14:4. The founder of the sect was Seliwanow, a peasant who could not write, and probably could not read. No one knows how numerous the Scopzen are. The government has very properly sought to suppress them, yet they do not cease to propagate their views and to gain adherents. Their writings were kept secret among them till discovered by the police on some of them who were arrested. These writings are now for the first time translated from the Russian into another language.

The exact location of Corea<sup>35</sup> is now perfectly understood by all intelligent readers. It has an area of about 90,000 square miles. Nobody knows exactly who the Coreans are, because they are a blending of many northeast Asiatic races, and, strangely enough, their characteristic type often resembles the Semitic. The population of Corea is variously estimated, but it is probably not far from 12,000,000. Politically, Corea has gone through the usual stages of development. Starting without organization, she passed through feudalism, organized society in a larger sense,

<sup>32</sup> *Lausanne au temps de la Réformation: Avec une introduction sur Pierre Viret et Orbe, et un appendice sur les deux premiers imprimeurs protestants de Lausanne.* Par Émile Doumergue. Lausanne: Bridel, 1903. 64 pages. Fr. 1.50.

<sup>33</sup> *La Faculté de théologie de Paris et ses docteurs les plus célèbres.* Par P. Feret. "Époque moderne." Tome troisième: "XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle; phases historiques." Paris: Picard, 1904. 520 pages.

<sup>34</sup> *Die geheime heilige Schrift der Skopsen (Russische Selbstverstümmelter): Leidensgeschichte und Episteln des Skopsen-Erlösers.* Kritische Ausgabe auf Grund der russischen Drucke in deutscher Übersetzung. Von Karl Konrad Grass, Privatdozent in Dorpat. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. iv+77 pages. M. 1.50.

<sup>35</sup> *Corea: The Hermit Nation.* By William Elliot Griffis. Seventh edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Scribner, 1904. 502 pages.

centralization, to an empire. Socially, we notice first the family. Woman has no moral existence; she has no name; she is so-and-so's daughter, so-and-so's wife, so-and-so's mother; she works in the field, and eats what is left after the men are through. Yet a certain respect is shown her. She is addressed in dignified language. Her apartments are inviolate even to the officers of the law. Men step aside to allow her to pass. Adoption is common on account of the ancestral worship. If only a daughter is born, she is married to an adopted son, who becomes the head of the family. Primogeniture is the rule. The family is not, as with us, the unit, but a fragment of a clan. The Coreans are voracious eaters. Unlike the Japanese, they eat much meat and fat. Fish is often eaten raw from the tail to the head. Dog meat is a great favorite. All kinds of condiments, such as pepper and vinegar, are extensively used; and, strangely enough, situated as they are between China and Japan, the common people scarcely know the taste of tea. The ancient religion of Corea was Shamanism—a kind of Nature-worship, mountains, rivers, etc. The air was supposed to be peopled with spirits. This religion still prevails among the lower classes. Buddhism came in about the fourth century, and among the higher classes prevailed until the fifteenth century. Then came Confucianism, which still has a very large influence. The religion of Corea, then, is variegated. The fact that Buddhism and Confucianism are found in Corea would seem to indicate a considerable degree of culture, but this culture is confined to the upper classes. The great masses are in gross ignorance and superstition. Corea has been called the "Hermit Nation." She was one of the last to come out and become a part of general history. The accounts of the early attempts to reach her are thrilling enough. The motive was nearly always commercial. In 1784 Christianity was introduced in its Roman form, with its two fatal weaknesses—the ecclesiastical supremacy of the pope and the claim to temporal sovereignty. Through the latter, Christianity came to mean to the Coreans treason and robbery, and converts were regarded as traitors. The earliest American connections with the "Hermit Nation" are not at all to our credit. Various Protestant denominations have made feeble beginnings in Corea, but comparatively little has been accomplished as yet. The relations of Russia and Japan to this nation are discussed in a concluding chapter. Dr. Griffis has rendered a real service in putting so much material on so living a subject within the reach of English readers.

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# RECENT BOOKS IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL ETHICS, EDUCATION, AND PRACTICAL RELIGION

In the first book before us,<sup>1</sup> the author's own summary of his patient and conscientious discussion states the essential points of his volume:

The central thought of this treatise is that the Christian life is the highest mode of moral life of which man is capable, and is distinguished from lower forms of ethical life by its own characteristic manifestations. But the Christian is a man; on the basis of his manhood a nobler manhood is developed through the work of the Holy Spirit. . . . We find the source of our knowledge of ethical facts and principles, in the first instance, in the normal constitution of man, then in the experience of Christians, and, thirdly, in the Holy Scriptures as bringing the believer into vital relation to Christ.

Part I deals with the nature of the ethics of the Christian life: the moral agent and the disorder of the moral nature, the remedy for moral disorder. Part II discusses the scope of the ethics of the Christian life: all duty rests on the holy will of God, duty to self, duty to society, duty to nature, duty to God. Part III considers the method of the ethics of the Christian life. The church is incompetent to form a policy relating to such social problems as temperance reforms, relations of capital and labor, the care of the poor; it has not the knowledge, and it is not intrusted with adequate power. But individual members of the church should aid where the church as an organization has no duty. It may be permissible, however, to add that "Christian Ethics" is by no means confined to the duties of the church as an organization; that action of the state must also be brought under the control of right and obligation; that the entire community has duties; and that these duties must be discovered and framed into laws, regulations of administration, maxims of custom and sentiment. Studies of ethics written from the ecclesiastical point of view have their value, but they must necessarily leave the most perplexing, complicated, and pressing problems of duty either untouched or but superficially treated. This valuable work brings us only to the margin of that vast area of study of right, obligation, and duty which is cultivated by the special social sciences and by practical sociology; and, as sure as this world is of God, these scientific disciplines will be found necessary to the complete "science of the end, the law, and the motive of obligatory conduct as determined in the light of the Christian revelation." The work under review is a contribution to only one tract of that larger field.

<sup>1</sup> *The Ethics of the Christian Life, or the Science of Right Living.* By Henry E. Robins. Philadelphia: Griffith & Rowland Press, 1904. 488 pages. \$2, net.

During the past five years, much to its advantage, moral and religious education has come under the influence of the psychologists, the students of the history of religion, and the most competent philosophers of education. While Professor Coe's last volume<sup>2</sup> shows at many points the results of his personal investigation, the particular increments to knowledge are not conspicuous. It is in the breadth, courage, and sanity of his survey of the social situation that the chief merit of his work is found. The author defines his purpose to be to "bring the broadest philosophy of education into the closest relation to practice; to show how principles lead directly to methods," and to "exhibit the principles and forces of religious and moral education in their highest concreteness as factors in the general movement of human life." The standpoint taken is that which has been fairly won by the development of Christianity in life and criticism; that human nature is not complete in the highest attainable sense without the life in God; that no single subject of knowledge is comprehended so long as it is isolated from the deepest facts of the spirit. Hence the child should be treated as born for this experience, as having a right to claim help to realize it through the concerted activity of family, school, church, government. With great clearness and force the author insists on the truth that education is the unfolding of the entire personality as a vital unity, and not merely the passive reception of certain detached matters of knowledge, as reading, writing, arithmetic, and theological formulas. The young scholar does not shrink from breaking a lance in direct encounter with the most honored veterans of education and theology when the eternal interests of the child seem to him to demand a champion. Especially noteworthy is his acceptance of the "major premise" in the claim of the Catholics, that education must include religion, while he properly refuses their "minor premise" when they ask for a division of the school fund.

There is need of instruction of the young in the duties of modern society with its complicated problems, and many attempts have been made to furnish textbooks suitable for the purpose. The societies of ethical culture have, by virtue of their exceptional position, made special efforts to meet this need, and important contributions may be expected from them. Such textbooks must be graded, in order to be adapted to young persons of different stages of development; the material should be concrete; discussion and conversation should be stimulated; proverbs, poetry, and classic prose should serve to adorn the doctrine; brief summaries should be furnished, so that much meaning can be carried away in neat form for

<sup>2</sup> *Education in Religion and Morals*. By George Albert Coe. Chicago: Revell, 1904. 434 pages. \$1.35.

memory. All these criteria are met in very high degree by the books of Mr. Sheldon,<sup>3</sup> who has put each lesson to the test of use with classes during the years the work was in manuscript form. The religious factor is almost entirely passed over in silence, according to the design of the author, who omits religion, he says, because it creates division, and because home and church can add religious teachings at points where the teacher thinks best. Paul Natorp has said that the claims of ethical law are also in dispute.<sup>4</sup> In the book on citizenship the catholic expressions of faith in God quoted from the noble utterances of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln will be more widely accepted than many of the moral instructions of the author who himself, at the end, rises, for a moment, into the sublime realm of the eternal life. The very spirit of religion breathes through all the pages, and one can easily believe that the author felt at times a keen sense of self-repression when he felt obliged to omit reference to this supreme interest of humanity. The work as a whole is not adequate and does not claim to be complete; but whoever writes on this subject hereafter will gladly acknowledge his obligation to this genial and faithful teacher of duty; and any religious teacher will find many valuable suggestions in respect to both matter and method of moral education.

The recent increase of interest in religious education makes this publication<sup>5</sup> timely. The volume before us includes catechisms of the sixteenth century from southern Germany, from Alsace, the Pfalz, Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria. We are carried back to the brave days of Luther and his contemporaries, and we read their German and Latin forms, follow their order of explanation of the early creeds of the church, the Decalogue, and other summaries of theological and ethical belief. For the most part the editor gives us simply the original documents, but adds brief introductions, interpretations, and references to literature.

The conflict between clericalism and the secularists of France has provoked a discussion of the duty of the state to supervise and improve the scientific education of priests. The government of France subsidizes the larger churches, but makes no requirement as to the qualifications of their teachers and priests. This is dangerous to the social order, since

<sup>3</sup> *Ethics for the Young*. By Walter L. Sheldon. Three volumes: "The Study of Habits;" "Duties in the Home and Family;" "Citizenship and the Duties of a Citizen." Chicago: Welch, 1904, \$1.25 per volume.

<sup>4</sup> *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der Humanität*.

<sup>5</sup> *Quellen zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Unterrichts in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands zwischen 1530 und 1600*. Eingeleitet, herausgegeben und zusammenfassend dargestellt von Johann Michael Reu. I. Teil. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1904. 847 pages. M. 16.

ignorant and fanatical clergymen are necessarily in antagonism to all the aspirations of progressive men who possess the outlook of modern science and philosophy. The state should give liberty of teaching, and should not itself become oppressive and guilty of persecution; but it should require the moral and intellectual leaders to pass state examinations as a guaranty of their fitness to be public instructors. This is the argument of the author of this work,<sup>6</sup> and he supports his positions by numerous citations.

Among the important topics discussed in this volume<sup>7</sup> are: the origin and history of the books of the Bible and of the English translations; the reasons for personal study of the Bible; methods of studying the Bible. The methods described and illustrated are: study of the Bible by periods; study by books; study of Bible characters; sermons and addresses; scenes and incidents; and topical studies. There is added a chapter on promoting Bible study by exposition in the pulpit. The author does not enter the field of teaching as distinguished from preaching. The style is simple and clear, although the range of subjects required too much condensation. The critical standpoint is quite conservative. The historical sketches are compiled from ordinary sources.

Dr. Conley has published a series of simple, clear, popular lectures<sup>8</sup> given at first to a woman's club in Omaha. He treats the character and composition of the Bible, manuscripts, translations, light from monuments; and deals with such problems as the relation of the Bible to science, art, ethics, woman, education, progress. His point of view is that of one who reveres the Book, and yet believes that a Christian can have his mind open to all new revelations of truth.

The brilliant, popular preacher and lecturer has printed some of the bright and telling sentences with which he has been wont to draw together the immense audiences of the Temple.<sup>9</sup> The little volume here noticed is full of suggestions for youth, and is suited to inspire and guide.

This fragment of German pietism<sup>10</sup> breathes the spirit of a devout life.

<sup>6</sup> *La réforme intellectuelle du clergé et la liberté d'enseignement.* Par P. Saintyve. Paris: Nourry, 1904. 341 pages.

<sup>7</sup> *Bible Study Popularized* By Frank T. Lee. Chicago: Winona Publishing Co., 1904. 315 pages.

<sup>8</sup> *The Bible in Modern Light.* By John Wesley Conley. Philadelphia: Griffith & Rowland Press, 1904. 238 pages.

<sup>9</sup> *The New Day; or, Fresh Opportunities.* By Russell H. Conwell. Philadelphia: Griffith & Rowland Press, 1904. 117 pages.

<sup>10</sup> *Outlines of Pastoral Theology.* Translated and edited by William Hastie. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1904. 78 pages. \$0.75, net.

The substance of its thought has been assimilated in the larger works on the duties of ministers.

Dr. Schäfer is one of the most distinguished leaders of the Inner Mission of the Evangelical Church of Germany, and he has gathered up in these annual reports<sup>11</sup> accounts of many of the most significant facts about modern methods of caring for cripples. While the Altona home and school for cripples receives special attention, the student will find statistics and descriptions of institutions in various countries, and the beautiful photographic illustrations almost serve in place of visits of observation. Even the technical processes of teaching and training are so minutely explained that the general reader can appreciate the marvelous achievements of these institutions.

In the treatise of M. Rivière<sup>12</sup> the reader will find all the essential features of a philanthropy which has been tested in Germany, France, England, and the United States, and which, within its natural limits, produces excellent results.

Without doubt the writer of this curious volume<sup>13</sup> has gone about his work in earnest, and his discussion bears the marks of sincerity, of prolonged thought, and of considerable reading. He is quite certain that honesty is not to be found in endowed colleges (p. vii), and he makes representations of their cruel treatment of students in examinations which might furnish amusement to our lusty athletes (p. 183). He closes the controversy over the place of Greek by calling the classics "trashy literature" (p. 182). Christianity is fictitious. There are more assertions than arguments, and enough confidence in his own conclusions to furnish several systems of cosmic philosophy. Perhaps there are a few new ideas, but it requires a tedious journey to come upon them.

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## SOME RECENT LITERATURE IN SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

Any characterization by Professor Pfeiderer of a great figure in the history of religious thought is of unusual interest. His memorial address<sup>1</sup> delivered on the occasion of the one-hundredth anniversary of Herder's

<sup>11</sup> *Jahrbuch der Krüppelfürsorge*. Von Theodor Schäfer. Hamburg: Agentus des Rauhen Hauses, 1899-1903.

<sup>12</sup> *La terre et l'atelier: Jardins ouvriers*. Par Louis Rivière. Paris: Lecoffre, 1904. 219 pages.

<sup>13</sup> *The Socialization of Humanity; A System of Monistic Philosophy*. By Charles Kendall Franklin. Chicago: Kerr, 1904. 481 pages. \$2.

<sup>1</sup> *Herder: Rede zur Gedankfeier im Rathaus zu Berlin am 16. Dezember 1903* Von Otto Pfeiderer. Berlin: Reimar, 1904. 31 pages. M. o.50.

death gives an unusually sympathetic presentation of the social and personal forces which influenced the man during his youth, and of the development of his activity in the fields of thought where he made such noteworthy contributions. Professor Pfeleiderer's estimation of the man is well summed up in his opening words:

He stood in the front rank among the spiritual heroes of our people; he was familiar with all knowledge of his time, but by the originality of his genius towered far above his time. He was a path-breaker and prophet of the new culture-epoch, which separates the nineteenth century from the eighteenth. Upon almost all regions of the life of the spirit, in art and poetry, in natural and historical science, in philosophy and religion, in school and church, his ideas have worked fruitfully, have set new goals of endeavor, and opened new ways of activity and investigation. And what he was for his time—a bearer of the light and path-finder of the truth, an apostle of love and noble humanity, a prophet of new life, ceaseless work, and harmonious development of all powers—even this he can be and is to be again for our time also, which is in so many respects closely related to his.

The published addresses delivered at the Eisenach Conference<sup>2</sup> furnish a most interesting glimpse of the theological state of mind among moderate conservatives in Germany. The conference seems to have been fully alive to the fact that the lack of any uniform attitude among theologians toward the Scriptures as authority is a source of widespread distrust and confusion on the part of the laity. The chief interest thus centered in the practical consequences upon Christian faith if the diversity of opinion resulting from the scientific study of theology be encouraged. Professor Kähler, of Halle, in an address on "The Present Situation of Theology," showed that none of the significant movements of theological thought in the past century is yet dead. The present constructive task for theology is to understand better the meaning of historical Christianity (revelation), and to show how the content of revelation can find a home in modern philosophy (evolutionistic monism). Dr. Lepsius, in a paper on "The Historical Foundations of the Christian View of the World," pleads for a Christian metaphysics as against Harnack's non-metaphysical ethical religion. The Christian *Weltanschauung* (i. e., that of Jesus) is an essential part of the gospel. In particular, Lepsius deplores the prevalent historical study of comparative religion as tending to destroy confidence in the uniqueness of Christianity. Other addresses of interest show a commendable zeal in attacking the problems which are especially interesting to thoughtful laymen rather than those of concern only to specialists.

<sup>2</sup> *Verhandlungen der zweiten Eisenacher Konferenz*. Herausgegeben von Joh. Lepsius. Berlin: Deutsche Orient-Mission E. V., 1903. 160 pages.



The struggles of advocates of an authority-religion to come to terms with modern psychology are always interesting. An especially instructive example of the attempt of a man who holds the psychology of Thomas Aquinas to live in our modern psychological world is furnished by a German Catholic.<sup>3</sup> His historic survey of the discussions concerning the nature of faith is penetrating and illuminating. Moreover, he shows a good grasp of the fundamental problem. But when at the outset he defines faith as "the undoubting assent to a definite doctrinal content, the inner assured acceptance of definite theoretical statements," it will be seen that *assensus* must be maintained at all hazards. After this intellectual acceptance of truth come the volitional recognition of it as true and its valuation by the practical reason. Only when this latter process is complete do we have faith in its full significance. Although the argument attempts to show that the original *assensus* is a voluntary matter, yet there lurks in the background the ghost of authoritative external dogma to be accepted ready-made rather than attained by free use of reason. The book is an admirable illustration of the fact that modern psychology is quite as potent as historical criticism in making impossible certain time-honored theories of religious belief.

By contrast it is interesting to notice the position of a man who has passed through a study of Kant and of Ritschl, as well as of historical method, into complete sympathy both with the past development of Christian thought and with modern philosophical ideals.<sup>4</sup> He recognizes as clearly as any Catholic that religion cannot exist without revelation; but shows at the outset that the conception of an external miraculous revelation is scientifically untenable. Revelation in its very essence must disclose the existence of a present supernatural reality, not merely the interruption of nature in the past. In order to ascertain, then, where revelation is to be found, we must consult the religious consciousness itself, and ascertain how as a matter of fact the human spirit comes into vital contact with the supernatural. An examination of the development of religion shows a progressive criticism of its lower stages and a gradual outgrowing of all views of divine revelation which define it as something external. It eventually becomes impossible, then, to regard an external Bible, or even an external Jesus, as revelation. Man experiences the reality of the supernatural wherever historical personal life influences him so that he becomes

<sup>3</sup> *Vernunft und Wille in ihrer Beziehung zum Glaubensakt.* Von Georg Schmidt. Augsburg: Lampart, 1903. 128 pages. M. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Die geistige Offenbarung Gottes in der geschichtlichen Person Jesu.* Von Th. Steinmann. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903. viii + 125 pages. M. 3.60.

conscious of the presence of God. The personal life of Jesus is supreme in this respect, and hence becomes our revelation of God. Revelation thus is not extra-historical, nor is it externally miraculous, but is found in the actual inner power derived from our contact with history. The pamphlet is an extraordinarily penetrating discussion of a difficult problem.

Professor Ihmels in the title of his book<sup>5</sup> promises what he fails to perform. He gives, not an exposition of *Christian* ethics, but merely a faithful and illuminating discussion of Kantian ethics. He has no difficulty in showing that obedience to the categorical imperative is entirely compatible with the existence of a universal will which expresses itself in this imperative. But is this deification of the moral law equivalent to the Christian God? By substituting the word "Kantian" for "Christian" in the title he would more correctly describe his essay.

In a review of a pamphlet by Dr. Lepsius in a previous number of the *American Journal of Theology*,<sup>6</sup> attention was called to the keen criticism directed by this vigorous writer against the fundamental position of Harnack. Lepsius quite agrees with Harnack that personality is the supreme reality in religion. But he insists that to make a didactic presentation of the teaching of Jesus the essence of Christianity, as is done by Harnack, is to make truth rather than personality supreme. The dramatic rather than the didactic method is essential to personality. Hence the cross of Christ must be regarded as the dramatic center of Christianity. In another of his *Reden und Abhandlungen*<sup>7</sup> Lepsius expounds more fully this conception. He holds, with Kant, that every man must face the fact of radical evil in his nature. But, as against Kant, he believes that the remedy for this evil lies beyond man's power. The cross and resurrection of Christ represent in dramatic form the redemptive power coming from a personality which suffers vicariously for the sins of others. Thus far the author shows his keen insight into the essential nature of religious redemption. But when he proceeds to identify this spiritual conception, which Bushnell has made familiar to American readers, with the atonement theory of Anselm and of Luther, and to declare all three Pauline, we must protest against such a superficial classification. As a keen criticism of much current exposition of didactic ethics in the name of Christianity, the pamphlet is well deserving of attention.

<sup>5</sup> *Theonomie und Autonomie im Licht der christlichen Ethik*. Von L. Ihmels. Leipzig: Deichert, 1903. 25 pages. M. 0.25.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. VIII (April, 1904), p. 416.

<sup>7</sup> *Das Kreuz Christi*. Von Johannes Lepsius. Erste und zweite Auflage. Berlin: Reich-Christi Verlag. 31 pages. M. 0.50.

Kattenbusch's illuminating pamphlet *Von Schleiermacher zu Ritschl*,<sup>8</sup> originally delivered as an address in 1891 before the theological conference at Giessen, and published in two successive editions in 1892 and 1893, has now been thoroughly revised. The general line of discussion is not altered. The chief change in substance is a reversal of the author's previous conviction that Schleiermacher's conception of religion was fundamentally pantheistic. The supplementary discussion of the theological development within the past decade is concerned chiefly with the rise of the science of comparative religions, and the consequent pressure upon Ritschlianism to abandon its attempt to isolate Christianity from all other history. Troeltsch's attempt to eliminate the last traces of dogmatic method, and to correlate Christian theology with positive sciences in method is set forth with some detail, though the author could not, of course, make use of what Troeltsch has published in the past two years.

One of the striking differences between German and American pastors is seen in the fact that works of scientific theological value comparatively seldom come from the hand of an American pastor, while in Germany much excellent work is done by men in the active ministry. A good illustration of this ideal among German pastors is found in an elaborate treatise on the history of the Roman Catholic doctrine of implicit faith.<sup>9</sup> The posthumous treatise of Ritschl on *Fides Implicita*, while full of suggestive insight, yet left much to be desired in the way of historical completeness. Hoffmann has produced a compendium of purely objective research, representing an enormous amount of work on his part. He gives a detailed account of the teaching of nearly every important Catholic treatise or document on the subject of faith from the time of Augustine down to the works of living theologians. The book is thus a genuine encyclopædia of information. It is to be regretted, however, that his work is so poorly organized. The only clue to the contents is given in the bare list of men whose writings are discussed. All the citations are incorporated into the text, and there are no chapters or summaries to guide the reader through the progress of thought. The usefulness of this otherwise scholarly volume is thus greatly curtailed.

The *Conférences* at the church of Notre Dame in Paris during Lent have long been noted as superlative examples of Roman Catholic sermons

<sup>8</sup> *Von Schleiermacher zu Ritschl*. Von Ferdinand Kattenbusch. Dritte, vielfach veränderte Auflage. Mit einem Nachtrag über die neueste Entwicklung. Giessen: Ricker, 1903. 80 pages. M. 1.75.

<sup>9</sup> *Die Lehre von der Fides Implicita innerhalb der katholischen Kirche*. Dargestellt von Georg Hoffmann. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. iv+407 pages. M. 8.

to educated hearers. The sermons are afterward published in book-form. The series of 1903,<sup>10</sup> like the preceding series of *retraites pascales*, attempts to expound Catholic doctrine to men who are aware of the main modern movements of thought. The author has read widely. But since his first loyalty must be given to traditional doctrine, he cannot quite feel the power which our modern ideal of unfettered search for truth exercises over men. Attempting to start from the eudæmonistic axiom that all men will seek their highest happiness, he asserts that true blessedness is to be found only by the path of intellectual certainty marked out by Thomas Aquinas. Thus all roads, even that of modern (?) psychology, lead to Rome. The book is an admirable example of literary skill and forceful composition; but no man who really lives in the modern thought-world will find much satisfaction in an argument, the conclusion of which can be foreseen from the start.

The wide influence which Bishop Butler exercised over theological thinking in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries furnishes ample justification for the publishing of two important volumes of his works<sup>11</sup> in the attractive series of the "English Theological Library" edited by Frederic Relton. Nowhere can the intellectualistic atmosphere of the eighteenth century be better noted than in the works of the great opponent of Deism. The analytic and argumentative form which he was compelled to adopt in order to reach his age often obscures the profundity of his spiritual insight, but his sermons make it evident that he loved to study life itself rather than books of argument. An exhaustive analysis of the train of thought given in the margin of the page, and an admirably complete table of contents for each volume, should make this edition of Butler's works a standard work of reference.

The Brooklyn Ethical Association has planned to issue a series of volumes, intended to give to the public the contents of several lectures delivered before that association by prominent men from the Orient and the Occident. The first volume in the series<sup>12</sup> contains an introduction

<sup>10</sup> *Exposition de la morale catholique: Le fondement de la morale; La béatitude.* Par E. Janvier. Paris: Lethielleux, 1903. 360 pages.

<sup>11</sup> *Sermons, Charges, Fragments, and Correspondence of Joseph Butler, D. C. L.,* Late Lord Bishop of Durham. xxxii + 351 pages.

*The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature;* to which are added two brief dissertations, (1) *Of Personal Identity*, (2) *Of the Nature of Virtue*, by Joseph Butler. London and New York: Macmillan, 1900. xxi + 313 pages.

<sup>12</sup> *The Ethics of the Greek Philosophers, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.* By James H. Hyslop. New York, Chicago, London: Published for the Brooklyn Ethical Association by Higgins & Co., 1903. xxvi + 331 pages. \$2.

by the editor, Charles M. Higgins, a lecture by Professor Hyslop covering sixty-seven pages, portraits of the philosophers discussed, extracts from their works, and a condensation of the life of Socrates from Stanley's *History of Philosophy*, published in London in 1701. The important feature of the book is Professor Hyslop's comprehensive and illuminating survey of the antecedents, general character, influence, and purpose of the great philosophical thinkers of ancient Greece. His analysis is keen and clear, and he distinguishes so carefully and states so concisely the distinctive teachings of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, that the reader, at one sitting, may possess himself of a good understanding of the contributions of these three philosophers to ethical science. It would be difficult to find a better brief presentation of the matter.

Evidences are multiplying that many of our thoughtful pastors are passing out of the stage of confusion and uncertainty which inevitably accompanies the dissolution of an authority-religion at the hands of scientific criticism. A recent volume<sup>13</sup> utters the triumphant note of one who finds the newer thought entirely satisfying. He disclaims any apologetic attempt to "reconcile science and religion." Such "reconciliation seems to him to be like an attempt to harmonize the fact of sunrise with the joy of walking and working in the light." After an admirable survey of the scientific and social movements which dominate our modern thought-world, the author proceeds to set forth Christianity as a religion of the Spirit. That this does not mean cutting loose from the historical basis of Christianity is shown by the witness of Scripture and of the Christian church. As Sabatier has put it, the New Testament becomes the "charter of the religion of the Spirit." The results of this spiritual conception of religion in the interpretation of Christian doctrine is given in some detail in the concluding chapters. The book is the best popular exposition of the fundamental issue in modern Christianity which has appeared from the American press.

A treatise on the sacraments by Professor Kähler<sup>14</sup> is interesting as showing how even a theologian who retains the conception of authority feels himself compelled to justify his conclusions to our age by showing their pragmatic value. The sacraments, he asserts, derive their primary right to exist from their authoritative institution by Christ. In the case

<sup>13</sup> *The Dynamic of Christianity: A Study of the Vital and Permanent Element in the Christian Religion*. By Edward Mortimer Chapman. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904. viii + 345 pages. \$1.25, net.

<sup>14</sup> *Die Sacramente als Gnadenmittel*. Von Martin Kähler. Leipzig: Böhme, 1903. 96 pages. M. 1.80.

of baptism it is necessary to hold to the authenticity of the post-resurrection commandment in Matt. 28:19, 20. The Lord's Supper would be meaningless without the resurrection of Christ. Thus it is necessary first to establish the historicity of the resurrection in order to admit the proper foundation of the sacraments. But even if divinely established, Kähler asserts that the sacraments are worthless to the individual unless capable of accrediting themselves as positive means of promoting the spiritual life. Their value in this sphere is expounded in accordance with Lutheran tradition. American readers will seriously question whether Christian experience will necessarily find in the sacraments any such significance as the author affirms. And when to this lack of pragmatic sanction is added the serious difficulties in the way of establishing all the links in Kähler's chain of historical argument, it would seem that the maintenance of the position here outlined is a serious task.

Two French scholars, MM. Hippolyte Hemmer and Paul Lejay, recognizing the great benefits which accrue from making accessible the important documents in the early history of Christianity, have undertaken to edit a series of "Textes et Documents pour l'étude historique du Christianisme." The first volume,<sup>15</sup> prepared by M. Louis Pautigny, contains the Greek text of the two Apologies of Justin with a French translation running parallel to it on the opposite page. A brief introduction and a well-selected index of important Greek words are added as helps. It would seem that a few explanatory notes would have added to the popular usefulness of the work. The copious bibliographies, however, are just what the academic student desires; and the editors' expressed purpose to keep the series entirely free from any *Tendenz* in theological interpretation is perhaps best served by allowing the text to bring its own message. The text used is that of Krüger (1904), with a few variations. The series will ultimately contain some forty volumes, covering the period from the apostolic age to the fifth century. The extraordinarily low price of the volumes puts the series within easy reach of students. It is to be hoped that the editors will meet with a wide response.

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<sup>15</sup> *Justin, Apologies*. Par Louis Pautigny. Paris: Picard, 1904. xxxvi + 198 pages. Fr. 2.50.

## THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE

In the first part of a suggestive book,<sup>1</sup> Lipsius subjects the prevalent religious theories of knowledge to a searching and destructive criticism by the application of the results of present-day psychology and logic. In the second part of his work he applies the same principles to dissolve the doctrines of theology, and determine the limits of a rationally grounded religious faith. Lipsius asserts that *die emotionale Theologie* fails to make good its claim to any peculiar source of religious knowledge or to any specific theological theory of knowledge. He concludes that *die rationale Theologie* has not bridged the yawning gulf to the transcendental, and the result attained must be the surrender of the religious view of the world. Moreover, the religious ideas of the supernatural are not only groundless, but, in our modern scientific view of the world, they are useless. For the religious view must have a God who is creator and director of the individual as of the whole; but the supernatural can have place in our scientific view of the world neither in the beginning nor in the process. The religious concept of God contains contradictions. God must be eternal, above time and space; but we have the contradiction of *einer zeitlosen Allzeitlichkeit und einer vollendeten Unendlichkeit*. Personality involves limitations, objects to overcome, discursive thinking, purposes to realize, and, as such, cannot be applied to God; and the same contradiction appears in the conception of absolute perfection. The man who recognizes the force of logic in divine things is obliged to surrender religious dogma. But Lipsius finds that we are compelled to posit the universality of law, or a principle of unity in the world. A necessity then not merely operates in the world to maintain a *status quo*, but may be conceived as an immanent idea of self-development, so that we may say that personalities represent the essence of the world. While we are not allowed to hypostasize this principle of unity into a being (*Wesen*) apart from the world, still in a symbolic way we may represent it by the God-idea. Lipsius concludes that if religion means the special guidance of the individual life, then the modern man must surrender it; but there is still necessity for religion as faith in the conformity of the world to law; and this faith is the basis of all thinking and moral action.

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<sup>1</sup> *Kritik der theologischen Erkenntniss*. Von Friedrich Reinhard Lipsius. Berlin: Schwetschke & Sohn, 1904. Pp. 212. M. 5.50.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

OSLER, WILLIAM. *Science and Immortality*. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904. Pp. 54. \$0.85, net.

The unusual distinction of the appointment of Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford University has recently been conferred upon Dr. Osler, whose little book is his Ingersoll Lecture at Harvard University in 1904. The simple and charming style of the writer, as well as his apt quotations from the masters, makes this book a delight to read. Dr. Osler gives a clear and concise statement of the bearing of present-day science upon the question of immortality. He wisely concludes that belief in immortality is a faith of the heart which can claim no scientific justification. But the number is possibly greater than the author estimates to whom this hope is a living reality. I cannot but feel that this hope in immortality has more influence in our present social life than Dr. Osler credits to it. Faith in immortality arises out of the religious experience, and its surrender means an alteration of that experience, to a degree at least, and a transformation of one's conception of God. How would this affect the religious life, and to what extent does religion conserve morality? While the influence is not as potent as many think, it seems to me that Dr. Osler has rated it unfairly.

INGE, W. R. *Faith and Knowledge*. London: Clark; New York: Scribner. Pp. 292. \$1.50, net.

*Faith and Knowledge* is the title which the author gives to his volume of twenty sermons upon various subjects, and indicates very well their intellectual and theological character. We have here a series of well-written sermons of rather more than ordinary power, calculated to aid those who have intellectual difficulties, and yet who are within the church and feel strongly the demands of the religious life.

BALLARD, FRANK. *The Miracles of Unbelief*. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1904. Pp. xxviii + 382. \$1, net.

A sixth edition. The first edition, appearing in 1900, was reviewed in the *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. V (1901), p. 602.

BESNARD, TH. *Le code de bonheur du Maître*. Paris: Lethielleux, 1903. Pp. vii + 242.

A devotional exposition of the Beatitudes, setting forth with rare beauty of expression current monastic ideals.

CALDECOTT, ALFRED, and MACKINTOSH, H. R. *Selections from the Literature of Theism*. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1904. Pp. x + 472. \$2.50, net.

A well-selected collection of extracts and translations from fifteen famous thinkers from Anselm to Ritschl, setting forth the various modern types of the theistic argument.

DIBELIUS, OTTO. *Das Vaterunser: Umrisse zu einer Geschichte des Gebets in der alten und mittleren Kirche*. Giessen: Ricker, 1903. Pp. viii + 180. M. 4.80.

This volume contains an extraordinary amount of most interesting information as to the ritualistic use of the Lord's Prayer in Christianity. Of especial value is the collection of hitherto unpublished expositions of the Lord's Prayer, taken from manuscripts in the Royal Library at Berlin.



KÄHLER, M. *Wie Hermann Cremer wurde!* Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1904. Pp. 93.  
A sympathetic sketch of the spiritual biography of the lamented theologian.

MACDONALD, ALEXANDER. *The Symbol of the Apostles: A Vindication of the Apostolic Authorship of the Creed on the Lines of Catholic Tradition.* New York: Christian Press Association Publishing Co., 1903. Pp. 377.

The "vindication" consists in asserting that the apostolic creed was kept secret as the center of the *disciplina arcana* until such time as the author can cite positive testimony for the Catholic tradition.

RAU, ALBRECHT, *Reformation und Renaissance: Ein Beitrag zur "Los von Rom" Bewegung.* Delitzsch: Walter. Pp. 116. M. 2.

A reply to Nietzsche's adverse judgment upon Protestantism. The argument consists in a vivid portrayal of the immorality of the Renaissance popes. Luther's moral greatness is exhibited by contrast.

SCHAEFER, ERICH. *Ueber das Wesen des Christentums und seine moderne Darstellungen* Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1904. Pp. 78.

A review of the controversy called forth by Harnack's famous lectures. The author sympathizes with Cremer's Pauline interpretation of Christianity.

SMYTH, EGBERT C. *Mary Griffin and Her Creed.* Worcester, Mass.: Hamilton, 1902. Pp. 18.

Dr. Smyth finds in the "Records for Baptism" 1695, that Mary Griffin accepted the Apostle's Creed. Being surprised at the appearance of the creed so early in our history, he is led to an investigation, which results in a most interesting and appreciative pamphlet on the creed and its influence on our religious life.

SMYTH, NEWMAN. *Through Science to Faith.* New York: Scribner, 1904. Pp. xx + 282. \$1.25, net.

A new edition of the work which first appeared in 1902. Reviewed in the *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. VI (1902), p. 608.

STEIN, DR. ISAAK. *Die Juden der schwabischen Reichsstädte im Zeitalter König Sigismunds, 1410-1437.* Berlin: Poppelauer, Pp. 74. M. 2.50.

Dr. Stein seeing the fragmentary condition of Jewish history in the cities of Swabia, seeks to make a contribution toward the unification of that history. Since the time of King Sigismund is central, he begins at that point.

ZÖCKLER, OTTO. *Die christliche Apologetik im neunzehnten Jahrhundert.* Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1904. Pp. vi + 123. M. 2.50.

A very readable collection of short biographies of fourteen leading German theologians, representatives either of the conservative or of the mediating school of theology.

BARTON, GEORGE AARON. *A Year's Wanderings in Bible Lands.* Illustrated with one hundred and forty-five views from photographs by the author. Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1904. Pp. 276. \$2, net.

BAUMGARTNER, ALEXANDER. *Geschichte der Weltliteratur.* Freiburg: Herder, 1904. Pp. 160. M. 1.20.

BERTHIER, J. *L'art d'être heureux.* Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1904. Pp. xlix + 465.

BETTEX, F. *The Miracle.* Translated by H. M. Burlington, Iowa: German Literary Board, 1900. Pp. 78. \$0.50.

BONAVENTURA. *Nachtwachen.* Berlin: Behr, 1904. Pp. 165. M. 3.50.

- DE LA BROISE, RENÉ MARIE. *La Sainte Vierge*. Paris: Lecoffre, 1904. Pp. vi+250. Fr. 2.
- DE LA PALMA, P. *Histoire de la Passion de Notre-Seigneur Jesus-Christ*. Paris: Lecoffre, 1904. Pp. 452.
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## THE LATEST PHASE OF THE CONTROVERSY OVER BABYLON AND THE BIBLE

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The controversy over Babylon and the Bible so far has passed through three principal stages. It began with the attack which Delitzsch made upon the superiority of the Old Testament in his first lecture. While finding much to praise in the cuneiform literature, he assigned to the Old Hebrew writings a subordinate place. He commended, for instance, the Babylonian representation of creation in the following words:

Here follows a splendid scene: After he has fastened on East and South, North and West, a gigantic net, in order that nothing escape from *Tiāmat*, the god Marduk, in glittering armor and enveloped with majestic splendor, mounts his chariot drawn by four fiery steeds, gazed upon in wonder by the gods round about.<sup>1</sup>

His audience must unconsciously have received the impression that the cuneiform creation epos contained the all-important conception of the world's beginning. But what was lacking? A comparison of the biblical text, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," with the Babylonian text. If the lecturer had only cited

<sup>1</sup> *Babel und Bibel*, Vol. I, p. 33.

even the first eight lines of the Babylonian epos! Then his hearers or readers would have become acquainted with the following:

When the heavens above were not yet named,  
 The firmament (the earth) below not called,  
 Apsû (the ocean) the very First, who begat them,  
 [And] Tiāmat, the archetype, which caused them all to be born,  
 Their waters mingled themselves together . . . . ,  
*When of the gods (not one) had as yet come into being,*  
 Had named no name, [had sealed] no fate,  
 Then *the gods were fashioned,*  
 Then [for the first time] Lachmu and Lachāmu, etc., came into being.<sup>2</sup>

If only these lines, even, had been given to the hearers or the readers of the lecture, then they would have been able to see for themselves that the Babylonians and Assyrians not only worshiped many gods, but also conceived of them as having come into existence only in the general world-process. Hearers or readers could then have themselves at once drawn the inference: The Babylonian conception of God by no means attained to the Old Testament God-idea, which is that of a divine spiritual being, existing before matter, who by sovereign impulse brings to realization a world-plan conceived by himself. It was especially such incompleteness of comparison between the Babylonian and Old Hebrew literature which characterized the first stage of the Babylon-Bible debate. This imperfection of the method of Delitzsch and others is made clear in detail in my last contribution to this discussion.<sup>3</sup>

The second stage of the campaign had as its most noteworthy element a violent onslaught against the center of the Old Testament, that is to say, the plan of salvation as revealed by God through the prophets. With reference to this Delitzsch had the courage to say:

This national-particularistic monotheism, which, though naturally it does not appear in such passages as the creation narrative, yet undeniably runs everywhere else through the whole Old Testament, from Sinai (Exod. 20:2) to Deutero-Isaiah's word, "Comfort ye, comfort ye, *my* people!" and as far as Zech. 8:23—this monotheism . . . . it is difficult to hold as "revealed" by a holy and righteous God—and yet from our childhood up we have all been so hypnotized

<sup>2</sup> P. Jensen, in *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vol. VI, Part 1, pp. 2 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Babel-Bibel-Frage und die wissenschaftliche Methode*. Gross-Lichterfelde, Berlin: Edwin Runge. M. o. 70.

by this dogma of the "sole citizenship of Israel" (Eph. 2:12) that we view the history of the old world in a totally distorted perspective.<sup>4</sup>

But what a misconception of man's guilt and the grace of God lies in such a charge against the Old Testament and against the whole Bible. Or does he think no account needs to be taken of the fact that men by impiety to their thousand-fold Benefactor could fall into guilt? Will he also deny him, who guides the world's history, the right to form according to his own wisdom the plan by which to call back to him the nations that are going astray from him? Neither of these questions can be answered in the affirmative, and therefore Delitzsch was not able to take the ground of Abraham Kuenen, who said: "Of the faith that God's hand is in all history, no one shall rob us."<sup>5</sup> Nor can a father who for a season allows a wayward child to seek its happiness in its own way be charged with taking no interest in the history of this child. No, such a father follows the fortunes of this child also with anxious solicitude, always ready to interpose for the good of the child, frequently indirectly, through good friends here and there, giving it some assistance, at any rate always holding out his hand to save it from sinking down in the gulf of perdition and opening the way for a possibly desired return to the father's house. Thus also may the heavenly Father embrace in his providence the nations which he "suffered to walk in their own ways." And with reference to the history of most of his children he has done and is still doing much more than this. Through nature he teaches the toiler of the field (Isa. 28:26). Through the heavens he declares his glory (Ps. 19:1). He was, therefore, and still is, an "educator of nations and teacher of men" (Ps. 94:10). Even to them he has not left himself without witness, etc. (Acts 14:16 f; Rom. 1:19 f; 2:14-16). But still, was not Israel preferred? No, not even that can be asserted. For in its history the law of the balance of rights and obligations has been confirmed with remarkable precision. For it the dictum, "Mighty ones shall be mightily chastised,"<sup>6</sup> has proved fully true, and to it the basic principle, "To whom-

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> *De Godsdienst van Israël*, Vol. II, pp. 358 f.: "Het geloof aan God in de geschiedenis laten wij ons niet ontnemen."

<sup>6</sup> *Wisd.* 6:7, *Δυνατοὶ θυμῶς ἐταπείνωται.*

soever much is given, of him shall much be required,"<sup>7</sup> has been rigorously applied. Rejoicing over the real alliance with the living God has often been drowned in Israel under lamentations over the frequent dissolution of this union incurred by man's guilt and the consequences which had then to be decreed by a righteous God. Finally, also the statement of Delitzsch that the history of the ancient world, if conceived in the light of Old Testament prophecy, is brought under a totally perverted point of view, is entirely devoid of truth. For even to ordinary common sense prophecy's perspective of the future appears as a very ideal point of view, since, according to it, *all* human endeavor has for its final goal the turning toward the temple-hill of the Eternal One (Isa. 2:2-4 and Mic. 4:1-3), the participation in the revelation of the living God (Zech. 8:23), and the extending of the circle of his worshipers at last from the rising to the setting of the sun (Mal. 1:11).

A theory very similar to that of Delitzsch has been advanced quite recently by A. Jeremias. The statement that the descendants of Abraham are to inherit salvation he declares to be of "later origin" and a "fatal dogma."<sup>8</sup> But this conclusion is refuted by the following reasons: (a) Even if only what I have lately gathered with reference to the trustworthiness of Israel's historical sense<sup>9</sup> is taken into consideration, it would be impossible to charge this people with having filled the fair pages of its annals with the products of its own phantasy. (b) Again, the above-mentioned basic principle of the Old Testament cannot be called a "dogma;" for by that we mean a product of human speculation, and the prophets, whose discourses are preserved in the Old Testament, protest so loudly against the idea that they are speaking from their own hearts, i. e., out of their own thought-processes, that the evolution of this so-called later religious dogma may not be imputed to them. (c) A. Jeremias calls this dogma a "fatal" one, because it led to "particularism." Nevertheless, it did not do this with proper representatives of the Old Testament principle. For already in the basic passage of

<sup>7</sup> Luke 12:48. Cf. also Rom. 2:12 and Matt. 19:30, "Many that are first shall be last."

<sup>8</sup> *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orient*, p. 225.

<sup>9</sup> *Glaubwürdigkeitsspuren des Alten Testaments*. Gross-Lichterfelde, Berlin: Edwin Runge, 1903. M. 0.75.



Abraham's call we read: "In thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed;" and with this agree not only the passages already cited, Isa. 2:2-4, etc; but Deutero-Isaiah has in addition to the words quoted by A. Jeremias<sup>10</sup> also such as these: "I have made thee for a light to the gentiles" (Isa. 49:6); or, "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples" (Isa. 56:7). And even he, with whom Old Testament prophecy, having fulfilled its mission, became silent, said as the interpreter of his God: "Great is my name among the gentiles" (Mal. 1:11). Consequently, it is not in harmony with historical truth that the basic principle of the Old Testament concerning Abraham's religious position should be called off-hand a "fatal dogma leading to particularism." And whom, pray, did this sentiment mislead into particularistic ways of thinking? It misled narrow-minded men who thought they might make bold to circumscribe the broad view of the religious plan of the prophets. One part of this plan, viz., that the true seed of Abraham was to be developed into a nursery of true religion and morality (Isa. 5:1-7), they held fast; but the other part, viz., that finally Israel was to become the center of a kingdom of God coextensive with all mankind, they suppressed. (d) Or was, perchance, the Old Testament statement concerning the important relation, religiously, of Abraham to Israel a "fatal doctrine," because the "preaching of John the Baptist and that of Jesus vigorously opposed it," as Jeremias adds? By no means. True, John warned the Pharisees and Sadducees, who approached him, not to rest the hope of salvation upon their Abrahamic descent (Matt. 3:9), because God could "of these stones raise up children to Abraham." In this, however, John meant only to condemn a false exploitation of this hope. Only those were to be startled who thought it safe to mix this hope with religious indifference and immorality. But the hope itself was not thereby declared undogmatic. (e) And this would not have been the case, even, if Christ had treated the goal of the spread of true religion without any reference to Abraham; for the history of true religion shows stages of development, and Christ not only perfected the demands of the old covenant (Matt. 5:17)—i. e., spiritualized it, made it a matter of the inner life—but he also transfigured many phases of prophecy. For one thing,

<sup>10</sup> Isa. 51:2, "For when he was but one, I called him."

he, as a matter of fact, completely freed the messianic kingdom from its earthly and worldly limitations (John 18:36). But it is not even true that Christ determined the scope of the redemption founded upon his death without any reference to Abraham's religious significance. When, in spirit, he sees the followers of the Roman centurion who distinguished himself by the abundance of his faith, he says that they shall sit at table with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob (Matt. 8:11). And he speaks also of the children to whom the bread of the gospel must first be offered (Matt. 15:26), and declares: "Salvation is from the Jews" (John 4:22).

Consequently, neither through Christ's expressions is the basic principle of the Old Testament in regard to Abraham's significance for the history of religion characterized as a "fatal doctrine," nor could the violent onslaught made against the prophetic center of the Old Testament in the second stage of the *Babel-Bibel* discussion break through that center.

The third stage of this debate is to be designated as the pan-Babylonistic stage. For this latest phase the way was already prepared by such sentences as Delitzsch's exclamation: "How altogether similar is everything in Babylon and the Bible."<sup>11</sup> It was hinted at also in words like Winckler's declaration: "The contemplation of the old Orient as one great unit [!] in the matter of civilization compels us to estimate also the intellectual movements which exhibited themselves in this realm from the point of view of the oneness of this sphere of civilization."<sup>12</sup> However, this latest phase of the controversy has been brought into the full light of day only through Otto Weber. He says, in the book cited below,<sup>13</sup> that the battle is only now beginning, and gives as its watchword the declaration: "Babylon and the Bible are emanations of a unitary world-concept;" words which he pronounces in the name of H. Winckler. At another place he formulates the program of his party as follows: "Babylon and the Bible are radiations from one common center of civilization, different indeed in their development and final form, but still clearly fruits of the same field."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 16 (in later editions, p. 18.)

<sup>12</sup> H. Winckler, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (1903), p. 208.

<sup>13</sup> *Theologie und Assyriologie im Streite um Babel und Bibel* (1904), pp. 5 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

With this program in hand he proposes the formal "incorporation" of Jerusalem with Babylon. Comparing the Old Hebrew civilization to a little hamlet and the Babylonian to a great city, he remarks:

Those who are in authority in the metropolis [meaning thereby the group of Assyriologists to which he counts himself] declare that the little hamlet without has Babylon's ways, Babylon's civilization, and is what it is only through Babylon, and that therefore they are about to extend their laws of government and conduct of life also to this organic part of their domain; here also exceptional laws are no longer to obtain.<sup>15</sup>

As a further reason for this proposal of incorporation he adds also this:

Canaan was at all times a province of the Babylonian realm of civilization. So Israel is and will remain what it always has been, viz., not an island behind a Chinese wall that has passed its existence untouched by the external world, but rather an open land into which Babylonianism found its way, as everywhere else, in the old Orient.<sup>16</sup>

This proposal of "incorporation" is subscribed to by Weber—according to his express statement—because he desires to advocate the fundamental view of H. Winckler. With this harmonizes the above-mentioned exclamation of Delitzsch: "How very similar is everything in Babylon and the Bible!" And A. Jeremias, too, joins this side, in so far as the alleged infection of the Old Hebrew literature with Babylonian astral-mythological conceptions is concerned.<sup>17</sup>

I have no desire to set over against this group the whole list of scholars who, in their publications, have not expressed the view that the civilization of Babylon and Israel is of the same kind. The names of Jules Oppert,<sup>18</sup> P. Keil,<sup>19</sup> C. F. Lehmann,<sup>20</sup> F. Hommel,<sup>21</sup> C. Bezold,<sup>22</sup> H. V. Hilprecht,<sup>23</sup> and, last but not least, P. Haupt, would here naturally come first. For even the last-named scholar has come to this final conclusion: "There will always remain a fundamental difference between Babylon and the Bible, which

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10 f.      <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>17</sup> *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orient* (1904), pp. 234, etc.

<sup>18</sup> *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung* (1903), pp. 303 f.

<sup>19</sup> *Zur Babel- und Bibelfrage* (1903).

<sup>20</sup> *Babyloniens Kulturmission einst und jetzt* (2d ed., 1905).

<sup>21</sup> *Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das Alte Testament* (1903), 2d ed.

<sup>22</sup> *Die babylonisch-assyrischen Keilschriften in ihrer Bedeutung für das Alte Testament* (1904).

<sup>23</sup> *Die Ausgrabungen des Bel-Tempel zu Nippur* (1903), pp. 72 ff.

cannot be eliminated by the results of critical research."<sup>24</sup> This list can easily be completed by the names of all those authors who in decisive points have acknowledged the difference between the Babylonian and Hebrew civilization, as is shown in my little book *Die Babel-Bibel-Frage und die wissenschaftliche Methode*. But, in any case, I am not going to content myself with merely opposing a list of names to the advocate of this proposition. I intend rather also to investigate the proposal itself independently.

Weber presupposes, as we have seen from his words above cited, that somebody has conceived of Israel's civilization as lying "behind a Chinese wall untouched by the world." But who can this somebody be? Or has he chosen this characterization of the opposing point of view simply for a dark foil in order to put his own conception into stronger light? I at least could name no one, that in our days has written in favor of the Old Testament, whose point of view could thus be fitly described. Even H. H. Kuyper, of Amsterdam, in his inaugural discourse on "Evolutie of Revelatie" (autumn, 1903), has acknowledged both the height and the far-reaching influence of the Babylonian civilization (pp. 30, 33). And with what readiness have I myself given credit to the fact that the original Babylonian home of Abraham contributed a large share to the warp and woof of Israelitish civilization in regard to language, poetic forms, weights and measures, and money, and even to parts of its cult and ancient traditions.<sup>25</sup>

But how are we to escape the fact that the comparison of the Babylonian and Old Hebrew civilization has also brought to light a series of differences? Here let us have some proofs.

It has been affirmed, to be sure, that the pre-Israelitic land of Canaan was already "completely under the domination of Babylonian civilization."<sup>26</sup> But I pointed out at once that the Canaanite-Phoenicians did not have the same month-names as the Babylonians and Assyrians, and, further, that while the pre-exilic month-names of the Hebrews agree with those of the Phoenician inscriptions, suddenly there appear in Hebrew literature, after the Babylonian

<sup>24</sup> *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (Baltimore, June, 1903), p. 49.

<sup>25</sup> For this see my book, *Bibel und Babel*, 10th ed., pp. 20-23.

<sup>26</sup> Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel*, Vol. I, p. 28.

exile, the same month-names which later were customary with the Babylonians. Similarly, in pre-exilic times the Hebrews began the new year in autumn, but after the exile, like the Babylonians, in the spring. Further, the Hebrews had the week of seven days, while "hitherto at least it has been impossible to prove for Babylon a seven-day week in this form."<sup>27</sup> There was "a unit of five days in place of the seven-day week."<sup>28</sup> As the language of the Canaanite-Phœnicians is different from Babylonian and Hebrew, so also is their writing. Among Phœnicians, Moabites (on the Mesa stone), and Hebrews (in the Siloam inscription, etc.) the direction of writing is from right to left; but Babylonian and Assyrian writing, on the contrary, runs from left to right. Next, from a most recent find by Theo. Pinches,<sup>29</sup> it now appears that the sabbath, or rest-day, of the Hebrews, running through the entire year, has a counterpart among the Babylonians and Assyrians only in so far that the fifteenth day of each month is designated by the term *šapattu*, the meaning of which, however, is not yet established, and on this day commercial transactions undoubtedly took place, such as, for instance, the drawing up and signing of contracts.

It is true, the Old Hebrew people were more or less attached to theories of divination—a thing by no means denied in its historical records; but while the spiritual élite of the Israelitish nation despised it, in Babylon, with its representatives and apparatus, divination was an official institution and regarded as the expression of the correct world-theory. Especially striking in this connection is this fact: Among the Babylonians and Assyrians astrology played the chief rôle in divination, but for the Israelites astrology is not even mentioned in the oldest sources among the forbidden forms of divination.<sup>30</sup> Only later, when, with the rise of the Babylonian world-power, intercourse between Israel and Babylon became closer, we hear warnings like these: "The way of (other) nations shall ye not learn and at the signs

<sup>27</sup> H. Zimmern, *Keilschriften und das Alte Testament* (1903), p. 594.

<sup>28</sup> H. Winckler, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

<sup>29</sup> *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XXVI, p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> The verb *נִחַן* at most signifies only the observations of *נִחַן*, i. e., the configurations and colorings of the clouds. Hub. Grimme conjectures, with little probability, that this verb designated some sort of jinn-magic (*Unbewiesenes im Babel-Bibel-Streite* [1903], p. 79).

(i. e., striking phenomena) of the heavens shall ye not be dismayed, since (only) the (other) nations are dismayed at them" (Jer. 10:2). Again, just as Israel's leading spirits were above astrology—not to mention star-worship—so were they above the idea that Deity may be represented through images. They rendered homage, without the mediation of the senses, to the spiritual principle from which the universe of visible phenomena received the beginning of its impulses and the plan of its evolution. "Behold, before him the nations are as a drop of a bucket;" "Wherein will ye give to the fulness of power an adequate likeness?" (Isa. 40:15, 18).

The religious cult and the political system of the Hebrews further show these additional peculiarities: Avoidance of honey in sacrifice (Lev. 2:11), which was a common votive offering of the Babylonians and of other peoples;<sup>31</sup> a special list of clean and unclean animals or conditions (Lev., chap. 11, etc.); circumcision of the eight-day-old boys (Gen. 17:12),<sup>32</sup> which among the Arabians was put off till much later, was a law for the priests only among the Egyptians,<sup>33</sup> and did not exist at all among the Babylonians and Assyrians; and, lastly, a peculiar conception of the earthly king as the mere representative of the heavenly king Yahweh (Exod. 15:18, "Yahweh shall be king;" Judg. 8:23, "Yahweh shall rule over you;" 1 Sam. 8:5, etc.).

Now, is not this already a considerable series of factors proving the uniqueness of the Hebrew civilization? That is the state of affairs even before we come to the realm of religious and moral concepts, wherein this civilization found its central sphere. Must now our estimate concerning Israel's place in the history of civilization in Asia Minor be changed if we consider this sphere? Let a few examples decide the question.

First, to devote a few words to the prophets whose discourses are contained in the Old Testament. They had so clear a consciousness of their unique relation to the sphere of the divine that they were bold to distinguish themselves, not only from the diviners and disciples

<sup>31</sup> P. Haupt, in Toy's *Commentary on Ezek.* 16:19.

<sup>32</sup> This distinction has been neglected by Delitzsch in *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 26.

<sup>33</sup> Rich. Reitzenstein, *Zwei religionsgeschichtliche Fragen* (1901), p. 45: "Dr. Fouquet tells me that up to this time he has never yet seen a circumcised mummy of a non-priest."

of the prophets (Am. 7:14), but even from other men who opposed them in the name of Yahweh (as Chananja in Jer., chap. 28). They had only one Lord, "before whom they stood," as Elijah the Tishbite (1 Kings 17:1), and they suffered themselves to be cast into prison, as did a certain Micaiah, the son of Imlah (1 Kings 22:6 ff), rather than deny the message that was given to them. It is true, Winckler takes the liberty of calling Amos a "political agent" and Jeremiah a "politician."<sup>34</sup> But it will be hard to come to a conclusion that more completely disregards the testimony of the sources. He has confused the prophets of Israel's true religion with those other prophets that were in the service of the king (1 Kings 22:6 ff., etc.), and whom the people called "their prophets" (Isa. 29:14). Winckler thereupon co-ordinates Jeremiah and men of like stamp (Jer. 7:25) with the Assyrian prophets. But the Assyrian to whom he points us for an example<sup>35</sup> speaks, for instance, these lines: "I, the servant, the prophet of the king, his lord (*bi-li-šu*), give utterance to these prophecies for the king my lord. The gods, whose names I have recited, shall receive (!) and hear for the king, my lord, these prophecies,"<sup>36</sup> etc. What a contrast to the words of the prophets of Israel's legitimate religion! They live and die for the certainty of their consciousness that they stand before (i. e., in the service of) the heavenly King, Yahweh. And where, then, are the Babylonian-Assyrian parallels to the prophetic books of the Old Testament, with their exalted religious and moral contents? Are they found, perhaps, in the collection of *omina*, of which especially two have been discovered in the library at Kuyunjik? One of these, for example, contains the words: "If in the month Elûl (about September) the winds blow from the first to the thirtieth day, there will be rain-floods and high water."<sup>37</sup> Behold there thy rival, O book of Isaiah! It is on this account that we hear even from a representative of the "advanced criticism," like T. K. Cheyne, the following judgment passed upon the prophets of the Old Testament:

This at least we may say without fear of contradiction, that a succession of men so absorbed in "the living God," and at the same time so intensely practical

<sup>34</sup> *Geschichte Israels*, Vol. I, pp. 91, 95, and *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (1903), pp. 170 f.

<sup>35</sup> *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 171, note.

<sup>36</sup> *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* (1898), pp. 257 f.

<sup>37</sup> C. Bezold, *Ninive und Babylon* (1903), pp. 84 f.

in their aims—i. e., so earnestly bent on promoting the highest national interests—cannot be found in antiquity elsewhere than in Israel.<sup>38</sup>

Now let us turn to consider, furthermore, some of the great principles which give to the prophetic religion of the Old Testament its chief characteristics, and to answer the question whether they are the fruits of the religion of Babylon.

The most fundamental of these principles is that of monotheism. Delitzsch also now admits that only in Israel did the monotheistic faith become a national religion.<sup>39</sup> But he has not yet given up his view that the Canaanitish tribes,<sup>40</sup> which settled in Babylon about 2250,<sup>41</sup> and from which afterward sprang Hammurabi himself,<sup>42</sup> had proper names in which monotheism manifests itself.<sup>43</sup> He makes out such a proper name especially in case of *Ilu-amranni*, "O God, look upon me."<sup>44</sup> But he has not taken into account that Hammurabi, and the people from whom he sprang were devoted to polytheism. This is now well known from Hammurabi's code of laws, where in the first three lines he mentions four gods. But those who are notoriously polytheists can use the term *ilu*, "god," only in the sense of "a god," for with the worshipers of many gods, "God," generically, does not exist in addition to them. He, therefore, who gave to his child the name *Ilu-amranni*, "O God, look upon me," called upon that god who in the situation in question occupied the foreground of his interest. This frequently occurs among polytheists, and long ago Max Müller gave to this phase of polytheism the term "henotheism."<sup>45</sup> The old literature of Babylon, accordingly, gives

<sup>45</sup> *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion* (as illustrated by the religions of India). London, 1880.

us no knowledge of any adherents of monotheism, and the assertion, "Beyond the river your fathers served other gods" (Josh. 24:2), has been confirmed. With Abraham began a new stage in the history of religion, and especially as a consequence of the supernatural deliverance of Israel from Egyptian bondage (Exod. 15:11; 18:11)

<sup>38</sup> *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. III (1902), col. 3854.

<sup>39</sup> *Babel und Bibel*, Vol. III, p. 16.

<sup>40</sup> The term "Canaanite" he has, on account of my objection, replaced with "North-Semitic."

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 46.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 29.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 46; Vol. III, pp. 16 f.

<sup>44</sup> Vol. I, p. 75.



—the swarm of gods and goddesses was so blown to the winds that the Hebrew language does not even possess a term for “goddess.”

Nor did the soil of Babylon afterward produce monotheism. Delitzsch, it is true, asserts that “free and enlightened spirits in Babylon openly taught that Nergal and Nebo, moon-god and sun-god and all other gods, are one in Marduk, the god of light.”<sup>46</sup> In this he has reference to a New Babylonian text in which a series of lines—as, e. g., *il Nergal Marduk ša kablu*—follow each other, and these words signify: the god Nergal is the Marduk of battle (i. e., when the former is viewed as the god of battle).<sup>47</sup> But with this the existence of the god Nergal is not denied. It is only affirmed that all those attributes and functions of the gods, enumerated under each other on the left in the cuneiform lines, are found also in Marduk. In this way Marduk, the city-god of Babylon, was glorified.

Thus neither the earlier nor the later literature of Babylon furnishes evidence that a monotheistic religion was known there. Consequently, here also the proposition to merge the Bible in Babylon<sup>48</sup> proves itself without foundation.

Another main idea of the Old Testament civilization is the unity of the human race—a view which has found expression in manifold ways. How plainly is it brought out in the well-known table of nations (Gen., chap. 10)! But neither must there be overlooked the comprehensive plan of history, embracing all nations, which is sketched, for example, in the words: “In thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed” (Gen. 12:3b). Therefore Adalbert Merx has justly said:

The final presupposition of the idea of universal history is the thought of the unity of mankind and of its unitary movement toward an appointed end, which, in each given moment, lies unattained in the future. Both these ideas have their origin in the Old Testament. What has here, before the eighth century B. C., been grasped by the Yahwist of Genesis (2:4b, etc.) and the oldest prophets, in the development of Greek thought comes to consciousness and expression

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 49.

<sup>47</sup> The meaning of this New-Babylonian text is explained in the same way by H. Zimmern in *Keilinschriften und Bibel* (1903), p. 34; Johns in the *Expository Times* (1903-4), p. 44 f; C. Bezold in *Die babylonisch-assyrischen Keilinschriften*, etc. (1904), pp. 33 f.

<sup>48</sup> In German, *Bibel in Babel*.—EDITORS.

only shortly before the first Christian century, in the pseudo-Aristotelian writing *Of the World*.<sup>40</sup>

The Hebrews furnished the chronological scaffolding of universal history. The Elohist (Gen. 5:1 ff.) has not simply adopted a Babylonian chronology; he has independently remodeled it to harmonize it with his own concept.

This universalistic conception of human history also is lacking from the Babylonian and Assyrian literature. As the idea of a first human pair is absent (Delitzsch, in deference to my objection,<sup>50</sup> has replaced this statement in the later editions of his *Babel und Bibel*<sup>51</sup> with "the first man"), so neither is there found a counterpart to the table of nations (Gen., chap. 10), though Delitzsch and others have been silent concerning this lack. And does the cuneiform literature perchance possess such a comprehensive perspective as the Old Testament? No. It is neither so comprehensive nor so elevated. For even if everything is taken into account that up to this moment has been adduced either from the myths or from the obscure statement of a cuneiform text<sup>52</sup> as showing a Babylonian-Assyrian forecast of the changes of future history, what, then, is proved? No more than that portions of the old world, outside of Israel, perceived the divine kinship of man and the inclination of the deities to heal sickness, or, in general, to remove evil. But these are "beggarly elements" (*στοιχειά πτωχά*) to compare with the rich and noble structure of prophecy, which appears in the Old Hebrew literature. For their perspective of the future has its goal in the restoration of harmony between God and the universal posterity of the woman (Gen. 3:15). And the deepest foundation for the reconciliation of human souls with their God lies, according to the Hebrew hope, in the "treading under foot" of the guilt of mankind (Jer. 31:34b; Ezek. 36:25; Mic. 7:19a).

These, according to my judgment, are sufficient materials with

<sup>40</sup> *Verhandlungen des XIII. Internationalen Orientalistenkongresses* (1904), pp. 195 f.

<sup>50</sup> Compare my *Bibel und Babel*, 10th ed., p. 27, note.

<sup>51</sup> Vol. I, p. 33.

<sup>52</sup> *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 3063: "Sea-coast against sea-coast, Elamite against Elamite, Cassite against Cassite, Kuthæan against Kuthæan, country against country, house against house, man against man. Brother is to show no mercy towards brother; they shall kill one another."

which to prove that the proposition to merge the Bible in Babylon is ungrounded.

But was the little Canaan able to obtain an independent significance in the history of mankind over against the powerful Babylon?

Strange as this question may appear to many, it must nevertheless be asked, because certain authors have recently expressed themselves as if the Israelitish civilization were, as a matter of course, a mere offshoot of Babylonianism. Among other things we read:

The little nation of Israel never played any important part politically. . . . Even for the development of its own civilization the prerequisites are absent. The territory is too small. There are no rivers to serve as the natural highways of commerce. Its natural boundaries separate it to the north from its tribal kinsmen, who are more highly civilized, because dwelling closer to civilization, while Israel, on the contrary, is more exposed to the desert and its nomadic hordes. On the other hand, it does not lie isolated enough to remain untouched by the course of traffic and conquest.<sup>53</sup>

In answer to this it needs only be asked incidentally: Which element of a civilization determines its real height? Does not, for instance, the princess Tamar say rightly, "No such thing ought to be done in Israel" (2 Sam. 13:12)? And did not Isaiah justly utter warnings against the influences from East and West (Isa. 2:6)? But the main question is the following: Is the political and, especially, the cultural importance of a country dependent upon its external extent? How small were the Greek states compared with the Persian empire, and yet they successfully opposed that colossus. Again, has the intellectual influence of the Hellenic peoples been in proportion to their numerical smallness? No, the dwarf in external extent has become a giant in his importance for civilization. Or can the possibility of the independent civilization of Israel be questioned by referring to the example of Switzerland, as does H. Winckler?<sup>54</sup> To this replies Oettli,<sup>55</sup> no doubt with entire justice, that though Switzerland has received "decisive impulses from the great civilized states between which it lies," it in the main has followed its own genius, and in more modern times has even itself imparted impulses

<sup>53</sup> H. Winckler, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 5.

<sup>54</sup> *Abraham als Babylonier, etc.* (1903), p. 12.

<sup>55</sup> *Beweis des Glaubens* (1904), p. 120. Cf. my booklet, *Die Babylonische Gefangenschaft der Bibel als beendet erwiesen* (Stuttgart: Max Rielmann, 1905).

in different directions. And was it not seen in the case of Greece, that, as a conquered land, it gave laws to the victorious Roman Empire? The same may have been the purpose of the Yahweh-people in the moral and religious sphere of civilization. And it has been that.

So also from this external point of view the religious preponderance of the Old Testament cannot be disputed, and therefore it is to be hoped that this latest phase of the Babylon-Bible discussion also be its last, and that the prophetic core of the old Hebrew literature will in the future be acknowledged as a most important leaven in human civilization.

## THE SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE PAPAL PENITENTIARY

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In the later Middle Ages the papal penitentiary was one of the most significant institutions of the central government of the Roman church. Originally simply the means for the administration of penance for the pilgrims and penitents who came to Rome, the sphere of the penitentiary was greatly extended in the course of the thirteenth century by the various decretals which reserved to the Pope the sole power of absolution and dispensation in the case of a large number of violations of ecclesiastical law and thus drew to Rome an ever-growing stream of offenders from every part of Catholic Christendom. To most of these petitions for relief it was quite impossible, and indeed unnecessary, for the Pope to give personal attention; the greater part of his jurisdiction was delegated to various officials, and finally to a cardinal major penitentiary, who had under him various minor penitentiaries, an expert doctor of canon law, and a whole body of clerical subordinates—*procuratores*, *scriptores*, *correctores*, *sigillatores*, *distributores*, etc.—the whole forming by the beginning of the fourteenth century a distinct and well-organized bureau of the papal administration. Down to the year 1569, when it was forced to give up its jurisdiction over the *forum externum* and confine itself to the *forum conscientiae*, this bureau was a very busy body, and it deserves study not only as a branch of the papal government, but also as an influence of the first importance upon the moral life of Europe.

Unfortunately, the existing accounts of the penitentiary are far from satisfactory. There is no monograph on the subject,<sup>1</sup> and the standard manuals and encyclopædias of ecclesiastical law and institutions give no adequate idea of the development of the penitentiary,

<sup>1</sup>Petra, *De Sacra Poenitentiaria Apostolica* (Rome, 1712), is of very little use.

and treat with the greatest brevity the earlier and much more interesting period of its history.<sup>2</sup> Even the last twenty-five years, when research in the Vatican archives has been so fruitful for the study of every other phase of the history and organization of the church in the later Middle Ages, have produced comparatively little upon the penitentiary. Some light has, it is true, been thrown upon the formularies<sup>3</sup> and taxes of the office,<sup>4</sup> but no systematic explorations have been undertaken. Quite recently—indeed, since the present study was begun—indications have appeared of renewed interest in the history of the penitentiary,<sup>5</sup> and there is reason to expect that the subject will soon receive from scholars something of the attention that it deserves. So long, however, as the sources remain for the most part unknown and unpublished, work must be carried on at a considerable disadvantage; and the present paper has been prepared in the belief that, as matters now stand, investigation can be most rapidly advanced by giving a general survey of the manuscript and printed material available for the history of the penitentiary, and noting some of the directions in which research can most profitably be pursued.

<sup>2</sup> The fullest accounts are in Phillips, *Kirchenrecht* (Regensburg, 1864), Vol. VI, pp. 508–26; Hinschius, *Kirchenrecht* (Berlin, 1869), Vol. I, pp. 427–32; von Scherer, *Handbuch des Kirchenrechts* (Graz, 1886), Vol. I, pp. 498–500; Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-ecclesiastica* (Venice, 1851), Vol. LII, pp. 58–80. See also Lea's introduction to his *Formulary* (see below) and his *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences* (Philadelphia, 1896), Vol. II, pp. 161–67. As a sample of the treatment in the encyclopædias see the single sentence devoted to the subject in Hauck-Herzog, *Realencyclopädie*, XI, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Lea, *A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary in the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1892); Eubel, "Der Registerband des Cardinalgrosspönitentiars Bentevenga," *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht*, Vol. LXIV (1890), pp. 3–69; Lecacheux, "Un formulaire de la pénitencerie apostolique au temps du Cardinal Alborno," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, Vol. XVIII (1898), pp. 37–49.

<sup>4</sup> Denifle, "Die älteste Taxrolle der apostolischen Pönitentie," *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, Vol. IV (1888), pp. 201–38; Lea, "The Taxes of the Papal Penitentiary," *English Historical Review*, Vol. VIII (1893), pp. 424–38.

<sup>5</sup> Göller, "Zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Pönitentie unter Clemens VI.," *Römische Quartalschrift*, Vol. XVII (1903), pp. 413–17; Lang, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der apostolischen Pönitentie im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert," *Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Ergänzungsband VII (1904), pp. 20–43; cf. also his *Acta Salzburgo-Aquilejensia* (in the "Quellen und Forschungen zur österreichischen Kirchengeschichte," Graz, 1903), Vol. I, p. xci.

In examining the sources for the history of the papal penitentiary the investigator is seriously hampered at the outset by the fact that the archives of the penitentiary are not open to examination and are likely to remain permanently closed to historical research. How much of value for the mediæval period is thereby withheld it is impossible to say, but the loss, though serious, is not fatal. Besides the material contained in the records of other departments of the papal administration, and the documents sent out from the penitentiary in the natural course of business, so much from the archives of the penitentiary itself has in one way and another wandered from its natural home into the library and archives of the Vatican and other depositories, that a body of sources of considerable extent and variety is available for illustrating the organization and activities of this bureau. As an organized department of the papal administration the penitentiary, like the Camera, was an offshoot of the chancery, and as such it naturally tended to adopt a similar form of organization and to keep its records in the same general way. So, like the chancery, the penitentiary had its originals and its registers, its manuals and formularies and tariffs of fees; and comparison of the similar types is well worth following out. The accessible records of the penitentiary, however, are much less abundant than those of the chancery, and in some fields documents seem to be almost entirely lacking.

In the first place, no one has yet attempted to collect or study the original letters issued from the penitentiary. Inasmuch as these related to individuals rather than to institutions and were of an essentially temporary sort, the chances of their preservation are much less than in the case of the bulls which emanated from the chancery; but if efforts are made, it ought to be possible to get together from the larger European archives and libraries a fair number of original acts of the penitentiary. The originals published from the archives at Vienna by Lang<sup>6</sup>—the only editor of papal documents who appears to have paid any attention to the penitentiary—show what we may expect when work in this direction is seriously undertaken. The earliest original which I have noted is a letter of the year 1217 issued under the seal of the penitentiary Nicholas of

<sup>6</sup> Lang, *Acta Salzburgo-Aquilejensia*, Vol. I, Nos. 34d, 53b, 139c, 229a, 283ab, 292b, 339a, 372a, 389a. Cf. the introduction, pp. xxi, xci.

Casamari to those who accompanied Louis of France on his expedition to England.<sup>7</sup>

Concerning the registers of the penitentiary we are at present in almost total ignorance. Whereas the registers of the chancery are preserved in a practically continuous series since 1198, it is impossible to say when the penitentiary began to keep registers of its letters, or how many of such registers are now in existence. No doubt this is one of the points upon which the archives of the bureau could throw most light. The constitution of Benedict XII, which provides in much detail for the organization and procedure of the penitentiary,<sup>8</sup> says nothing in regard to the registration of its acts; but the numerous letters contained in the formularies of the bureau presuppose some regular method of preserving them. We know that registers of letters and petitions were regularly kept in the time of Eugene IV, but we also know that these registers were not complete, for a bull of July 1, 1438, ordered that certain types of letters and petitions which had not previously been registered should henceforth be copied into the regular books.<sup>9</sup> The only register to which attention has so far been called is a manuscript of Cardinal Bentevenga, pub-

<sup>7</sup> Archives Nationales, J. 655, published by Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des chartes* (Paris, 1863), Vol. I, p. 450, No. 1241. For other seals of the penitentiary see Teulet, Vol. III, p. 417, No. 4423; Douët d'Arcq, *Collection de sceaux* (Paris, 1867), Nos. 6247-50; Lang, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 34d, 229a. An original dispensation of 1454 is noted by Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, Vol. I, p. 769, n. 1. See also the act of Egidius, penitentiary of Innocent IV, inserted in a bull of Alexander IV in Bourel de la Roncière, *Régestes d'Alexander IV* (Paris, 1902), No. 25.

<sup>8</sup> Constitution *In agro dominico*, edited by Denifle, *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. IV, p. 209.

<sup>9</sup> "Recensentes quod ex eo quod nonnullæ littere per penitentiariam nostram petentibus concedi solite, videlicet quæ absolutionem ab excommunicationis sententia aut dispensationem super irregularitate continent et quæ de sententiis generalibus pro presentibus in forma assertive et *Si inveneris* pro absentibus et quæ *Licet non credat vel recolat* pro eisdem presentibus et absentibus et quæ declaratorie nuncupantur, sive earum supplicationes, non registrabantur, de quibus cum forte eas perdi contingeret sufficiens in Romana curia vel alibi fides fieri non poterat; Voluimus et ordinavimus quod predictæ sicut aliæ eiusdem penitentie littere sive earum supplicationes in libris solitis extunc inantea debite registrarentur prout iam registrantur."—Bull *Prudens paterfamilias* of July 1, 1438. Vatican Library, Fondo Vaticano, MS Lat. 3994, f. 88; MS Lat. 5744, f. 101 v; MS Reg. Svec. 1796, f. 133v.



lished by Eubel,<sup>10</sup> which contains various documents issued by him as major penitentiary between the years 1279 and 1289. Even this volume, analogous in some ways to the registers of cardinal legates which have come down from the thirteenth century,<sup>11</sup> is not properly a register, but, as its editor has pointed out, has rather the character of a formulary, being designed to present significant types of documents rather than to record the activity of an office.

While, then, there is but little that is available in the form of originals or registers, we are much more fortunately situated in regard to the ordinary working-tools of the bureau, from which information concerning its organization and practice must chiefly be sought. Every *scriptor* was required, within two months after he entered upon his duties, to provide himself with a copy of the tax-list of the penitentiary and of the papal constitutions relating to it, and within six months he was obliged to possess a copy of the faculties and concessions defining the powers of the major and minor penitentiaries, as they were to be found in the *Liber penitentie*, as well as the official formulary of the penitentiary and the formulary of minor letters.<sup>12</sup> We must now inquire what these various works were, and how they have come down to us.

<sup>10</sup> Eubel, "Der Registerband des Cardinalgrosspönitiars Bentevenga," *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht*, Vol. LXIV (1890), pp. 3-69. For a similar formulary drawn up from the register of Cardinal Albornoz, see the *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, Vol. XVIII (1898), pp. 37-49.

<sup>11</sup> Levi, *Registri dei Cardinali Ugolino d'Ostia e Ottaviano degli Ubaldini*, Rome, 1890 (in the "Fonti per la Storia d'Italia"). Hampe, "Aus einem Register des Cardinals Ottobonus von S. Adrian," *Neues Archiv*, Vol. XXII, pp. 337-72; Graham, "Letters of Cardinal Ottoboni," *English Historical Review*, Vol. XV (1900), pp. 87-120. Register of Guido de Sabina, legate in England in 1264, in Heidemann, *Papst Clemens IV.* (Münster, 1903), pp. 182-248.

<sup>12</sup> "Item quilibet scriptor novus infra duorum mensium spacium a die receptionis sue copiam constitutionis felicitis recordationis domini Benedicti pape xii et copiam taxationum litterarum penitentie et aliarum constitutionum super officio penitentie editarum et edendarum, et infra quatuor mensium spacium a lapsu dictorum mensium computando potestatem maioris et minorum penitentiarii et concessionis de generali et de speciali que scripte sunt in libro penitentie, necnon formularium litterarum penitentie correctum et reformatum de mandato felicitis recordationis domini Benedicti pape xii predicti. . . . formularium quoque litterarum minoris officii penitentie infra eundem terminum quatuor mensium teneantur habere, et pro posse alia que eis ad usum et exercitium dicti officii fuerint opportuna."—Ravenna, MS 470, f. 26v; Vatican, Fondo Vaticano, MS Lat. 2663, f. 36v.

From the account just given of the contents of the *Liber penitentie* it seems clear that this name was applied to a kind of manual for the use of the bureau which resembled in some respects the *Liber provincialis* of the chancery.<sup>13</sup> In some of the manuscripts of this manual it is called a "formularium," but the name is plainly incorrect, as the compilation is not a set of forms, but a collection of acts of Popes and penitentiaries relating to the jurisdiction and functions of the office. There are three principal editions of this manual, belonging respectively to the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. The first was issued April 8, 1338, by direction of Benedict XII, in connection with his reorganization of the bureau.<sup>14</sup> It begins with this Pope's new statute for the penitentiary—the constitution *In agro dominico*—and the new tax-list prepared by his authority.<sup>15</sup> These are followed by the privileges of the penitentiaries, the regulations adopted by them for their own government, and a calendar of the days when they do not sit to hear confessions.<sup>16</sup> Then comes a document of prime importance, the so-called *Summa* of Nicholas IV, issued in 1291 and modified to some extent by the Popes of the next half-century, which defines the powers of the major

<sup>13</sup> On which see Erler, *Der Liber Cancellariae Apostolicae vom Jahre 1380* (Leipzig, 1888); Bresslau, *Urkundenlehre*, Vol. I, pp. 253 ff.; and Tangl, *Die päpstlichen Kanzleiordnungen* (Innsbruck, 1894).

<sup>14</sup> "Formulare penitenciariorum editum in Avinione ex ordinacione et mandato sanctissimi domini nostri domini Benedicti divina providencia pape xii sexto ydus aprilis pontificatus eiusdem anno quarto."—Vatican Library, MS Reg. Svec. 1796, f. 1; Fondo Vaticano, MS Lat. 3994, f. 1; MS Lat. 5744, f. 3; University of Rome, MS 119, f. 3. In MS 583 of the library of the University of Graz, ff. 1, 30v, it is called "liber seu formularius."

<sup>15</sup> This redaction is found in MS Lat. 415 of the Hofbibliothek at Vienna, ff. 1-37v (fourteenth century, parchment, 121 folii), where it precedes the formulary proper of Benedict XII, and in two manuscripts of the fourteenth century in the library of the University of Graz: MS 583, paper, completed in 1393 (cf. Lang, *Beiträge*, p. 23, note, where the number is wrongly given as 538); and MS 1430, parchment, 108 folii, written before 1381 and containing some additional matter (evidently not seen by Lang). It also forms the first part of the later redactions of the *Liber* in all the MSS cited below. See also MS Vat. Lat. 6290, ff. 4-42v; MS. Ottoboni 333, ff. 83ff.

<sup>16</sup> Both are printed by Denifle in the *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, Vol. IV, pp. 209 ff. On the tax-list see below, p. 444.

<sup>17</sup> Thus in MS Vat. Lat. 3994: f. 18v, "Privilegia penitenciariorum;" f. 19, "Secuntur ordinationes penitenciariorum ad bonum regimen eorumdem;" f. 23v, "Quibus diebus penitenciarum non sedent."

and minor penitentiaries, and enumerates the cases which fall within their respective spheres of activity.<sup>18</sup> The second redaction<sup>19</sup> starts with the manual as it existed in the time of Benedict XII, and carries it through the next hundred years, adding the new concessions and reservations of the Popes and the statutes of the major penitentiaries, as well as various extracts from the canon law, from Gratian to the Clementines, dealing with matters which concerned particularly the duties of the penitentiary.<sup>20</sup> The manuscripts close with the legislation of Eugene IV for the penitentiary and the statutes of the major penitentiary, Jordanus Orsini.<sup>21</sup> The third redaction is a

<sup>18</sup> This forms the central point of Lang's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der apostolischen Pönitentiare*.

<sup>19</sup> The redaction made in the time of Eugene IV is found in the following Vatican MSS of the fifteenth century: Fondo Vaticano, MS Lat. 5744, paper, 106 folii (f. 104v, "Explicit formulare totum Deo gratias. Fuit completum die ii<sup>a</sup> Augusti anno domini M<sup>o</sup> cccc<sup>o</sup> xlix<sup>o</sup> Rome"). MS Lat. 3994, parchment, 90 folii, formerly (f. 90v) the property of a cardinal of Santa Croce (probably Dominicus Capranica, to whom MS Ravenna 470 likewise belonged). Reg. Svec. MS 1796, paper, not foliated, but containing 140 folii. This redaction also forms the first part of the sixteenth-century redactions mentioned below, in one of which the signature of the scribe has been copied (University of Rome, MS 119, f. 87): "Ad mandatum reverendorum dominorum penitentiarium minorum domini nostri pape ego minimus frater Michael Benedicti ordinis Cisterciensis transcripsi formulare istud ab antiquo officii penitentiarium formulario fideliter integre et complecte. Florentii anno domini M<sup>o</sup> cccc<sup>o</sup> xl, die xxiii septembris, pontificatus domini nostri domini Eugenii pape quarti anno decimo, existente priore penitentiarium fratre Rodolfo Johannis de civitatis (sic) Castelli."

<sup>20</sup> Some of these additions are found in MSS of the first redaction of the *Liber* (MSS Graz, 583, f. 18, and 1430, ff. 65, 65v: "Explicit formularius penitentie. Incipit decretum abbreviatum"), and are noted by Lang, *Beiträge*, pp. 24-29. Worthy of note is the statute of the major penitentiary, John, cardinal priest of SS. Nereo and Achilleo, dated July 18, 1374. MS Vat. 3994, f. 81; MS Reg. Svec. 1796, f. 122.

<sup>21</sup> "Sequitur institutio penitentiarium sub certo numero per dominum Eugenium quartum et de privilegiis immunitatibus exemptionibus per eundem dominum papam eisdem penitentiariis concessis. Eugenius episcopus servus servorum Dei. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Ad sacram Petri sedem . . . Datum Florentie anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo quinto, decimo septimo kalendas novembris, pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

"Sequitur statutum et ordinatio reverendissimi domini Jordani de Ursinis miseratione divina episcopi Sabinensis cardinalis et maioris penitentiarii domini pape Eugenii iiii super receptione et examinatione minorum penitentiarium. In nomine Domini Amen. Die quinta decima mensis octobris anno domini M<sup>o</sup> cccc tricesimo quinto. . . .

"Hic sequuntur bulle emolumentorum assignatorum penitentiariis per sanctissimum dominum nostrum Eugenium papam quartum. Eugenius episcopus servus

copy of the second,<sup>22</sup> which takes up the continuation with the bull *Provida Romani* of Sixtus IV, November 1, 1473, and ends with a breve of Julius III of March 1, 1552.<sup>23</sup>

Different from any of these redactions, and containing some additional material, is a kind of manual prefixed to the formulary which was prepared by Walter of Strassburg at the beginning of the Schism and used far into the fifteenth century. Besides a provincial and the *In agro dominico* and tax-list, this contains various *constitutiones et statuta officii*, rules to be observed in drawing up letters, and the detailed series of concessions to the major penitentiaries and their substitutes under Urban V, Gregory XI, and Urban VI,<sup>24</sup> supplemented in one manuscript by faculties and constitutions of Popes from Nicholas V to Paul II.<sup>25</sup>

The capital importance of the *Liber penitentiarius* for the history of the penitentiary is at once evident from this brief indication of servorum Dei dilectis filiis collegio minorum penitentiarius capellanorum nostrorum curiam Romanam sequentium salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Devotionis vestre sinceritas . . . Datum Florentie anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo quinto, decimo septimo kalendas novembris, pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

"Sequitur bulla secunde gratie eisdem minoribus penitentiariis facta per dominum nostrum Eugenium papam quartum. Eugenius episcopus servus servorum Dei. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Prudens paterfamilias . . . Datum Ferrarie anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo octavo, kalendis julii, anno octavo."

Fondo Vaticano, MSS Lat. 3994, ff. 83v-88; 5744, ff. 95-102v; 6347, ff. 195-202; MS Reg. Svec. 1796, ff. 126v-135v. For collating these MSS. I am indebted to the abbé J. Fraikin.

<sup>22</sup> "Hucusque durat liber Vaticanae Bibliothecae." MS Vat. Lat. 6347, f. 204v. Cf. the signature at the end of this portion of MS 119 of the University of Rome, printed above, note 19.

<sup>23</sup> The redaction which brings the manual down to the pontificate of Julius III, is found in the Vatican library, Fondo Vaticano, MS Lat. 6347, ff. 99-235; in the Vatican archives, Biblioteca Borghese, Ser. IV., No. 14, paper, 127 folii; and in the library of the University of Rome, MS 119, paper, 115 folii. The last-named MS is cited by Petra, *De Sacra Poenitentiaria Apostolica*, but he plainly made small use of it.

<sup>24</sup> Vatican, Fondo Vaticano, MS Lat. 2663, ff. 4-71; MS Lat. 5737, ff. 1-63; Ravenna MS 470, ff. 1-52, and cf. ff. 264v-311v. On these MSS see below, note 74.

Attention should also be called to the "Beilage A" to Lang's *Beiträge*, printed from a MS in Graz, and to the material from the years 1429 to 1461 in the MS of the *Lumen Confessorum* in the library of St. Peter's (*Römische Quartalschrift*, Vol. XI, p. 273).

<sup>25</sup> MS Ravenna 470, the first two (unnumbered) folii.

its contents. Nowhere else can we trace the organization of the bureau and the functions of its various officials, as they were developed and modified at the hands of successive Popes and major penitentiaries—a field of investigation in which almost everything still remains to be done. But while the *Liber penitentiarie* shows us the structure of the institution, it is to the formularies that we must turn for its actual workings as an element in the moral government of the Papacy. Before the formularies can be used to advantage, it is, however, necessary to distinguish the different types and the successive redactions in which they appear.

The earliest known formulary of the penitentiary is the *Forme Romane curie composite a magistro Thomasio bone memorie presbitero cardinali super casibus penitentie*, discovered and published by Henry C. Lea in 1892.<sup>26</sup> As this has been printed in full, with elaborate introduction and notes, it is not necessary to dwell upon its contents here further than to say that it is a general collection of forms of letters for the use of the officers of the penitentiary, comprising 355 forms, distributed under 179 rubrics, which cover the various types of cases coming before the bureau in its administration of penance. In many of the forms the statement of the facts of the case is fairly full and specific, so that characteristic traits of the social and moral conditions of the time appear more frequently than in the later formularies. Lea assigns the forms to the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and ascribes the authorship of the collection to Jacobus Thomasius Gaetanus, cardinal priest of S. Clemente from 1295 to 1300. The editor's conclusion regarding the period to which the forms belong is sound, and perhaps sufficiently definite, although in the case of such letters as furnish specific indications of date the chronological limits may be drawn somewhat closer. With one possible exception,<sup>27</sup> there is no reason why any of these

<sup>26</sup> Lea, *A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary in the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1892). I have collated the text with the manuscript in Mr. Lea's possession, and have searched without success for other copies. It is remarkable that the only manuscript which has been found of the earliest known monument of the penitentiary should be in Philadelphia.

<sup>27</sup> No. CXXI may very well be anterior to 1234, when the principle involved received its final formulation in the Decretals of Gregory IX (C. 9 X. de cons. et aff., IV, 14; ed. Friedberg, Vol. II, col. 704). Cf. Thaner, in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*,

should necessarily be placed before 1234, while those which mention the *novum jus* of Gregory IX<sup>28</sup> and the legateship of the archbishop of Ravenna in the Holy Land<sup>29</sup> cannot be earlier than this year. Subsequent events to which reference is made are the town and gown riot at Orleans in 1236,<sup>30</sup> the levy of 1238 for the aid of the Latin empire,<sup>31</sup> and the troubles with the king of Portugal<sup>32</sup> in 1238 and 1239. The forms addressed to Robert le Bougre fall after 1233, and probably after 1235.<sup>33</sup> The latest date<sup>34</sup> which we are compelled to assign to any of the forms appears to be the vacancy in the see of Lisbon in 1243 and the beginning of 1244.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, of the cardinals mentioned, John of S. Prassede<sup>36</sup> died in 1245, Jacobus of Palestrina<sup>37</sup> in 1244, and Thomas of Capua<sup>38</sup> in 1239, 1893, p. 901. The problem was an old one in Dalmatia; Richter, *Kirchenrecht*<sup>8</sup> (Leipzig, 1886), p. 1088, n. 18.

I can see no decisive ground for Lea's identification of the bishop of Norwich to whom No. LXXVI is addressed with Bishop Pandulph, who died in 1226.

<sup>28</sup> No. LI.

<sup>29</sup> No. LXIII.

<sup>30</sup> No. XV, 3. Lea relates this to the troubles with the Pastoureaux in 1251, but there was a serious disturbance in 1236, and the dates of the other letters in the collection make it more likely that the reference is to this event. See Fournier, *Statuts et privilèges des universités françaises* (Paris, 1890), Vol. I, p. 3.

<sup>31</sup> No. LXIV. Cf. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin, 1903), p. 284.

<sup>32</sup> No. XCI. No. VI, 2, was probably issued after the vacancy in the see of Burgos which extended from 1238 to 1240, and No. VII in the vacancy at Limoges between 1236 and 1240.

<sup>33</sup> Nos. XXXV, 1, 2; XXXVIII, 2. See Haskins, "Robert le Bougre and the Beginnings of the Inquisition in Northern France," *American Historical Review*, Vol. VII (1902), pp. 437-57, 631-52.

<sup>34</sup> Lea (p. xxxiii) assigns No. XLI to 1255 or later, but Fredericq has shown that the papal constitution here cited was issued as early as 1231 (*Corpus Inquisitionis Neerlandicae*, Ghent, 1896, Vol. II, No. 21).

<sup>35</sup> No. XCI, 2. The interdict mentioned in this form was laid early in 1238 and remained in force until the following year. The bishop's death would seem to have occurred early in 1243, as the dispute over the choice of his successor had gone on for some time before October of that year and was not settled until March 1, 1244. See Raynaldi, *Annales*, 1238, Nos. 48-51, 1239, Nos. 59-63; Potthast, *Regesta*, Nos. 10966, 11162; Berger, *Régestes d'Innocent IV* (Paris, 1884), Vol. I, No. 521; Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica* (Münster, 1898), p. 535.

<sup>36</sup> Nos. LXIV; LXVI, 2; LXVII.

<sup>37</sup> Nos. LXXVI, 2; LXXXVI. His legateship in Hungary was in 1232 and 1233; if he was still bishop-elect when No. LXXVI, 2, was issued, this form would be anterior to his consecration in 1235.

while Gaufredus of S. Mark's<sup>39</sup> was translated to the see of Sabina in 1239. The letter addressed to the Franciscan general Elias<sup>40</sup> obviously antedates his deposition in 1239, and the mention of the proposed crusade of Simon de Montfort<sup>41</sup> cannot be later than the earlier months of 1240. So far as it is possible to judge the collection as a whole from the forms which can be dated with some degree of accuracy, it falls within the years 1234 and 1243; indeed, as only one case carries us beyond 1240, we may say that practically all of the datable matter belongs to the latter half of the pontificate of Gregory IX.<sup>42</sup>

The attribution of the formulary to Jacobus Thomasius Gaetanus seems to rest solely upon the name Thomasius, but, as a matter of fact, this cardinal was currently known as Jacobus and not as Thomasius.<sup>43</sup> There is nothing to connect him with the penitentiary, Matthias of Acquasparta having been major penitentiary during his cardinalate; and it would be quite remarkable that anyone should make up a formulary at the end of the thirteenth century from material more than fifty years old without including any of the forms of the later thirteenth century which appear in such numbers in the formulary of Benedict XII. It is much more natural to seek the author of the collection in the period to which the forms belong, and in the person of the only cardinal priest of the name in that period, the well-known Thomas of Capua,<sup>44</sup> cardinal priest of S. Sabina from

<sup>38</sup> Nos. XXVIII, 3; LXIII; LXVI; CXLV, 2; CLXXII, 7. See below, n. 45.

<sup>39</sup> No. XXXIV, 3, where the MS has G. as the cardinal's initial.

<sup>40</sup> No. CL.

<sup>41</sup> No. XXXV, 2. See *American Historical Review*, Vol. VII, p. 639, n. 6.

<sup>42</sup> In the MS the formulary of the penitentiary follows immediately after a body of *Forme Romane curie super beneficiis et questionibus*, which occupies the first seventy-nine folii. This extensive collection contains a great variety of forms of dispensations, indulgences, collations to benefices, etc., of the time of Gregory IX and Innocent IV; at the end several folii are given up to the privileges granted by Honorius III to the Teutonic Knights.

<sup>43</sup> Kirsch, *Die Finanzverwaltung des Kardinalkollegiums* (Münster, 1895), pp. 58, 102, 103, 114, 115, 120, 121, 124; Baumgarten, *Die Camera Collegii Cardinalium* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 105, 108, 130, 131, 132.

<sup>44</sup> He is styled *magister* in various manuscripts of his *Summa* (*Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. I, pp. 36, 361); Thomas and Thomasius are often interchanged in the thirteenth century. Eubel, *Hierarchia*, p. 4, following an unsupported

1216 to 1239. He appears five times in the formulary,<sup>45</sup> more often than any other cardinal, as receiving letters or transmitting the Pope's instructions in affairs of the penitentiary; and from a chronicler who speaks of him as acting in the place of the Pope in hearing confessions and granting absolution to offenders in 1223, it is clear that he was, in that year at least, the chief official of the penitentiary.<sup>46</sup> When we consider further that he was skilled in the art of composition above all other members of the Curia<sup>47</sup> and was the author of a popular *Summa Dictaminis*,<sup>48</sup> we need have no further hesitation in concluding that he was the author of the formulary of the penitentiary published by Lea, and in speaking of it henceforth as the formulary of Thomas of Capua.

Furthermore, there is good reason for thinking that this formulary came to be known in the penitentiary as the "original formulary" of the office, for a *scriptor et corrector* of the late fourteenth century, Walter of Strassburg, speaks of the "correction of the original for-

statement of Ciacconius, gives the date of his death as August 22, 1243, but Richard of San Germano, who ought to know, says he died August 18, 1239 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, Vol. XIX, p. 378), and most recent writers accept Richard's statement. See Böhmer-Ficker, *Regesta*, No. 2271; Fehling, *Kaiser Friedrich II und die römischen Cardinale* (Berlin, 1901), p. 78. The fact that two or three of the letters in the formulary seem subsequent to 1239 does not invalidate the conclusion that the body of the collection is the work of Thomas of Capua.

<sup>45</sup> Nos. XXVIII, 3; LXIII; LXVI; CXLV, 2; CLXXII, 7. Cf. Souchon, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, Vol. LXXIII, p. 87.

<sup>46</sup>

"Qui summi vice pontificis peccamina punit.

. . . . .

Dic Jacobo, pape vice qui delicta reorum

Audit, et absolvit confessos rite reatus,

Congrua diversis adhibens medicamina morbis."

Guillaume le Breton, *Philippide*, XII, ll. 721-38 (ed. Delaborde, Paris, 1885, p. 376). As Delaborde points out, there is here a confusion of name between Cardinal Thomas and the citizen Jacobus at whose house he was staying in Segni. His name and title appear correctly in two other narratives of the same incident, which do not, however, mention his connection with the penitentiary: "Chronicon Turonense," *Historiens de France*, Vol. XVIII, p. 304; Gilles de Pontoise, in Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, Vol. V, p. 260.

<sup>47</sup> "Melior dictator de curia."—Salimbene, *Chronica* (Parma, 1857), pp. 66, 194.

<sup>48</sup> There are numerous manuscripts; extracts have been published by Hahn, *Collectio Monumentorum* (Brunswick, 1724), and by Hormayr, in the *Archiv für Geographie, Historie, etc.*, 1821, Nos. 129 ff.



mulary of the penitentiary" by the commission appointed by Benedict XII whose labors resulted in the so-called "new formulary" of that Pope.<sup>49</sup> The close relation between these two collections, both in contents and arrangement, makes it altogether likely that the earlier formed the basis of the later,<sup>50</sup> and until some other formulary anterior to that of Benedict XII shall have been discovered, we are justified in assuming that we have been dealing with the earliest formulary of the penitentiary, or at least with what came to pass for such in the bureau itself.

The "correction and reformation" of the official formulary of the penitentiary under Benedict XII was a natural part of the measures taken by this Pope for the reorganization of the bureau. The task was intrusted to a commission of doctors of canon and civil law, composed of the cardinal major penitentiary, Gaucelinus; Gotius, patriarch of Constantinople; Jacobus, bishop of Brescia; and William, abbot of Montolieu.<sup>1</sup> No date of publication accompanies the revised formulary, but inasmuch as Benedict's new constitution for the penitentiary and the new tax-list were promulgated April 8, 1338,<sup>52</sup> it is probable that the closely related formulary was issued at

<sup>49</sup> "Post correctionem formularii originalis penitencie domini nostri pape de mandato felicis recordationis domini Benedicti pape xii per bone memorie dominos Gaucelinum . . ."—Formulary of Walter of Strassburg, Vatican Library, Fondo Vaticano, MS 2663, f. 72. See the passage in full below, note 73.

Lang (*Beiträge*, p. 26, note) infers from the *Incipit* of the formulary of Benedict XII (see below) that the "novum formularium" existed before its revision under that Pope. This is a possible inference from the language used, but the passage just cited shows that this interpretation is wrong, and that it was the revision which produced the "new formulary."

<sup>50</sup> The obvious relation between the specimens of Benedict's formulary published by Denifle in 1888 (see below) and certain of the forms in Lea's *Formulary* was noticed when the latter collection was first published. See Friedberg in *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*, Vol. III (1893), p. 73; Thaner in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1893, p. 901; and cf. Haskins in *American Historical Review*, Vol. VII (1902), p. 440, n. 2.

<sup>51</sup> "Incipit novum formularium officii penitencie domini pape correctum et reformatum de speciali mandato domini Benedicti pape xii per reverendos in Christo patres dominos Gaucelinum episcopum Albanensem, Gocium patriarcham Constantinopolitanum, Jacobum episcopum Brixiensem, et Guillelmum abbatem monasterii Montis Olivi, professores iuris canonici et civilis."—Vatican, Fondo Vaticano, MS Lat. 5959, f. 13; Vienna, MS 415, f. 45. Also, but without the name of the abbot of Montolieu, in MS Ottoboni 333, f. 1 (really f. 7); Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 4323, f. 10. The MSS of Tours and Avignon have no such *Incipit*.

<sup>52</sup> *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. IV, pp. 220, 236.

the same time. In any event, it cannot have been published before February 20, 1336, the date of the consecration of Gotius as patriarch,<sup>53</sup> or after December 18, 1338, when he and Abbot William were raised to the cardinalate; indeed it can hardly be later than July, 1338, when Gotius was sent as legate to Sicily<sup>54</sup>. Denifle discovered a copy of this formulary in 1888 at Tours, and published some indication of its contents,<sup>55</sup> but as this manuscript had no title or *Incipit*, he did not discern its authorship and date, which he might have found, to go no further, in two manuscripts of the Vatican. I have seen five other manuscripts of the formulary,<sup>56</sup> and on the basis of these six—and perhaps others that

<sup>53</sup> Vidal, *Lettres communes de Benoît XII*, No. 3695.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 6318, 6377–80, 6383–6407, 6479.

<sup>55</sup> *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, Vol. IV, pp. 205–9. Cf. *Catalogue des MSS des Départements* (Paris, 1900), Vol. XXXVII, p. 478. The MS, No. 594, is of the fourteenth century and contains 539 forms, of which the last nine are additions to the body of the formulary. The numbering of the forms does not agree with that in the Vatican and Vienna MSS, nor is the order always the same as in those.

<sup>56</sup> Vatican, Fondo Vaticano, MS Lat. 5959, parchment, fourteenth century, 122 folii. Ff. 1–9, table of contents. F. 13, “Incipit novum formularium. . . .” F. 110 (after No. 529), “Et hic est finis formularii penitentie domini pape.” F. 122v, “Explicit novum formularium.” Five hundred and fifty numbered forms and twenty additional. This is one of the best MSS.

Vienna, MS 415, fourteenth century, parchment, 121 folii. F. 38, “Incipiunt rubice (*sic*) . . . .” F. 45, “Incipit novum formularium . . . .” F. 111, “Et hic est finis formularii penitentie domini pape, Deo gratias Amen.” Then follows in red “Forme de novo addite et extravagantes.” F. 120v, “Explicit novum formularium . . . .” F. 121, a letter of Franciscus de Aptis as major penitentiary to the dean of the church of SS. Simon and Jude in Goslar, dated Avignon, April 13, 1360. This MS resembles closely the preceding. On the contents of ff. 1–37, cf. above, note 13, and Lang, *Beiträge*, pp. 23 ff.

Vatican, MS Ottoboni 333, ff. 1–83, parchment, six numbered and 150 numbered folii. Last unnumbered folio, “Hoc opus patravit clericus Johannes a Bonis Sancti Flori dyocesis quadragesimo vi<sup>o</sup> anno.” F. 1, “Incipit novum formularium . . . .” The forms, which are not numbered, extend without a break to f. 83, and correspond with slight exceptions to those in the two preceding MSS. The MS also contains much of the material of the *Liber penitentie* and near the end (ff. 137–148v) a series of forty-six additional forms, chiefly in the name of Gaucelinus. This is not so good a MS as the two preceding; the rubrics are carelessly written, and are often inaccurate as summaries of the forms to which they refer.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 4323, parchment, fourteenth century, 103 folii. The MS is incomplete at the beginning and at the end, where it breaks off

may have eluded me—it is to be hoped that someone will prepare a critical edition. The five hundred and thirty forms of which the formulary proper consists<sup>57</sup> are grouped under rubrics which are generally the same and follow the same order as in the formulary of Thomas of Capua. Most of the forms of the earlier collection are reproduced with little or no change, except for the tendency to omit proper names and specific events which is characteristic of the transmission of all formularies through successive copies or redactions; but occasionally a form is marked as “superfluous,” “unsuitable,” or “useless.”<sup>58</sup> Many of the new forms naturally reflect the events of the hundred years which have intervened since the days of Thomas of Capua. Constitutions of Clement IV, Gregory X, and Boniface VIII are cited,<sup>59</sup> and among the various enemies of the Roman see we find Manfred, prince of Taranto, Guido of Montefeltro, Conrad of Antioch, Palæologus and the Genoese, Frederick of Aragon and the Sicilians.<sup>60</sup> The names of two cardinal penitentiaries frequently appear, Matthias of Acquasparta,<sup>61</sup> who seems to have followed Bentevenga in 1290,<sup>62</sup> and his successor Gentilis.<sup>63</sup>

in the middle of No. 541, although the table of contents extends through No. 566 *bis* of the Vienna MS. The forms are numbered only as far as No. 42, where the hand changes.

Avignon, MS 336, fourteenth century, paper, 55 folii. Except for the first five, which were evidently on a lost folio, the forms, none of which are numbered, correspond to those in the Vienna and Vatican MSS. Ff. 54–55v contain sixteen additional forms, some in the name of Gaucelinus, the last, in a different hand, but likewise of the fourteenth century, being a letter of the major penitentiary Stephen (evidently Stephen Alberti, who succeeded Gaucelinus in 1348) to the monastery of Fossanuova, which Labande in his description of the MS makes the curious slip of mistaking for “une bulle inédite du pape Étienne IX” (*Catalogue des MSS des Départements*, Vol. XXVII, p. 247).

<sup>57</sup> See the brief summary of contents given by Lang, *Beiträge*, pp. 42, 43. According to Lang, *Acta Salzbargo-Aquilejensia*, Vol. I, p. xci, Dr. Pogatscher, of the Austrian Institute, is studying the Ottoboni MS.

<sup>58</sup> “Ista forma tanquam inepta fuit per dictos reprobata” (No. 2 = Lea, I). “Hec forma fuit tanquam inutilis reprobata” (No. 86). “Superflua” (Nos. 449 and 452—in MS Ottoboni 333 only, ff. 63, 63v).

<sup>59</sup> Nos. 289, 336, 362. Boniface VIII is also mentioned in Nos. 299 and 431. (The numbering is different in the Tours MS; cf. Denifle, *op. cit.*, p. 208).

<sup>60</sup> Nos. 260–69 (in MS Tours, Nos. 229 ff.; cf. Denifle, *op. cit.*, p. 207).

<sup>61</sup> Nos. 77, 134, 136, 139, 175, 191, 249, 251, 268–71, 351, 355, 361, 362, 365, 367, 369, 436, 439, 457, 458, 460, 468, 469, 503.

<sup>62</sup> Lang, *Beiträge*, p. 23. <sup>63</sup> Nos. 76, 252, 277, 299, 311, 379, 440, 480.

The new formulary of Benedict XII needed very soon to be supplemented in order to provide for the demands of the office, and all the manuscripts contain at the end a greater or lesser number of *Forme de novo addite et extravagantes*.<sup>64</sup> These are generally in the name of Gaucelinus as penitentiary, but the appearance of his predecessor Berengar in two of them<sup>65</sup> shows that there were older forms of value which had not been included in the new edition. Moreover, one manuscript contains a second collection of forty-six forms,<sup>66</sup> at least two of them subsequent to the death of Benedict XII in 1342, but the greater number still in the name of Gaucelinus, who remained in charge of the penitentiary until 1348.<sup>67</sup> After his death it is more difficult to trace the additions made to the formulary, especially as the names of the penitentiaries of this time are rarely preserved in the formularies of the next period. We have individual acts of the successor of Gaucelinus, Stephen Alberti,<sup>68</sup> and of Franciscus de Aptis,<sup>69</sup> as well as a sort of formulary drawn up for the use of Cardinal Albornoz on the basis of the register of his letters as major penitentiary in 1357 and 1358.<sup>70</sup> The frequent concessions made by the Popes of this period involved the modification of old forms and the drawing up of new ones, until the number of these *forme extravagantes*, scattered about without order in various volumes and loose sheets, seriously complicated the work of the office. The difficulties of the

<sup>64</sup> The Vienna MS (f. 111) is the only one which contains this heading, but there is a break at this point in MS Vat. 5959, f. 109v, and MS Paris 4323, f. 99v. There are ten additional forms in the Tours MS, forty in the Vatican and Vienna MSS, and fifty-five in the MS of Avignon. Part of the Paris MS is missing at the end.

<sup>65</sup> Nos. 549, 551.

<sup>66</sup> MS Ottoboni 333, ff. 137-148. Some of the forms are in the name of Frater Johannes or Frater . . . On ff. 141v and 142v mention is made of Benedict as of blessed memory; on f. 143v is a form which falls before the death of Louis the Bavarian in 1347. One of these forms is printed by Lang, *Acta Salzburgo-Aquilejensia*, Vol. I, p. 171, No. 226.

<sup>67</sup> Lang, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 300, No. 389a.

<sup>68</sup> MS Avignon 336, f. 55v. For the date when Stephen is found in office, see the document in Lang, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 300, No. 390.

<sup>69</sup> MS Vienna 415, f. 121. Cf. MS Vat. 2663, ff. 112-117v.

<sup>70</sup> Preserved in the papers of Albornoz in the College of Spain at Bologna and analyzed by Lecacheux in the *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, Vol. XVIII (1898), pp. 37-49. Cf. also Filippini in the *Studi Storici*, Vol. VIII (1899), p. 498.

bureau were greatly increased for the Roman obedience at the beginning of the Schism, when the old *scriptores* withdrew from Rome.<sup>71</sup>

Accordingly, under Urban VI, a *scriptor et corrector* of the penitentiary, Walter of Strassburg, "working in haste because of the great and evident necessity" of such a manual, compiled a new formulary in one volume, based, he tells us, upon the *forme extravagantes*, forms from the formulary of Benedict XII which had been selected and brought up to date by certain previous *correctores*, and forms which he had had occasion to draw up in the course of his own term of office. The new formulary he dedicated to Lucas, cardinal priest of S. Sisto and since 1382 major penitentiary,<sup>72</sup> with the request that the Pope be urged to follow the example of Benedict XII by appointing a commission of experts to examine and revise Walter's work preparatory to its formal approval.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>71</sup> "Ex tunc in antea Vualterius de Argentina et alii novi scriptores penitentie per dictum dominum papam positi et deputati subscripserunt litteras penitentie prefate." Note under date of August 28, 1379, in MS Vat. Lat. 5737, f. 58v; MS Ravenna 470, f. 50.

<sup>72</sup> February 19, 1382. MS Vat. 5737, f. 60v.

<sup>73</sup> "Reverendissimo in Christo patri ac domino Luce miseratione etc. tituli Sancti Sixti presbitero cardinali maiori domini nostri penitenciaro Walterus de Argenitefi alias de Mindrachrigeñ (?) prepositus Brixiensis scriptor et corrector litterarum penitencie domini nostri pape licet indignus reverenciam debitam [et honorem *expunctu-ated*] humilem et devotam.

"Quoniam post correctionem formularii originalis penitencie domini nostri pape de mandato felicitis recordationis domini Benedicti pape xii. per bone memorie dominos Gaucelinum [MS Baucelinum] episcopum Albanensem sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalem maiorem domini nostri pape penitenciarum Gotium [MS Botium] patriarcham Constantinopolitanum et Jacobum episcopum Brixiensem ac abbatem monasterii Montisolivi [MS Montissarlani], iuris canonici et civiles doctores egregios professores, factam [MS factis], plures de formis ipsis secundum novas concessionis et commissiones super casibus contentis in eisdem per summos pontifices maioribus penitenciaris et regentibus factas sunt mutata, pluresque postmodum alie forme extravagantes super aliis casibus pro tempore occurrentibus per dictos summos pontifices dictis maioribus penitenciaris concessis de novo facte sunt, que extra formularium predictum tamquam incerte et ignote multis et diversis cartulis et libellis sine omni ordine et extra titulos et rubricas suas vagentur, quas sine ordine reperire scriptoribus antiquis tamquam expertis et in eis diu usitatis grave et difficile non fuit, sed quia exorto scismate dicti scriptores antiqui experti a Romana curia omnes recesserunt novique illis in arte et exercicio ac experientia non similes eis in eorum officium successerunt quibus grave erat dictas formas reperire et intelligere;

"Hac de causa ego Walterus prescriptus ad hoc nomine Dei et sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini nostri domini Urbani divina providencia pape vi. ac vestre

It does not appear whether Walter's formulary was given official sanction in the way he desired, but the evidence of three manuscripts shows that it passed into current use in the penitentiary and, with no important modifications in its forms beyond the replacement of the name of Lucas by those of his successors, the major penitentiaries Jordanus Orsini, Dominicus Capranica, and Philippus Calandrini, continued to be employed as late as the time of Cardinal Calandrini, who died in 1476.<sup>74</sup>

reverendissime paternitatis dictorumque scriptorum presentium et futurorum utilitatem commodum et quietem, ac peregrinorum et aliorum ad officium penitencie pro remediis eis opportunis ab ipso officio obtinendis confugiendum celere expedicionem, recollego formas extravagantes predictas et quasdam alias de dicto formulario extractas correctas ad usum modernum et modum novissimum per bone memorie magistrum Benedictum de Parma et magistros Gerardum de Prenis (?) Guillelmi de Herardi et Philippum de Ageduno olim dictarum litterarum correctores, et eas cum nonnullis aliis formis per me super casibus tempore meo occurrentibus factis et correctis et iuxta novas concessionibus mutatis et extensis in ordine et titulis ac rubricis secundum ordinem formularii predicti collocavi et in unum volumen cum festinancia propter magnam evidentem necessitatem reduxi; cum protestacione quod formas per me super casibus tempore meo occurrentibus factas et etiam formas formularii predicti necnon formas per dictos correctores antecessores meos tempore suo factas, quas secundum concessionibus de novo vobis et aliis maioribus domini nostri penitenciaris et regentibus dicti officii factas mutavi iuxta concessionibus ipsas et extendi ad casus tempore presenti magis convenientes et sepius occurrentes, possum reformare et errores meos in ipsis commissis corrigere, presertim in casibus in quibus mihi hoc licitum sit et in quibus hactenus correctores dicti officii eas corrigere ac mutare potuerunt et consueverunt; multaque notabilia bona ad declaracionem formarum ordinacionem commissariorum dicti officii et aliorum penitenciariorum maiorum que alias in scriptis non reperiabantur sed per continuum usum interfui et scripsi ne pereant, cum pauci hodie illa forsitan propter magis ardua eis incumbencia usu acquirere et retinere velint vel forte possint. . . ."—Fondo Vaticano, MS 2663, f. 72; not in MSS Vat. 5737 or Ravenna 470.

<sup>74</sup> The following are the MSS:

Vatican, Fondo Vaticano, MS Lat. 2663, paper, 360 folii (according to the foliation, which is often incorrect), in various hands of the beginning of the fifteenth century. F. 2, "Incipit tabula rubricarum litterarum penitencie." Then follows material on the organization and powers of the office, as indicated above, note 24. F. 72, "Reverendissimo in Christo patri," etc., as printed above. F. 72v, "In primis ne aliquis abutatur formis subscriptis et etiam formis originalis [MS originalibus, corrected from MS Vat. 5737, f. 63] formularii prescripti a quo omnes subscripte sumpserunt originem, notanda et scienda sunt subscripta. . . ." F. 73, "Incipiunt forme de quibus supradictum est in prologo. Primo de symonia. . . ." F. 73v, an act of Lucas as cardinal addressed to the bishop of Constance, dated the kalends of January in the fourth year of Urban VI. F. 273v, matrimonial dispensation addressed by Lucas "Guillelmo filio serenissimi principis domini Karoli Dei gratia Romanorum imperatoris." After f. 299v

on the history of these sects.<sup>76</sup> The rubric treating of schismatics likewise reflects the history of the fourteenth century. There is still room for the adherents of Palæologus, Frederick of Aragon, and Louis of Bavaria, but the principal place is occupied by the recent enemies of the Papacy—Barnabò Visconti, "Joanna of accursed memory, late queen of Jerusalem and Sicily," the Perugians who opposed Urban V, the Florentines and others who formed the *mala liga* against Gregory XI, the members of the Free Companies which Urban V had forbidden, and especially the followers of the anti-Pope Robert, better known as Clement VII.<sup>77</sup> Except, however, in such instances as these, the forms contain comparatively few references to specific persons and events, and few illustrations of the popular customs of their time.

We have now followed the various redactions of the official formulary of the penitentiary down to the latter part of the fifteenth century.<sup>78</sup> Besides the letters issued by the major penitentiary, to which this formulary relates, the minor penitentiaries were empowered in certain sorts of cases to issue letters under their individual seals,<sup>79</sup> and a *formularium litterarum minoris officii penitentie* is enumerated among the working tools of the office;<sup>80</sup> but I have not been able to find a copy of such a collection. There is, however, another type of formulary of the penitentiary which deserves investigation, namely, the formularies of petitions. In the papal chancery the reduction of petitions to writing was obligatory at least as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century,<sup>81</sup> and in 1226 Cardinal Guala prepared,

<sup>76</sup> The only proper names under this head are those of a penitent heretic, Lubertus Stayarde, of the diocese of Grasse (MS Vat. 2663, f. 140v), and the Dominican inquisitor in Tuscany Johannes Bernardi (MS Vat. 2663, f. 141v; MS Vat. 5737, f. 114v; MS Ravenna 470, f. 111v). There is also mention of the Flagellants, MS Vat. 2663, ff. 197, 198.

<sup>77</sup> MS Vat. 2663, ff. 143-184v; MS Ravenna 470, ff. 112v-144. Another form of Lucas relating to Clement VII is in MS Vat. Lat. 6290, f. 42v.

<sup>78</sup> I have made no attempt to carry the study later. There is a short formulary in the Vatican library (Fondo Vaticano, MS Lat. 5489) from the time of Gregory XIII. The forms relate chiefly to Italian cases, and most of them are in the name of the major penitentiary Philippus Boncompagni.

<sup>79</sup> See the constitution *In agro dominico*, ed. Denifle, 212-15.

<sup>80</sup> MS Ravenna 470, f. 26v, printed above, note 12.

<sup>81</sup> On the subject of the petitions of the chancery see Bresslau, *Urkundenlehre*,

with the Pope's approval, a brief treatise and set of forms for the use of petitioners.<sup>82</sup> How soon a similar procedure came to be adopted by the penitentiary it is impossible to say. For an important class of letters, the *litteræ confessionales*, oral confession before one of the minor penitentiaries was a necessary preliminary, but the use of petitions, in all probability written, in securing other kinds of letters appears in the formulary of Thomas of Capua, and written petitions are assumed in the constitution of Benedict XII. As examples of formularies of petitions to the penitentiary we have a brief collection which, in the absence of proper names and definite events, there is no means of dating except its occurrence in a manuscript of the very end of the fourteenth century,<sup>83</sup> and a more elaborate collection of two hundred and fourteen forms from the latter half of the fifteenth century.<sup>84</sup>

More interesting than such conventionalized formulæ would be the petitions themselves, which, if we may judge from the analogy of the chancery, were likely to preserve a considerable amount of specific detail and local color that was omitted in the papal letters

Vol. I, pp. 680 ff.; and among subsequent publications, Davidsohn, in the *Neues Archiv*, Vol. XVI (1891), p. 638; and Tangl, *Die päpstlichen Kanzleiordnungen* (Innsbruck, 1894).

<sup>82</sup> Published by Auvray in the *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, Vol. X, pp. 112-17, 251-52. A formulary of petitions from the middle of the thirteenth century has been edited by Teige in the *Mittheilungen des Instituts*, Vol. XVII, pp. 410-14, and by Wahrmund in the *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht*, Vol. LXXIX, pp. 3-19.

<sup>83</sup> Vatican archives, Armaria 53, No. 17, ff. 10v-12v, analyzed by Denifle, *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. IV, pp. 237-38.

<sup>84</sup> Vatican library, Fondo Vaticano, MS Lat. 6290, paper, 135 folii (plus various unnumbered blanks), fifteenth century. F. 66, "Incipiunt supplicationes sacre penitentie super singulis formis dicti officii formularii. Et primo rubrica de matrimonialibus. . . ." to f. 125v. On f. 119v Eugene IV is styled "of blessed memory" and on f. 115v appears a penitentiary Philippus, probably Philippus Calandrini, who seems to have succeeded Dominicus Capranica as major penitentiary upon his death in 1458, and who died in 1476.

A formulary of petitions preserved under Cardinal Scipione Borghese in 1612 is found in various MSS: Siena, MS G. VI, 30; Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 285; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 4177.

Some illustration of intercourse with the penitentiary in the earlier part of the fourteenth century is given in the forms of recommendation of petitioners to the penitentiary contained in the formulary of Archbishop Frederick of Salzburg. Lang, *Acta Salburg-Aquilejensia*, Vol. I, pp. 189, 194, Nos. 241<sub>56</sub> and 241<sub>36</sub>.



based upon them.<sup>85</sup> But while in the chancery such petitions were carefully enrolled in registers from the beginning of the fourteenth century, Benedict XII ordered that petitions to the penitentiary should be returned to the petitioners or their representatives,<sup>86</sup> and I know of no evidence that they were registered before the fifteenth century.<sup>87</sup> There is extant, however, in the Vatican archives a group of forty *supplicationes penitentie diversorum casuum*,<sup>88</sup> possibly copied to serve as models, but retaining generally the proper names of the originals and sometimes the *Fiat* which showed that the petition had been granted.<sup>89</sup> The manuscript in which they are found belongs to the very end of the fourteenth century, and the absence of any documents from France or Spain in a collection which contains petitions from Germany, Italy, Hungary, and even distant England, Poland, and Portugal, points to the period of the Schism and the territory of the Roman obedience. While some of the documents are brief and have nothing distinctive, others narrate the facts of the case with a freshness and circumstantiality which take us at once into the daily life of the times. A Prussian priest is sitting in his house after dinner one Palm Sunday, when a man who has been drinking comes in and begins to abuse him with "bad, insulting, and opprobrious words and threats." In spite of repeated requests to leave, he begins to throw things at the priest, and finally makes for him with a sheath-knife. The priest defends himself with "a small knife such as is used for cutting bread at table," and he now begs to be relieved from the irregularity of causing the layman's death, "as it was about the first hour of the night and the doors of the house were closed so that it was not possible to escape in safety."<sup>90</sup> Among

<sup>85</sup> See on this point Denifle, *La désolation des églises . . . en France* (Paris, 1897), Vol. I, p. xvii, and the numerous illustrations throughout the volume.

<sup>86</sup> Constitution *In agro dominico*, ed. Denifle, 211.

<sup>87</sup> The bull *Prudens paterfamilias* of Eugene IV in 1438 (see *ante*, note 9) shows that it was then the practice to register certain classes of petitions.

<sup>88</sup> Armaria 53, No. 17, ff. 26-35. On f. 27 is a letter of Franciscus, cardinal priest of S. Susanna from 1385 to 1392.

<sup>89</sup> F. 28v, "Fiat de speciali gratia et componat cum camera iuxta formam V . . j." F. 31, "Fiat de speciali G. j." On similar forms in the registers of petitions to the chancery see Kehr, "Bemerkungen zu den päpstlichen Supplikenregistern des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Mittheilungen des Instituts*, Vol. VIII (1887), pp. 84-102.

<sup>90</sup> This petition (f. 31) may serve as a specimen:

"Exponit S. V. Johannes Somervelt de Kichenbach presbyter Pomizaniensis dioce-

the other petitioners we find a Polish sacristan redeeming stolen plate from a Jew; a treasurer of the cathedral of Kammin, who had been called from the enjoyment of a repast with his friends to interfere in a brawl between clerks and fishermen on the ice behind the town; a canon of Lisbon, who had quarreled with a priest in church and come to blows with him when they got outside, so that he finally drew a large knife and inflicted "one great blow on the head with breaking of bones and very great shedding of blood;" and a Benedictine monk of the diocese of Lucca, who at the age of fourteen, while acting as tutor in "grammar or the first letters" in the family of a citizen of Florence, had, with fatal results, struck a serving-maid "with a certain ferule such as is used for chastising boys." Documents such as these have a value beyond the light they throw on procedure before the penitentiary. By bringing us face to face with the concrete cases with which the penitentiary had to deal, they remind us that it was concerned with life as well as with matters of canon law and administrative practice, and that its influence was

sic quod [*supply cum*] ipse olim post cenam in die dominica palmarum in domo habitationis sue sedisset, quidam laicus dictam domum intrando exponentem malis iniuriis ac obprobriis verbis et minatoriis male tractando, exponens dictum laicum sepe et sepius rogavit ut ipsum in pace dimitteret, laicus vero plus et plus exponentem maledixit. Exponens ad laicum dixit illa vel similia verba, Si non satis bibisti, bibe melius de ista amphora, de qua comites in tabula bibere solebant; quare dictus laicus ira motus dictam amphoram in tabula arripuit et post exponentem proiecit, ipsum tamen non tangendo. Deinde idem laicus quandam lagenam post exponentem proiecit, ipsum tamen non tangendo. Exponens iterum dictum laicum petiit ut ipsum in pace dimitteret, laicus vero predictus petitionibus exponentis minime curans [*sed*] quendam cultellum de vagina extraxit et post collum exponentis figendo percussit. Iterum ipsum laicum rogavit ut ipsum exponentem in pace dimitteret et secundo iterum dictus laicus in exponentem cum dicto cultello irruit animo et intencione ipsum interficiendi. Quod cum vidisset exponens sibi periculum mortis imminere, vim vi repellendo quendam cultellum parvum cum quo panes in tabula sindere solebat de vagina extraxit et ante se manu tenuit, et sic dictus laicus in exponentem irruendo se ipsum in dicto cultello exponentis in pectore se ipsum vulneravit, de quo vulnere post hoc ex factum (?) nona die expirasse dicitur. Cum autem, P. S., hoc factum hora prima vel quasi noctis perpetratum fuit et porte predictae domus clausae iam fuerunt quod evadere sine periculo mortis commode non potuit;

"Supplicat igitur S. V. dictus exponens quatinus ipsum actione premissorum nullam irregularitatis maculam incurrisse declarare vel saltem si opus fuerit ad cautelam secum super premissis si aliquam irregularitatis notam incurrit misericorditer dignemini dispensare. Fiat de speciali G. j."

felt not only in Rome, but in the remotest regions of Catholic Christendom.

The fees collected for the various kinds of letters issued by the penitentiary, the so-called taxes, naturally stand in close relation to the formularies, and tax-list and formulary are often found in the same volume. The earliest known schedule of these clerical fees is that drawn up by order of Benedict XII in 1338 on the basis of the new edition of the formulary, and published for the first time by Denifle in 1888.<sup>91</sup> Another tax-list is known which belongs to the latter part of the fifteenth century, and was first printed at Rome in 1479; its character and authenticity, long the subject of controversy between Catholic and Protestant, seem now established,<sup>92</sup> but its relations to the earlier list and to the formularies have still to be determined.

Besides the material for the history of the penitentiary contained in documents, there is doubtless something to be gleaned from literary sources, and especially from treatises on the *forum internum* written by men connected with the penitentiary. The great canonist Raymond of Peñafort was a papal penitentiary under Gregory IX;<sup>93</sup> the Franciscan Johannes Rigardi, penitentiary under Clement V, dedicated his *Formula Confessionis* to the major penitentiary Berengar of Tours;<sup>94</sup> while the Spaniard Andreas Didaci, dedicating

<sup>91</sup> Denifle, "Die älteste Taxrolle der apostolischen Pönitentie," *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, Vol. IV (1888), pp. 201 ff. The text is based upon MS 594 of the Bibliothèque de Tours and an inferior MS in the Vatican archives. There are several other MSS in the Vatican which Denifle might have used to advantage. Copies from the fourteenth century are in MS Ottoboni 333 of the Vatican, f. 130v, and MS Vienna 415, f. 15; and the taxes also appear in the following MSS of the fifteenth century: Fondo Vaticano, MSS 2663, f. 30v; 3994, f. 9v; 5737, f. 17; 5744, f. 11v; 6290, f. 35; MS Reg. Svec. 1796, f. 14; Ravenna, MS 470, f. 15. Incomplete texts from the fourteenth century are in the Graz MSS 583, f. 5; 1430, f. 17.

<sup>92</sup> See on the whole subject the article of Denifle just cited, and Lea, "The Taxes of the Papal Penitentiary," *English Historical Review*, Vol. VIII (1893), pp. 424-38.

<sup>93</sup> For his writings concerning the *forum conscientiae* see von Schulte, *Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts* (Stuttgart, 1877), Vol. II, pp. 408 ff.; Dietterle, "Die Summae Confessorum," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 530-42; *Raymundiana* (Rome and Stuttgart, 1901), Part II, pp. 29 ff.

<sup>94</sup> Von Schulte, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, 425, 532; Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher* (Düsseldorf, 1898), Vol. II, p. 727.

in 1429 his *Lumen Confessorum* to the major penitentiary Jordanus Orsini, not only gives some account of the conditions prevailing in the office, but brings forward definite suggestions for its reform.<sup>95</sup> For works of this sort, as well as for other material relating to the penitentiary, it would be worth while to explore what survives of the libraries of the cardinals who were in charge of the office.<sup>96</sup>

Last of all, it should be observed that, while the most important sources for the history of the penitentiary are to be found in the material emanating from the bureau itself, there is also something to be got from the records of other departments of the papal administration. Besides the incidental information scattered through the registers of papal letters, there is much to be learned concerning the personnel of the office and its maintenance as a part of the papal household from the records of the Camera, especially the *introitus et exitus* and the registers of officials. Of all this there is as yet but little in print.<sup>97</sup>

After the account which has been given of the sources for the history of the penitentiary it is unnecessary to speak at length of the subjects which await investigation. There is scarcely a topic connected with the penitentiary in the later Middle Ages upon which fresh light cannot be thrown. To begin with, the whole history of the organization and procedure of the penitentiary has still to be

<sup>95</sup> Stapper, "Das 'Lumen Confessorum' des Andreas Didaci," *Römische Quartalschrift*, Vol. XI (1897), pp. 271-85. For other MSS see von Schulte, Vol. II, p. 440; Schmitz, Vol. II, pp. 722, 723; and the notice of a *Lumen Poenitenciarorum seu Confessorum* in St. Petersburg, *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*, Vol. V, (1895), p. 258, No. 290.

<sup>96</sup> Thus Bentevenga's register seems to have come into the library at Assisi along with the MSS of Matthias of Acquasparta, and the formulary of Albornoz is still among his papers in the College of Spain at Bologna. Cardinal Orsini's copy of the *Lumen Confessorum* passed with the rest of his books into the chapter library of St. Peter's, while Dominicus Capranica was the owner of the Ravenna MS 470, and probably of MS 3994 of the Fondo Vaticano.

<sup>97</sup> See the lists of officials of the curia and their allowances published by Haller in the *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven*, Vol. I, pp. 26, 27, 31, 32, 38. For illustrations from the current accounts of *introitus et exitus* see the *Regestum Clementis Pape V.*, Appendix, pp. 4-175; Kirsch, *Die Rückkehr der Päpste Urban V. und Gregor XI. von Avignon nach Rom* (Paderborn, 1898), index; Eubel, "Aus den Ausgabebüchern der Schisma-Päpste Klemens VII und Benedikt XIII," *Römische Quartalschrift*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 341-45. The value of the cameral registers of officials has been shown by the list of penitentiaries received between 1347 and 1352 published by Göller, *Römische Quartalschrift*, Vol. XVII, pp. 414-17.

written, and for every period the preliminary studies are lacking. This is notably true for the period which precedes the pontificate of Benedict XII, where the difficulty is increased by the fragmentary character of the material as yet available. This pope indeed says, on the authority of "a certain ancient book," that the functions of the office were in early times performed by the cardinal priests, and that, when they could no longer find time to hear confessions, penitentiaries were instituted;<sup>98</sup> but it is not known when this change took place. Penitentiaries are mentioned in the registers of Innocent III<sup>99</sup> and Honorius III,<sup>100</sup> and often accompany the papal legates of this period;<sup>101</sup> and, as Lea has pointed out, the growth of the penitentiary must have been greatly hastened by the establishment of obligatory annual confession in 1215, so that the formulary of Gregory IX's time which he has edited probably contains "the earliest records of the body, not long after its institution."<sup>102</sup> While, however, this formulary illustrates with considerable fulness the practice of the penitentiary, it tells us very little of its organization. The bureau has a seal<sup>103</sup> and acts under the Pope's authority, either generally conferred (*auctoritate domini pape*) or given for the particular case (*de speciali mandato domini pape*); but it does not appear in whose name the letters are issued, nor is the bureau anywhere called the penitentiary. There is a reference in one place to "the officials detailed for the office of penance at the apostolic see,"<sup>104</sup>

<sup>98</sup> "Nota quod idem dominus papa Benedictus tunc narravit se habere in quodam antiquo libro quod officium penitentiarii exercebatur antiquitus per presbiteros cardinales, sed crescentibus ecclesie negotiis dicti cardinales non poterant vaccare confessionibus audiendis. Ideo loco illorum fuerunt instituti penitentiarii qui habent priorem locum sicut presbiteri cardinales et sunt quodam modo prelati totius mundi."—University of Rome, MS 119, f. 19v, immediately after the tax-list of 1338.

<sup>99</sup> Bresslau, *Urkundenlehre*, Vol. I, p. 228, n. 2.

<sup>100</sup> Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, index under "Poenitentiarius;" *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1889), Vol. I, p. 85.

<sup>101</sup> Petit-Dutaillis, *Étude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII* (Paris, 1894), pp. 162, 172; Levi, *Registri dei Cardinali Ugolino e Ottaviano* (Rome, 1890), p. 22, No. xxiv; Auvray, *Régestes de Grégoire IX*, No. 628; Böhmer-Ficker-Winkelmann, *Regesta Imperii*, Nos. 10109b, 10121, 10136d.

<sup>102</sup> Lea, *Formulary*, p. xxxiii. For other documents illustrating the work of the penitentiary under Gregory IX, see *Raymundiana*, Part II, pp. 17 ff.

<sup>103</sup> Lea, Nos., XXVII, 1, 6; XXXIV, 3; XLV, LXXXVIII, 1.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, No. XVII.

various cardinals appear as transmitting petitions and the answers of the Pope,<sup>105</sup> and letters of individual penitentiaries are mentioned;<sup>106</sup> but there is no indication of anyone standing at the head of things. At the same time, we are told in other sources that Thomas of Capua was in charge of the papal administration of penance in 1223,<sup>107</sup> and it seems likely that he and the other cardinals who transmit the commands of the Pope in the formulary were, each in his time, the responsible heads of the body which issues the letters. Under the immediate successors of Gregory IX various penitentiaries may be noted, and a *scriptor penitentiarius* appears;<sup>108</sup> but, as far as investigation has at present been carried, no cardinal is again found connected with the office till we come to Pierre de Tarentaise, cardinal bishop of Ostia from 1273 to 1276—when he became Pope as Innocent V—, who is called *penitentie curam gerens*,<sup>109</sup> the style of the major penitentiaries of the fourteenth century.<sup>110</sup> In 1279 the register of Cardinal Bentevenga begins, and the activity of his successors in the administration of the penitentiary—Matthias of Acquasparta, Gentilis, Berengar of Tours, and Gaucelinus—can be traced in the formulary of Benedict XII. In Bentevenga's time likewise begin the series of papal concessions which define the functions of the major penitentiary,<sup>111</sup> and under Clement V it is decreed that his commission does not expire with the death of the Pope.<sup>112</sup> The development of the clerical side of the bureau in this period also appears from the decree of the same Pope reducing the number of *scriptores penitentie* to twelve.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. XXVIII, 3; LXIII; LXIV; LXVI, 1, 2; XCVI, 1, 2; XCVII, 1, 2; CXLV, 2; CLXXII, 7.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. CXIX, 2; CLXIII; cf. No. XXXIII, 2.

<sup>107</sup> See above, note 46.

<sup>108</sup> Bresslau, *Urkundenlehre*, Vol. I, p. 228; Potthast, No. 12993.

<sup>109</sup> Prou, *Régestes d'Honorius IV*, No. 735. On the relation of the cardinals to the penitentiary in this period see Sägmüller, *Die Thätigkeit und Stellung der Cardinale bis Papst Bonifaz VIII.* (Freiburg, 1896), pp. 105-8.

<sup>110</sup> Lang, *Beiträge*, p. 22, n. 3.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>112</sup> Clem. 2 de electione, I, 3, in *Corpus Juris Canonici*, ed. Friedberg, Vol. II, col. 1135.

<sup>113</sup> September 2, 1311, *Regestum Clementis Papae V.*, No. 7359.

The organization of the penitentiary under Benedict XII has long been known in its outlines from the constitution *In agro dominico*, to which the tax-list has recently been added, but the new edition of the formulary issued by this Pope has still to be studied. From his time to the reforms of the sixteenth century the ground is still unbroken. No careful lists of penitentiaries have been drawn up,<sup>114</sup> and there are no studies of the development of the office during the period, of its vicissitudes during the Schism, or of its possible relations to the question of reform in the age of the councils. The reorganization of the penitentiary by Eugene IV is a subject of the first importance which still awaits the student.

The diplomatics of the penitentiary is likewise an entirely fresh field. No investigations have yet been made of the various types of documents emanating from the penitentiary, of the titles and seals of its officials, of the various stages through which an act had to pass, of the questions connected with the use of petitions and formularies and registers, of the external form of its letters and the precautions taken against forgery<sup>115</sup>—in short, of those topics with which students of papal diplomatics have long been busily engaged in the case of the chancery. As in all matters of diplomatics, the foundation must be laid by careful examination and comparison of the original letters of the penitentiary, but there is also much to be learned from the formularies and from the papal constitutions and concessions.

Finally, the finances of the penitentiary still tempt inquiry. Lea

<sup>114</sup> The series of major penitentiaries in Moroni's *Dizionario* (Venice, 1851) Vol. LII, pp. 63-65, is far from satisfactory. The beginning of something better has been made by Göller in his list of penitentiaries under Clement VI (*Römische Quartalschrift*, Vol. XVII, pp. 414-17), and by Eubel in his lists for the pontificates of Clement VII and Benedict XIII, (*ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 341-45). In spite of some obvious inaccuracies, the list of concessions and major penitentiaries preserved in MSS Vat. Lat. 2663, ff. 57v-71; Vat. Lat. 5737, ff. 51-63; Ravenna, 470, ff. 44v-52, is of great importance for the latter half of the fourteenth century.

<sup>115</sup> On the forgery of letters of the penitentiary see the "Forma citationis personalis cuiusdam falsarii litterarum penitencie" appended to the formulary of Benedict XII in MS Ottoboni 333, f. 82v; MS Vat. 5959, f. 122; MS Vienna 415, f. 120; MS Avignon 336, f. 53v. Cf. also Lea, *Formulary*, p. xxv, n. 2; and Twemlow, *Calendar of Papal Letters* (London, 1904), Vol. V, p. 173.

On the use of blank forms in the time of the major penitentiary Gaucelinus, see Lang, *Acta Salzburgo-Aquilejensia*, Vol. I, p. xci.

has shown what may be learned from the taxes of the penitentiary and the chancery which have so far been published,<sup>116</sup> but other such tax-lists may be in existence, and an investigation has still to be made of the relations of the two printed lists to each other and to the formularies upon which they are based. Moreover, these schedules of scriveners' fees are only a small part of the story. They tell us nothing of the system of pecuniary penance and its results, and even for the clerical matters with which they deal "the tax in the tables represents only the charge made for one stage in the process, whereas there were several, each of which had to be paid for."<sup>117</sup> In the fourteenth century the penitentiaries received a regular allowance from the papal treasury,<sup>118</sup> even if it sometimes fell in arrears;<sup>119</sup> but in the earlier part of the fifteenth century such maintenance had entirely ceased, and the penitentiaries were wholly dependent upon such contributions, supposedly voluntary, as might be given them.<sup>120</sup> The fees for a penitentiary's commission had been con-

<sup>116</sup> Lea, "The Taxes of the Papal Penitentiary," *English Historical Review*, Vol. VIII (1893), pp. 424-38 (and cf. his *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, Vol. II, pp. 163-67). The taxes of the chancery should be studied in connection with those of the penitentiary: Tangl, "Das Taxwesen der päpstlichen Kanzlei vom 13. bis zum Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Mittheilungen des Instituts*, Vol. XIII (1892), pp. 1-106; Mayr-Aldwang, "Ueber Expensrechnungen für päpstliche Provisionsbullen," *ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 71-108; Schmitz-Kallenberg, *Practica Cancellariae Apostolicae* (Münster, 1904), pp. 51-62. On the taxes actually assessed by the penitentiary, as seen in the indorsements on its letters, see Lang, *Acta Salburg-Aquilejensia*, Vol. I, p. xci.

<sup>117</sup> Lea, in *English Historical Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 433. But see the general regulations of the fees of *procuratores*, *sigillatores*, and lesser clerks in the tax-list of Benedict XII, ed. Denifle, pp. 234-36.

<sup>118</sup> Lists of allowances to officials of the Curia under Clement V and VI, published by Haller in the *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, Vol. I, pp. 26, 27, 31, 32, 38; *Regestum Clementis Papae V.*, Appendix, pp. 4-175; *Römische Quartalschrift*, Vol. XI, p. 281, Vol. XVIII, pp. 341-45; Kirsch, *Die Rückkehr der Päpste*, pp. lvii, 76, 80, 81, 89.

<sup>119</sup> A petition of the penitentiaries for back pay under Urban V is mentioned by Kirsch, *loc. cit.*, p. 239.

<sup>120</sup> This appears from the *Lumen Confessorum* of Andreas Didaci, who writing in 1429, says that he has served as penitentiary for more than twenty years, under four Popes, and received only alms (*Römische Quartalschrift*, Vol. XI, pp. 281, 282).



siderable under the Avignonese Popes,<sup>121</sup> and from the time of Boniface IX even the *scriptores* regularly purchased their places.<sup>122</sup> The abuses which would naturally spring from such conditions are obvious, even if not of the kind which would leave a record behind them, and the close connection of the penitentiary with the moral government of the papacy lends peculiar importance to the study of its fiscal relations.

<sup>121</sup> See the Avignonese taxes of the chancery in *Mittheilungen des Instituts*, Vol. XIII, pp. 89, 105, Nos. 165-68, 256, 257; and cf. *English Historical Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 427.

<sup>122</sup> See the passages from Dietrich of Niem quoted by Sauerland, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, Vol. VII, pp. 637, 638.

## JESUS' VOICE FROM HEAVEN

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The first step toward an understanding of Jesus' messianic self-consciousness is to obtain, so far as possible, a definite and critically trustworthy idea of the story of the Voice from Heaven at his Baptism, not only as regards the scene depicted, but as regards the form and significance of the utterance. Here, if anywhere, we must begin the inquiry of what Jesus meant by sonship, primarily for himself, inferentially for others.

To set forth the true situation, value, and bearing of the narratives of the vocation and temptation in Matt. 3:13—4:11 and parallels was the object of a former article, entitled "The Autobiography of Jesus,"<sup>1</sup> which aimed to make clear the following points: (1) The stories of the baptism and temptation belong together, and constitute a parabolic presentation of Jesus' call to the messiahship and a discrimination of the sense in which he had accepted the revelation, "Thou art my Son." (2) The story was originally uttered in the first person by Jesus himself, as a surviving fragment of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*<sup>2</sup> represents, and hence must have belonged to the narrative of that later period of the ministry wherein Jesus' claims to the messiahship were no longer a secret from the Twelve. Its transfer to the beginning, before his association with any of them, and the alteration of it in form from first to third person, from realm of parabolic imagery to realm of fact, are due to that evangelist (Mark?) who has given to our synoptists their outline of a connected biography. (3) Its original utterance may be assigned to the occasion of Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi, when Jesus deliberately broached the question of his character and calling. An earlier date is impossible, because the facts were till then unknown to "flesh

<sup>1</sup> *American Journal of Theology*, July, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀρτί ἑλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα κ. τ. λ. Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, Vol. III, p. 4.

and blood." Peter's acknowledgment was a "revelation," and the messiahship to be guarded as a secret. A later occasion is improbable, because something of this kind would be then indispensable. Jesus could not ask the Twelve to accept the claims then made without, on the one hand, setting forth his divine warrant (Heb. 5:1, 4, 5), and, on the other, guarding against misunderstanding. (4) The setting thus proposed as original is confirmed by the relation of the context in Matt. 16:13—17:13 and parallels, both in substance and form; for (a) the transfiguration story is also a divine manifestation of Jesus as the Son of God, together with the implications of this messiahship; and (b) the expressions of the associated narratives of Peter's confession and the transfiguration display affinity with those of the baptism and temptation story; for example, "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it (Jesus' messiahship), but my Father;" "Get thee behind me, Satan;" "gain the whole world," and the "Voice from heaven saying, This is my Son, the Beloved, whom I have chosen."

Admitting that the form of the two narratives is unusual (though not unexampled) in Jesus' teaching, this view of their substantial authenticity still seems to me much more probable than any theory of mythic origin or later haggada. The most probable answer to the question, Who had capacity to frame or give currency to such a symbol-narrative as this? still appears to be, Jesus himself.<sup>3</sup> In particular, if we answer the question, "Was Jesus Ekstatiker?" as in the light of his serene sanity we must answer it, then the representation of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, in spite of grotesque features, will seem the most trustworthy historically; because by placing the episode of the temptation in the mouth of Jesus it brings this, if not the baptismal *bath qōl*, into the same category of prophetic

<sup>3</sup> Since the present article was written, Spitta has published, in *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. V, No. 4 (1904), an article characterized by his usual keenness, boldness, and mastery of cognate literature, entitled "Beiträge zur Erklärung der Synoptiker." He here deals with the story of the baptism and temptation, devoting nearly the whole article to a discussion of the *bath qōl*, whose original form he takes to be that of Luke 3:22,  $\beta$  text,  $\sigma\upsilon\ \epsilon\iota\ \delta\ \theta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\gamma\omega\ \sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\ \gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\kappa\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon$ . With all acknowledgment of Spitta's suggestiveness, I prefer Bousset's view of the relation of this reading to canonical Luke, and can see no ground for making the Baptist the subject in Luke 1:10, or for ascribing to the narrative any other ultimate origin than as above stated.

teaching, or else admit that the text has been affected by later doctrinal views. The former course is followed by the late Professor E. P. Gould in the *International Critical Commentary*, who renders, "Thou art my beloved Son," and comments as follows on the succeeding clause:

The aorist *εὐδόκησα*, *I came to take pleasure*, denotes the historical process by which God came to take pleasure in Jesus during his earthly life. . . . It accords with Luke's statement, that Jesus grew in favor with God and man.

The latter course is that which to me seems the inevitable outcome of grammatico-historical exegesis.

Every schoolboy knows that Professor Gould's statement would be true of the Greek perfect, but is not true of the aorist, which, like the Semitic, but unlike the Greek perfect, expresses action not continued in the present, but completed at some unspecified moment of the past. In 1897 an article entitled "The Aorist *εὐδόκησα* in Mk i. 11 and Parallels,"<sup>5</sup> showed that the sense of the *bath qōl* can only be: "Thou art (var. This is) my Son, the Beloved; on thee (var. on whom) I fixed my choice." It was also shown that the passage Isa. 42:1-4, as quoted in Matt. 12:18-21, is the model (the word *νίος* excepted) for the whole description of the scene: *'Ιδὸν ὁ παῖς μου ὃν ἡρέτισα, ὁ ἀγαπητός μου ὃν εὐδόκησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου, θήσω τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν.* Here *εὐδόκησεν* translates a Hebrew perfect (*rātsetha*). Moreover, it was shown that the technical use of *εὐδοκεῖν* and *εὐδοκία* in the LXX (for Heb. *ratsah*) and New Testament of the divine placuit, the inscrutable (usually precreative) decree of the Almighty,<sup>6</sup> makes it still more certain that the reference of the aorist *εὐδόκησεν* is to the divine election. This demonstration may now be re-inforced by the evidence of the Western text in Acts 9:22, *εἰς ὃν ὁ θεὸς εὐδόκησεν*, where we find used the precise form (a significant fact<sup>7</sup>) of 2 Pet. 1:17. Paul proved that this Jesus "was the Christ *whom God had elected*."

There is further evidence. The verbal *ἀγαπητός* is not a mere adjective, but a separate messianic title. This appears distinctly

<sup>5</sup> Bacon, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVI, pp. 136-39.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Matt. 11:26 and parallels; Eph. 1:5, 9; Phil. 2:13. In Luke 2:14 the true reading is *εὐδοκίας* = the men of God's choice, i. e., the "elect."

<sup>7</sup> See Scharfe, *Petrinische Strömung*, for evidences of literary affinity in the Petrine epistles with the Petrine source of Acts, and with Mark.

Here is certainly evidence enough *prima facie* to exclude prejudgment of the case when it is proposed to regard the clauses *ὁ ἀγαπητός* (var. *ἐκλεκτός*) *ἐν ᾧ* (var. *σοι*) *εὐδόκησα*, in Mark 1:11 and parallels, as exegetical additions taken over from Mark by canonical Matthew and by the *a* text of canonical Luke. Mark *does* theologize.

But before taking up the question whether the Isaian messianic title and the reference to the divine election may not be doctrinal supplements of the evangelist, we must file a *caveat* regarding what is called the "Pauline" higher Christology, by which no more is properly implied than that our acquaintance with it is principally through Paul.<sup>10</sup> That it originated with Paul is not here maintained. On the contrary, the infrequency of the distinctive messianic title *ἀγαπητός* in Paul, as compared with a group of Jewish and Jewish-Christian writers, as well as certain other special phenomena of Ephesians, where the important parallels are found, suggests rather a Jewish, or at least Alexandrian-Jewish, derivation, Paul's use being adoptive only.

1. The theory that Mark has been employed by both canonical Matthew and Luke is now so generally accepted as to make it needless to point out that the taking up of the disputed words by Matthew and by the *a* text of Luke counts for little. The three authorities represent only the one witness Mark. Contrariwise the fact has considerable significance that the *β* text of Luke has instead of these words *ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε* (Ps. 2:7), and that this reading has the support, if not of Heb. 5:5, at least of some of the earliest patristic witnesses, as well as of some important modern textual critics.<sup>11</sup> It appears, then, that in early tradition *two* endings of the *bath qol* were current, an "Isaian," based on Isa. 42:3, and a "Davidic," based on Ps. 2:7. The *a* text of Luke follows Mark in adopting the Isaian; the *β* text follows Heb. 5:5 in adopting the Davidic, whether Hebrews be repeating or originating this tradition.

<sup>10</sup> The argument from Isa. 6:9 f. has stronger claims to be regarded as distinctly Pauline.

<sup>11</sup> See especially Spitta, *ubi supra*, p. 308, and the authorities cited: Usener, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Vol. I, pp. 40 ff.; A. Resch, *Agrapha*, pp. 346-50, and *Ausserkanonische Paralleltexte*, Vol. III, pp. 20 f.; Bousset, *Evangelienstudien*, p. 54; Zahn, *Einleitung*, Vol. II, pp. 358 f. Bousset regards the *β* text as adopting a precanonical reading.

2. The question which ought to be asked, but has thus far been obscured by an exaggerated idea of the primitive, non-theological character of Mark, is whether the internal evidence is not equally strong against ending (1) also, so that Jesus' own report of the *bath qbl* at his baptism will have included only the single utterance in which all reports agree, and which is alone presupposed in the succeeding context of the temptation story, having something like the form: "I heard a voice from heaven (as it were a dove?) saying: 'Thou art my Son.'"

Of the technical character of the terms *εὐδοκία* and *ἡγαπημένος* in Eph. 1:4-6 there can be no question. Here the endowment of spiritual blessings upon which believers have already entered in the person of Christ, their representative "in the heavenlies," is declared to correspond with their "election" (*καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς*) "in the person of the 'Beloved'" "before the foundation of the world." For God "in love"<sup>13</sup> foreordained us unto an adoption as sons (*υιοθεσίαν*), according to the placuit (*τὴν εὐδοκίαν*) of his will, in the person of the Beloved (*ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ*)." But the mere resemblance between Paul's reference to the adoption in the forefront of his epistle, and Mark's account of the adoption<sup>14</sup> as the beginning of his gospel may not of itself be convincing. It behooves us to study the most nearly contemporary Jewish and Christian writers, especially where this messianic title "the Beloved," elsewhere foreign to Paul, is employed; to see if we cannot find traces of similar technical use of this terminology.

The title *Ἀγαπητός*, or *Ἠγαπημένος*, is equivalent to *Ἐκλεκτός*, or *Ἐκλελεγμένος*, the latter occupying its place in the version of the *bath qbl* of the transfiguration in Luke 9:35 (*Ἐκλελεγμένος*) and occurring again in Luke 23:35, "if this be the Christ of God, his Elect" (*Ἐκλεκτός*). It obeys the general principle of messianic titles laid down by R. H. Charles, that in singular and plural they are used reciprocally of Messiah, and of the people whose head and

<sup>13</sup> So Abbott, *International Commentary*, bringing together *ἐν ἀγάπῃ* . . . *ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ*.

<sup>14</sup> Wellhausen expresses the sense of the narrative as follows: "Auf alle Fälle liegt die wesentliche Bedeutung der Taufe Jesu darin, dass sie ihn zum Messias umwandelt, dass er als simpler Mensch in das Wasser hinabsteigt, und als der Sohn Gottes wiederheraufkommt."

representative he is, the latter use being in reality primary, since the adoption of Israel as Yahweh's "son, his firstborn" (Exod. 4:22) is earlier and far more fundamental and characteristic than the adoption of their theocratic representative (2 Sam. 7:14). Thus Messiah is designated the Elect, or Chosen, as representative of the elect or chosen people. He is the Saint (ὁ Ἅγιος) as they are the saints (οἱ ἅγιοι); he is "the Son of God" because Israel is God's son, adopted and called out of Egypt (Exod. 4:22; Hos. 11:1; Heb. 12:23); he is the Firstborn (Rom. 8:29; Col. 1:15, 18, *Καθ' Ἐβρ., ut supra*), because they are God's "firstborn" (Exod. 4:22; 2 Esdr. 6:58), and despite all that has been said in favor of a unique, super-human sense in the Johannine term, we will add he is also the "Only-begotten" (*Μονογενής*) because Israel, in distinction from the gentiles, is God's "only-begotten" (2 Esdr. 6:58; Ps. Sol. 13:7 ff). Paul's employment of the term Ἀγαπητοί in the technical sense corresponds to this rule, and his use of this plural is not infrequent. In Rom. 11:28<sup>15</sup> Israel are ἀγαπητοί according to the election (κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν) in Rom. 1:7; Eph. 5:1; 1 Tim. 6:2, the term is transferred to the spiritual "Israel of God;" but only Eph. 1:6 applies the title to Christ, and the title is in fact very rare.

<sup>15</sup> The Old Testament technical use is most apparent in Deut. 33:12; Jer. 11:15; 12:7; Ps. 60:5; 108:6; 127:2, and the Song of Songs rabbinically interpreted as the marriage-ode of Jehovah's "Beloved." A parallel from the *Pirke Aboth*, iii, 14, is of particular value as illustrating the Jewish technical application in the mouth of an ardent supporter of this interpretation, and a bitter enemy of Christianity. Akiba (70-132 A. D.) was wont to say: "Mankind is 'beloved' because 'created in the image of God' (Gen. 1:27). . . . 'Beloved' are Israel in that they are called the children of God (in common with others), but an additional love was shown them in that they are called the children of God, as is said, 'Ye are the children of the Lord your God' (i. e., in distinction from the gentiles, cf. Deut. 14:1-21; Ps. Arist., 140, and Matt. 5:45-48; 6:32). Beloved are Israel (in common with others), because to them was given the desirable vessel wherewith the world was created (i. e., wisdom, Prov. 8:22 ff. etc.), but an additional love was shown unto them as is said, 'For I give you good doctrine, forsake ye not my Torah'" (Prov. 4:2; the Torah identified with Wisdom, as in Eccles. 24:23; Bar. 4:1; *Pirke Aboth*, vi, 7, 9, 10; cf. Deut. 4:6). It is a highly notable parallel that Akiba's ground for claiming for Israel the title "beloved" in the technical sense is the rabbinic counterpart of Paul's in Eph. 1:8, 9 for claiming it for the spiritual "adoption." Israel has (in the Torah) the supreme divine gift of wisdom and revelation, specifically concerning the creation and its purpose (cf. *Assumptio Mosis* 1:12-14; Rom. 2:17-20). This, says Paul, is true in still higher degree of Christians, who are endowed by the Spirit with a charisma of wisdom and insight to know these things beyond worldly philosophy (1 Cor. 2:6-16; Eph. 1:3-14).

We know of but one Christian apokryphon in which "the Beloved" is throughout the current designation of the Messiah, but, curiously enough, this special writing has obscure relations connecting it on the one side with Isaian literature, on the other with Ephesians. The *Ascensio Isaiae* is a combination in the form known to us, of (a) the earlier Jewish midrash employed in Heb. 11:37, the *Martyrdom of Isaiah* (b) a Christianized *Testament of Hezekiah*, perhaps connected in origin with the *Martyrdom*, and (c) a Christian apocalypse presenting the avatar of Christ as "the Beloved" descending through the seven heavens, freeing the captives of death and Hades (cf. Heb. 2:15; 1:18), and ascending again in glory to God's throne. This apocalypse is the so-called *Visio Isaiae*, a Christian writing of about the end of the first century, which from its character, its connection with the *Martyrdom* and *Testament*, and the general rule regarding early Christian apocalypses, may well be also based on an earlier Jewish work of kindred character. Its title alone would be sufficient proof that its adoption of the messianic title "the Beloved" is not an imitation of the isolated New Testament occurrences, but is due to Christian employment of Isaiah as the one who "saw his glory and spake of him" (John 12:41; c.f. 1 Pet. 1:11). Moreover, this influence of Isaiah is by no means confined to the descriptions of the Suffering Servant which underlie 1 Peter, the Petrine element of Luke (Luke 24:46; Acts 18:28 ff., etc.), and the liturgical fragments which employ the term (ἀγαπητός) παῖς θεοῦ, but the influence of Isa. 26:16—27:3<sup>16</sup> is distinctly traceable here as elsewhere in early Christian literature, more particularly in the LXX form, which renders as follows:

As a travailing woman neareth her bearing, so were we as toward thy Beloved (τῷ Ἀγαπητῷ σου). For the sake of thy fear, O Lord, we conceived in the womb, we travailed and brought forth, we produced the Spirit of thy salvation upon the earth (cf. Isa. 66:5-11; Gal. 4:19, John 16:21). We shall not fall, but all that dwell on the earth shall fall. The dead shall rise up, they that are in the tombs shall be raised, and those upon the earth shall rejoice, for the dew that cometh

<sup>16</sup> Isa. 28:13-15 (the Word of the Lord *Cau la cau, sau la sau zeesar* destroying the covenant of the ἀρχαί with Hades and Death) plays a great part in Gnostic mythology from Basilides down (Irenæus *Her.*, I, xxiv, 3-7; cf. Hippolytus, *Philos.*, v, 8).



forth from thee (Hos. 14:5) is their healing<sup>17</sup> . . . . In that day God shall bring his holy and great and strong sword upon the dragon, the fleeing serpent, upon the dragon, the crooked serpent; he shall slay the dragon.

Hereupon follows (27:2 f) the song of the Beloved Vineyard of which the Lord is the husbandman, which is to fill the world with its fruit, but whose withered branches are broken off, gathered and consumed in the fire (5:11; cf. John 15:1-6).<sup>18</sup>

This passage forms part of the latest addition to the *Corpus Isaianum* (Isa., chaps. 24-27), an addition thus described by Marti in the recently published *Handkommentar*:

A mosaic from various descriptive, prophetic-apocalyptic, and lyric fragments, the basis being an apocalypse in which the other fragments are interpolated. The apocalypse comprises (a) 24:1-23, overthrow of the earth, judgment on the powers in the heavens<sup>19</sup> and on earth, and Yahweh's descent upon Zion; (b) 25:6-8, feast to all nations on Zion;<sup>20</sup> (c) 26:20-27:1, hiding of Israel during the judgment; (d) 7:12, 13, gathering of the elect.<sup>21</sup>

This apocalypse is dated in the latest years of John Hyrcanus, 134-104 B. C.

The imbedded secondary element comprises, according to Marti, (a) 25:1-5, a song on the overthrow of Samaria<sup>22</sup> in 107 B. C.; (b) 25:9-11, thanksgiving for victories; (c) 26:1-19, praise for the victory of the righteous and for the promise of future deliverance (107 B. C.); (d) Song of Israel as Yahweh's beloved Vineyard (offsetting the Song of the Beloved against God's Vineyard<sup>23</sup> of Isa. 5:1 ff.); (e) 27:7-11, last conditions for the redemption.

<sup>17</sup> Heb. "a dew of lights is thy dew." See the beautiful exposition of this metaphor by George A. Smith in *Expositor's Commentary*, and note how Paul's references to the coming of Christ to raise the dead are habitually under the figure of the dawn (*ἐπιφάνεια*), 1 Thess. 5:1-10; Eph. 6:7-14; 2 Cor. 4:4-6. The fundamental passages underlying the whole series are 2 Sam. 23:4 (with vss. 6, 7 compare Isa. 27:4); Mal. 4:2.

<sup>18</sup> The rendering of the LXX here becomes unintelligible, perhaps representing even another text.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Luke 21:26; Rev. 6:13.      <sup>20</sup> Cf. Matt. 8:11.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. 1 Thess. 4:13-17; Rev. 6:15-17.

<sup>22</sup> The relation of these chapters to the overthrow of Samaria by the two sons of Hyrcanus in 107 B. C. accounts for their insertion in the *Corpus Isaianum* before Isa., chap. 28 (against Samaria).

<sup>23</sup> Δου δὲ τῷ ἀγαπημένῳ ἔσμα τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ μου τῷ ἀμπελῶνι μου. In 27:2 καλὸς inadequately renders "beloved."

To demonstrate completely the theory we have now in mind, it would be needful to show that between this late apocalyptic offshoot from the Isaian stock and the Christian first-and-second-century products known to us under the name of Isaiah, which profess to be based on earlier Jewish writings, there extends a chain of apocalyptic fragments, marked by Isaian phraseology, especially the messianic title *ὁ ἀγαπητός*, and by the same affinity with mythology and avatar doctrines manifest in the passage quoted. It would also appear that the earlier links of this chain are Jewish, the later Jewish-Christian, and that it underlies as a whole many of our New Testament and early Christian writings. For our present purpose this is too large an undertaking. A few steps only can be indicated.

1. The second-century compiler of the *Ascensio Isaiae*, besides his employment of the pre-Christian *Martyrdom of Isaiah* and the (Jewish?)<sup>24</sup> *Testament of Hezekiah* expressly refers the reader to older authorities in 4:20-22. Here "the rest of the vision regarding the Lord" is referred to "the parables according to my words which are written in the book which I (Isaiah) publicly prophesied" (a *midrash* on Isaiah?). In particular, the compiler declares that "the descent of the Beloved into Sheol is written in the section where the Lord says, 'Behold, my Son will understand.'" Professor Charles well says as to this:

This quotation is taken from Is. lii. 13 where the LXX has *ἰδοὺ σὺνῆδαι ὁ παῖς μου*. Παῖς has been rendered "son" by the Ethiopic translator. It is hard to recognize in Is. lii. 13—liii any reference to his descent to Hades.

The descent of the Beloved into Sheol, however, is a conception not unknown to Eph. 4:9, nor to 1 Pet. 3:19; 4:6. Only according to Paul, the descent and ascent are of the divine Wisdom or Word (Rom. 10:6-8; cf. *Bar.* 3:28-4:2) of the Hoqmah literature, whereof more hereafter. Meanwhile it may be well to point out that the two Pauline epistles which speak of the Lord's descent to raise the dead and gather his elect (Eph. 1:20-2:6; 4:10; 5:13 f.,

<sup>24</sup> R. H. Charles in his edition of the *Ascensio Isaiae*, p. xviii, says of this: "It is not improbable that the Christian *Testament of Hezekiah* was based on an earlier Jewish work; for Hebrew or Aramaic idioms survive in the Greek, as *ἐς καὶ ἐς ἐν τόποις καὶ τόποις* in 27." The apocalyptic character suggested by the title appears by comparison of "the writing of Hezekiah" in Isa. 38:10-20 (see especially vss. 11, 17, 18).

and 1 Thess. 4:13-17) are the same two in which the Isaian imagery of God's arming himself for the conflict in behalf of his people is also employed (cf. Isa. 59:17 with 1 Thess. 5:5-10 and Eph. 5:8-14; 6:11-17). We shall see that to Justin and Irenæus the doctrine of the descent and ascent are "Isaian."

Next to this Isaian apokryphon (?) the Ascensio refers to "the parables of David and Proverbs of Solomon,"<sup>25</sup> specifying in particular "the words of Ethan the Israelite (*sic*)" and "of Korah," so that we can identify Pss. 88 and 89, attributed by the LXX to Ethan τῆ Ἰσραηλείτη, two psalms which by their whole tenor are highly significant. He probably includes also Ps. 45, entitled in the LXX *ψδὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ*—a psalm appealed to in Heb. 1:8, 9, interpreted by the fathers as the nuptial ode of Messiah and his Bride (cf. Eph. 5:25-33), and their favorite proof-text of the generation of the Word because of its beginning, "My heart hath brought forth a good Word."<sup>26</sup> But beyond all other of the "Psalms of David" he will have had in mind Ps. 68, if his doctrine of Messiah's descent, conflict, and triumphal ascent, and the title *ὁ ἀγαπητός* count for anything; for Ps. 68 is a favorite whose use in this sense did not begin with Eph. 4:8. We see in it the triumphal ode in which Yahweh, "a God of salvation, whose are the issues from death," descends, leads captive the captivity of his people (delivers from bondage), and ascends again on high.

Rabbinic exegesis found in it the celebration of the triumph, deliverance, and ascent of Moses (!). The LXX, however, seem to have found something else, for their rendering of 5:11 f., is: "The Lord will give a word to them that proclaim the glad tidings with great power, even the King of the hosts of the Beloved, of the Beloved."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Probably including not only the famous Wisdom chapter, Prov., chap. 8, and perhaps, by misunderstanding, the reference to the Beloved, Prov. 4:3, but the Wisdom books generally in which Wisdom appears hypostatized (Wisd. 6:12-7:30; Eccus. 24:1-22) and even incarnate (*Bar.* 3:36, 37, Wisdom given "to Jacob, God's Servant, and Israel his Beloved"), afterwards appearing upon earth and being conversant with men; cf. the Oxyrhynchus fragment, *Log.*, iii, and Irenæus, IV, xx, 3, 4).

<sup>26</sup> Justin *Dial.*, xxxviii.

<sup>27</sup> It is well known that Paul's quotation alters the Hebrew from "received gifts from men" to "gave gifts to men." There are two reasons, however, which show

Besides Isiaah, David, and Solomon, the author of the *Ascensio* rests on the book of the Twelve Minor Prophets, wherein we easily identify at least one favorite messianic proof-text for both New Testament and later writers, as relating to "the descent of the Beloved into Sheol," namely, Zech. 12:10 (cf. 13:6 [LXX τῷ ἀγαπητῷ μου and Am. 8, 10), the mourning of the tribes when they "look upon him whom they have pierced,"<sup>28</sup> a mourning "as for a Beloved" (ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαπητῷ).

Finally, besides "the words of Daniel," referring probably to Dan. 12:2, *Ascensio* appeals to "the words of Joseph the Just," a pseudepigraph of unmistakably anti-Christian character, in which the speaker is not Joseph, but "Jacob," who claims to be "an angel of God," "the first *servant*<sup>1</sup> in God's presence," whereas the angel who wrestled with Jacob was only eighth in rank, and finally "the first-begotten of every creature animated by God" (πρωτόγονος παντὸς ζώου ζωουμένου ὑπὸ θεοῦ); c.f. Col. 1:15. As Marshall<sup>30</sup> points out, this *Book of Joseph*, used according to Origen παρ' Ἑβραίων, "is a representative of a remarkable trend in Jewish theology, which led the Jews to claim for the three great patriarchs the same sublime and supernatural characteristics as the Christians claimed for the Lord Jesus." The quarrel, as we shall see, was in regard to certain Scriptures to which both sides gave the same transcendental and mystical sense, but a different application. Justin Martyr's answer to the doctrine of Jacob as an incarnation is to quote the passage on which it rests (Isa. 42:1-4, LXX): "Jacob is my Servant; I will uphold him. Israel is my Elect I will put my Spirit upon him." Justin declares, therefore, and deliberately undertakes

that he is not proceeding without authority. (1) The Targum has the same change (לְקַח מִיָּדָיו לְבָנֵי נִשְׁאָר), applying the ascension and distribution of gifts, however, to Moses. (2) The change seems to rest on a deliberate substitution of חֶלֶק for לֶקַח, according to the well-known scribal practice of transposition, so that Yahweh should not appear in the questionable attitude of "taking tribute," but as "distributing spoils." Cf. Col. 2:15, Justin, *Dial.*, xxxix.

<sup>28</sup> The New Testament form, as is well known, varies from the Hebrew and LXX as well.

<sup>29</sup> See *infra* Isa. 42:1, *apud* Justin Martyr.

<sup>30</sup> Hastings, *Bible Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 778, s. v. "Joseph, Prayer of."

to prove in no less than five passages, that "God speaks in Isaiah of Christ in parable, calling him Jacob and Israel."<sup>31</sup>

2. Justin Martyr evinces something more than the existence of earlier Jewish and Christian avatar doctrines in connection with the Isaian figure of "the Beloved." He has definite reference to the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, as relating the sawing asunder of the prophet with a wooden saw,<sup>32</sup> at the same time treating it as *part of the canonical writing which the Jews have maliciously cut out*. A certain degree of currency from a remoter period, and of authoritative regard for these Isaiana, at least from Christians, is certainly implied. As is well known, Justin makes the same accusation regarding a number of apocryphal fragments which he attributes to "Esdras," "Jeremiah," and other "Scripture," at the same time complaining of the repudiation of the LXX readings and renderings. The whole process of rectification of text and canon, he says, "took place but recently."<sup>33</sup>

It is clear that Justin has misunderstood the facts, borrowing his accusation from Palestinian authorities who could compare the Semitic originals. Yet in substance his statement is true. In the alleged excisions we should recognize the determined effort of the Palestinian synagogue in the time of Akiba (100-132) to delimit the canon of Scripture, excluding and disapproving that mass of quasi-canonical, pseudepigraphic literature of which New Testament writers, even to Paul, still make use, and which, together with the LXX version, gave to the church its favorite weapons of argument. Fortunately, the Alexandrian version of the LXX could not be suppressed, nor the books which had found admission into its looser canon, though repeated efforts were made to supplant it by new and stricter versions; but most of the corresponding Hebrew or Aramaic writings perished with the overthrow of the Palestinian church. Hence Justin, while misunderstanding the nature of the borrowed accusation, is in substance correct, just as he has recently been proved to be also in the matter of the public cursing of Christians in the synagogue service.<sup>34</sup> The passages he quotes had, indeed, been recently excised by the Jews, but they had never formed part of the

<sup>31</sup> *Dial.*, cxxiii; cf. xxxvi, c, cxxvi, and especially cxxxv.

<sup>32</sup> *Ascensio*, v, 1; cf. *Dial.* cxx, 14, 15.

<sup>33</sup> *Dial.*, lxxi-lxxiii.

<sup>34</sup> *Dial.*, xcvi.

genuine "Isaiah" or "Jeremiah" or "Esdras," but of midrashic elaborations and secondary developments of canonical writings, whose currency was only among the "people which knew not the Law," Christians and such Jewish opponents as the author of the *Prayer of Joseph*. We have seen, indeed, how in an earlier period apocalyptic pseud-Isaiana could make their way into the canon itself; but in Palestine this looseness did not extend long after the period of Daniel (165 B. C.).

But we must return to Justin's specific accusations of deletion, some of which have a direct bearing on the history of Isaian apocalypse. In *Dial.*, lxxii, he avers that "from the words of Jeremiah these have been cut out: 'The Lord God remembered his dead people Israel who lay in the graves; and he descended to proclaim to them his own salvation.'" Again, in xxxvi, after proving from Ps. 24:6 that Christ is called Jacob, he interprets the question and answer of vss. 7-10 as follows:

When our Christ rose from the dead and ascended into heaven, the rulers in heaven under appointment of God are commanded to open the gates of heaven, that he who is King of glory may enter in . . . . For when the rulers of heaven saw him of uncomely and dishonored appearance (Isa. 52:13-53:3) and without glory, not recognizing him, they inquired "Who is this King of glory?"

We need only to compare with this the description of the *Visio Isaiae*, of how the Beloved divested himself of his glory in descending to become incarnate, in order to remain hidden from the "rulers," and met their astonishment as he reascended in glory through the successive heavens to God's right hand; and this in turn with Ignatius *ad Eph.* xix, and 1 Cor. 2:7, 8, to see whereon Justin is resting. It is clear that he employs the conceptions of the *Ascensio*, besides attributing its story of Isaiah's fate to the canonical Old Testament. It becomes also clear at the same time that the material at least antedates Ignatius (110-17). But what of Justin's Jeremiah? This is significant, not from its contents only, but from the fact that Irenæus, who employs the same passage no less than five times, and in a form so much more complete as to indicate independent

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Asc. Is.* xi, 16 with note of R. H. Charles.

acquaintance with the source,<sup>36</sup> although he follows Justin in assigning it to "Jeremiah" in *Her.*, iv, 22, 1, yet in *Her.*, iii, 21, 4, attributes it to "Isaiah." It is also not without significance that Irenæus connects the fragment with Ps. 68:18 f., as Justin also<sup>37</sup> employs Ps. 68:18 f., precisely as in Eph. 4:8, of an avatar of God in the person of Christ, freeing the bond-slaves of death.<sup>38</sup>

Nor is it difficult to carry back the traces of this doctrine of an avatar of "the Beloved" through the New Testament beyond the dividing line to pre-Christian writings, such as the "Isaian" apocalypse, Isa. 36:19, and Ezek. 37:1-14. Jesus himself, when he refers the Sadducean disbelievers in the resurrection to "the power of God," has probably in mind the second "Blessing" of the *Shemoneh Esreh*, with its Isaian phraseology:

Thou art mighty forever, O Lord; thou restorest life to the dead, thou art mighty to save; who sustainest the living with beneficence, quickenest the dead with great mercy, supporting the fallen and healing the sick, and setting at liberty those that are bound (cf. Isa. 61:1) and upholding thy faithfulness unto those who sleep in the dust. Who is like thee, Lord the Almighty, or who can be compared to thee, O King, who killest and makest alive again, and causest help to spring forth? And faithful art thou to quicken the dead. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest the dead.

Paul, too, not only appeals in Eph. 1:19 ff. to the same "power of God" which he exerted in Christ when he raised him from the dead and made him sit at his own right hand in the heavenly regions far above every angelic ruler, but expressly quotes in 5:14 an apokryphon applying to this very doctrine of the Messiah shining, in the light of a resurrection dawn, upon his dead people that lie in their graves "Wherefore (the Scripture) saith: 'Awake thou that sleepest and arise from the dead and the Christ shall shine upon thee.'" Among the many attempts of the Fathers to identify the source whence

<sup>36</sup> On the original text of the fragment, see J. A. Robinson, *Texts and Studies*, Vol. I ("Second Esdras"), p. xli. On the derivation of Justin's supposed canonical fragments from pseudo-canonical writings, see Schlatter, *Kirche Jerusalem's*, p. 76.

<sup>37</sup> *Dial.*, xxxix, lxxvii.

<sup>38</sup> On the disposition of the Fathers generally to find in Eph. 4:8 f., and still deeper down in Matt. 12:29, a parallel to the gentile myths of the conquest of Hades by various demi-gods, see Huidekoper, *Works*, Vol. II, "Christ's Mission to the Under-world," with patristic authorities quoted.

But this mistranslation itself seems to be due to influence from the doctrine of the ἀγαπητός, ὁ παῖς θεοῦ of Deutero-Isaiah. So far, then, is this from precluding a pre-Christian origin that it rather demonstrates that the title ὁ ἀγαπητός and its cognates were probably current in pre-Christian literature, forming one of the principal counts against the LXX in the warfare waged against it by the rabbis of the second century. The fundamental facts are admirably stated by J. Armitage Robinson in his article "Isaiah, Ascension of," in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 501:

The name of the Messiah in every part of this book [the *Ascensio*] is "the Beloved." There is some ground for thinking that this was a pre-Christian Messianic title. For (1) it is used in the O. T. (ὁ ἡγαπημένος LXX) as a title of Israel; e. g. Dt. xxxii, 15, xxxiii, 5, 26, where it renders "Jeshurun," as it does also in Is. xlv 2; again in Is. v., ὁ ἡγαπημένος and ὁ ἀγαπητός render יְרֵיךְ and יִרְךְ respectively. It was natural therefore that like the titles "Servant" and "Elect," it should be transferred from the people to the Messiah. (2) At the period when the Gospels were written "the Beloved" and "the Elect" were practically interchangeable terms, for Mt. writes ὁ ἀγαπητός μου (xii, 18) in citing Is. xlii-1, where the Hebrew is בְּרֵיךְ (LXX ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου); and Lk. (ix.35) substitutes ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος for ὁ ἀγαπητός in the words spoken at the Transfiguration. (3) These two substitutions suggest that, whatever may have been the original meaning of the phrase ὁ υἱός μου, ὁ ἀγαπητός (Mk. i. 11. ix, 7), both Mt. and Lk. regarded ὁ ἀγαπητός as a separate title, and not as an epithet of υἱός; and it is interesting to note that the Old-Syriac version emphasized this distinction by rendering "My Son and my Beloved."<sup>41</sup> (4) In Eph. i.9 St. Paul uses ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ as equivalent to ἐν τῷ χριστῷ in a context in which he is designedly using terms derived from Jewish sources. (5) Certain passages of the LXX where ὁ ἀγαπητός occurs were explained by Christian interpreters as Messianic (Ps. xlv [xlv] *lit.*, Zech. xii.10). (6) Lastly, we have several passages in early Christian writings in which ὁ ἡγαπημένος is used as a title of Christ, e. g. Barn. iii.6, iv. 3,<sup>42</sup> 8; cf. Clem. Rom. lix.2, 3; Ign. *Smyrn.* inscr.; Herm. *Sim.* IX, xii.5; *Acts of Thekla*, c. 1; ὁ ἀγαπητός is also used, but usually with υἱός or παῖς (Herm. *Sim.* V.ii. 6; *Mart. Polyc.* 14; *Ep. ad Diogn.* 8; *Acts of Thekla* c. 24;

<sup>41</sup> See above on 2 Pet. 1:17.

<sup>42</sup> Note that this passage, "For to this end the Lord cut short the times and the days" (Ps. 102:23 seems to be referred to, *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. III [1902], pp. 280-85), "that his Beloved might hasten and come to his inheritance," is quoted from a "scripture." The Greek has "Enoch," the Latin "Daniel." The real source is unknown, but the "Scripture" was probably pre-Christian.



in the last three cases in a liturgical formula<sup>43</sup>). It is difficult to suppose that in all these instances from Christian writings the title (especially in the form *ὁ ἀγαπητός*) has for its only source the N. T. And in particular the persistent use of *ὁ ἀγαπητός* in the present book [*Ascensio Isaia*] suggests that the writer must have thought its introduction consistent with verisimilitude in a work which sought to be regarded as an ancient Jewish prophecy of Christ.

Our review of the evidence for the existence in pre-Christian Judaism of an Isaian type of apocalypse, which made use of the titles of Deutero-Isaiah, such as *ὁ ἀγαπητός*, *ὁ παῖς θεοῦ*, and the Isaian forms of representation (borrowed from oriental mythology) of the conflict of the God of light and life against darkness and death (Isa. 27:1; 59:16 f.), his descent to the underworld, release of its captives, and ascent to the throne of the universe (Isa. 26:19, etc.), is not complete, but would seem sufficient to indicate that the Pauline doctrine of this type in Eph. 1:20—2:6; 4:8—10; 5:13 f.; 6:11—17, and kindred passages, is of genuine Jewish stock. The ardent contention of Akiba for the application of the title "The Beloved" to Israel only reflects a real contention between church and synagogue regarding its applicability. The terminology of Eph. 1:3—14 regarding the "adoption," the *εὐδοκία*, the eternal foreordination of the Beloved, and election of the "sons" in him, stands, therefore, for ideas more or less stereotyped even in Paul's day, and if so, then certainly in Mark's. Are, then, the expressions of the "Isaian" ending (ending [1]) in the baptismal *bath qōl* derived directly from Jesus' own report; or, if not, whence have they come into the story?

We have already noted that had the Isaian ending been of the same origin as that single utterance in which all authorities agree, we should expect the latter to be, not *ὁ υἱός*, but *ὁ παῖς μου*. We may now add that in all the teaching of Jesus it is not the Isaian *ὁ παῖς μου* which dominates his thoughts, still less the mythic-apocalyptic idea, but simply that of sonship, without the connotations inseparable from the Isaian title, whether of abasement or of exaltation. Harnack has been criticised for selecting as the key expression of Jesus' messianic consciousness the passage Matt. 11:27 = Luke 10:22, subject, as it is, to the suspicions of many critics as to authenticity. But,

<sup>43</sup> Also in Clem. Rom., lix, 2, 3. See Lightfoot's commentary on this passage, *Apostolic Fathers*. Clemen has also noted that the Isaian designation of Christ as (*ἀγαπητός*) *παῖς θεοῦ* is a characteristic of early Syrian liturgies and the *Petrine source of Acts* (Acts 3:13, 26; 4:27, 30).

whether primary or secondary, there can be no denial of the fact that this verse, with its simple juxtaposition of "the Father, the Son," accounts far better for the sense of personal revelation and authority which Jesus brings with him, and for the individual note in his teaching as a whole, than would the *bath qôl* of the baptism or transfiguration accompanied by either Davidic or Isaian ending.

Somewhere we must touch upon the personal religious experience of Jesus, his direct individual consciousness of relation to God. Not everything in his teaching was derived from the Old Testament, and no better definition has ever been found for the new element he brought into the idea of the kingdom than the conception that in its essence it is the filial relation with God as known to Jesus' personal experience. It does not really broaden, but rather limits and narrows this personal religious consciousness of Jesus to attach to it the Isaian terms, "the Beloved," "the Elect." Moreover, these doctrinal terms certainly represent a secondary stage, and are taken up by only a part of the tradition. True there are hints, of doubtful value, that in the prospect of his martyr death Jesus was sustained, and sought to sustain his followers, by applying the principle of the Isaian suffering Servant; but these are meager in the extreme. The New Testament itself is explicit in its representation that these christological ideas were not effectively conveyed to the disciples until after Jesus' death. It was then that "their eyes were opened, and they perceived that thus it behooved the Christ to suffer and to enter into his glory." It is a note distinctive of the Petrine tradition in 1 Peter, Luke-Acts, Mark, and occasional superadded touches in Matthew (Matt. 12:17-21, etc.), that it applies the Isaian doctrine in a way that Paul does not. And yet Paul himself is our strongest witness to the extremely early currency of the doctrine, in his reference to it as a deliverance common to all preachers of the gospel from the beginning (1 Cor. 15:3; cf., the argument with Peter, Gal. 2:16).

It is to Petrine tradition and the transfiguration story that we would refer the attachment of the Isaian ending *ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα* of Mark 1:11 and parallels; for in 2 Pet. 1:17 it has some unexplained relation to "Petrine" tradition, and, as we have shown elsewhere,<sup>44</sup> the transfiguration story of the gospels, found

<sup>44</sup> Article, "The Transfiguration Story," *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (1902), pp. 236-65.

in fullest and most nearly original form in Luke 9:28-36, is an erratic block in Mark 9:2-10, whose literary affinities are rather with the revelation of Peter in Acts 10:1-11:18.

The textual relation of Matt. 3:17 to Mark 1:11 shows how easy was the process of assimilating the *bath qôl* of the baptism to that of the transfiguration. What has been done on a minor scale by the author of our canonical Matthew could be done on a larger scale by the author of Mark. To him there was no doubt that Jesus foresaw his fate from the beginning, and hence no inappropriateness in attaching to the *bath qôl* of the vocation the attributes of the Isaian suffering Servant. In reality, they have appropriateness only in the scene of the transfiguration; for this is a transcendental companion piece to the story of Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi, whose keynote, to Mark, is simply the prediction of the passion. The transfiguration story is simply an apocalypse, a revelation in "vision" to "Peter and them that were with him" of the "Isaian" doctrine of the Servant. It sets forth the true implications of the divine sonship, how the Christ must accomplish "his departure in Jerusalem" and thereafter be glorified. Peter's too limited ideas are rebuked, and the *bath qôl* reveals the significance of the vision of his glory between the two "witnesses of Messiah" (2 Esdr. 6:26) by the utterance: "This is my Son, my Beloved (Luke, "Elect;" Matthew, "he on whom I fixed my choice"), be obedient unto him."

Here scene and phraseology are harmonious; the Isaian title *ô âγαπητός* and the reference to the divine election are just what we should expect. Only the word *viôs* instead of *παῖς* stands witness to a title too strong to be displaced by Isaian terminology. In Jesus' own representation of his vocation it is otherwise. His use of symbolic terms and prophetic imagery doubtless set the example for such later developments as the visions of Peter in Luke and Acts; in particular, the origin of the story of the revelation to "Peter and them that were with him," of the divine sonship and messianic glory of Jesus may reasonably be traced to Jesus' own saying to Peter: "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father in heaven." But the coincidence of language in the two *bath qôls* is not to be explained by the dependence of the transfiguration story on that of the baptism. If any historical kernel of the latter is to be preserved,

agreement with Jesus' teaching as a whole demands that we reason conversely. Jesus' own representation of the voice that sent him on his mission of realization of the kingdom was simply: "Thou art my Son." The Isaian ending, like the Davidic, is an epexegetic addition. Its probable derivation is from the transfiguration story, that apocalyptic paraphrase of the revelation of the messiahship and impending fate of Jesus at Cæsarea Philippi.

## THE RISE OF DEISM IN YALE COLLEGE<sup>1</sup>

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Deism in America, during the first half of the eighteenth century, was of the constructive, not the destructive, sort. Its earlier colonial representatives, like the father of English deism, argued from natural reason for the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, the certainty of rewards and punishments, and the life to come. The system was at first hardly distinguished from theism; it was more akin to Butler's *Analogy* than to Hume's *Enquiry*; it took two generations to develop into the revolutionary systems of the doubting Thomases, Paine and Jefferson. Such deism was imbued with optimism and receptive of evidences of design; it was not as yet the thoroughgoing rationalism which would reduce religion to ethics, and revelation to a spiritual law in the natural world. Genetically, this deism arose in a partial reaction against high Calvinism; it taught the transcendence and benevolence of the Deity, but not the depravity of man or the determinism of his moral actions. American deism, in its inceptive stages, thus marked a change from a theology to a theodicy; from the assumptions of decrees inscrutable to the human mind, to an attempt to justify the ways of God to man. The movement began in a conservative way; its first defenders did not argue for natural religion in opposition to revealed, but for revealed religion as a necessary supplement to natural. This was especially noticeable in the two oldest New England colleges. At Harvard deism as a movement of enlightenment developed through opposition. This opposition was first exhibited in 1702 in Cotton Mather's controversial work, the *Christian Philosopher*. Veritable deistic principles were taught toward the middle of the century in the Dudleian lectures on natural religion. Academic attempts to stem the tide of rationalism were made elsewhere; in spite of them, the freshening currents

<sup>1</sup> A chapter from a forthcoming *History of Philosophy in America*, read before the American Philosophical Association, Philadelphia, December 30, 1904.

came stealing in. Thomas Clap, rector of Yale, avowed that the "great design of founding this school was to educate ministers in our own way;" nevertheless he based his moral philosophy upon the deistic Wollaston's *Religion of Nature*. In his *Short Introduction to the Study of Ethics for the Use of Students* he taught that reason was insufficient as the basis of moral obligation, yet that God, when he makes a creature, "communicates to him some degree of his own perfection." The sources of this cheerful outlook upon human nature are somewhat evasive. While a student at Harvard, Clap may have got it from reading the suspected Tillotson; or it may have come from the author's model, the *Ideal World* of Norris, who in turn acknowledged his indebtedness to Malebranche; or, finally, it may have been derived from a certain Cartesian optimist who managed to live in the reputed land of the blue laws. While Clap was president at Yale, a former tutor, Samuel Johnson, wrote as follows in his *Introduction to the Study of Philosophy*:

From the Natural World we evidently demonstrate the Being, Wisdom, Power and Goodness of God. From being perfectly Happy himself and Self-sufficient to his own Happiness, He could have no selfish Views, no other View in Creating and Governing the moral world than that it might be, in the whole, a happy system.

In the days of colonial conservatism Johnson is a marked example of the reactionary. As an undergraduate at Yale, he was warned against reading Descartes, Locke, and Newton; becoming a tutor, he introduced these works into the college library. As a theological student he was cautioned against a certain new philosophy that was attracting attention in England, being told that it would corrupt the pure religion of the country and bring in another system of divinity.<sup>2</sup> The warning was ineffective, for Johnson as a clergyman took orders in the Church of England and embraced Berkeleyism. The student who by the reading of Bacon had had "opened to him a new world of thought" was now on intimate terms with Berkeley, to whom Pope, the poet of deism, had attributed

<sup>2</sup> Compare *American Antiquarian Society*, October, 1895. Professor E. C. Smyth claims that the warning was against Locke, but Locke was used as a textbook at Yale from 1717 to 1825. See President Noah Porter in "Mental and Moral Science," *History of Yale College* (New York, 1879).

To his students Johnson recommended many of these books, while Rector Clap issued a Catalogue of them.<sup>5</sup>

What use the latter made of the thirty-odd deistic books may not be known, as a large chest of the rector's manuscripts was among the plunder taken from New Haven in the Revolution. But another head of the college utilized these works. Ezra Stiles, in turn, student, tutor, and president, left an account telling how he was allured by the inviting circumstances of the college library, how he was led into the darkness of skepticism, and how he finally emerged from deism.<sup>6</sup> As an undergraduate he apprehended that his religious principles were settled, but about the year 1747, till which time he was full of the sentiments of Calvinism, he had great solicitude about being of the happy number elected to mercy. In his Birthday Memoir he continues:

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Samuel Johnson, *An Introduction to the Study of Philosophy . . . with Catalogue of the Library of Yale College* (New London, 1743). Thomas Clap, *a Catalogue of some of the most valuable Authors* (New London, 1743). The deistic books common to both catalogues are marked with an asterisk. Johnson's list is as follows: 'On Pneumatology, read, *Le Clerks*, Pneumatologia, \*Locks, Hum. Und. passim, \*Wollaston's Rel. Nat. *Clarks* Letters to Dodwell and Liebnitz, *Malbranch*, *Des Cartes* Metaph. \*Norris's Ideal World, Bp. *Berkleys* New Theory of Vision, \*Principles of Human Knowledge, \*Dialogues & \*Tract. De Motu. Bp. *Browne's* Procedure & Extent of Hum. Und. & Divine Analogy, *Shaftsbury's* Philosophical Rhapsody, \**Watt's* Philosophical Essays. On Physico-Theology, read, *Derham's* Astro- & Physico Theology, *Ray's* Wisdom of God in the Creation, \**Cheyn's* Philosophical Principles of Religion, *Whiston's* Astronomical Principles of Religion, *Newentyte*, *Bently* & others *Boyles* Lecture. On *Natural Religion*, read, \**Wilkin's* Natural Religion, \**Wollaston*, *Clarke's* Demonstration &c. \**Cudworth's* Intellectual System, & Foundation of Morality, *Cumberland's* Law of Nature. On the *Evidences of Christianity* read . . . of the Moderns, \**Grotius* De Ver. Christ. Rel. \**Stillingfleet's* Origines, *Jenkin's* Reasonableness of Christianity, *Clarke's*, *Kidder's* Demonstration of the Messiah, *Sykes*, *Chandler*, *Smallbrook*, *Conybear*, *Foster*, \*Bp. *Berkley's* Minute Phil. *Chapman's* Eusebius, *Roger's* Eight Sermons, Bp. *Butler's* Analogy.' Deistic works cited by Clap and not by Johnson are:—*Cumberland* de Legibus Naturae; *Culverwell* of the Light of Nature, Observations Divine and Moral; *Clark* on the Being & Attributes of God; *Whistons* Boyles Lectures; *Gastrel's* Boyles Lectures; *Wise* against Atheism; *Parker* de Deo; Divine Dialogues; A. Bp. *Cambray's* Existence of God; *More* on Atheism; *Grew* on the Being of God; Bp. *Chandler's* Defence of Christianity; *Woolsey's* Rational Grounds of the Bible; *Smith's* Appeal to Reason; The Religious Phylosopher; Reason and Religion Adjusted; *Watt's* Caveat against Infidelity; . . . 'The whole Number in the Library is about 2600.'

<sup>6</sup> Abel Holmes, *The Life of Ezra Stiles* (Boston, 1798).

In the year 1748 I had not indeed a disbelief, but I was in a state of skepticism, and ardently sought a clear belief of the being and attributes of God. Close attention to Dr. Clarke's demonstration, and above all, to the views of surrounding nature, at length pretty fully established me in this fundamental doctrine. . . . In 1750 a conversation with a young gentleman, of an amiable and virtuous character, first raised in me scruples and doubts respecting Revelation, which have cost me many a painful hour. But I most assiduously applied to the study of the evidences of revelation and by 1754 it appeared to be the best system, on the foot of natural religion.

To this "view of his mind," Stiles added in 1768 a "Review of those Authors, which he read during the rise, height, and decline, of his skepticism." This may be given in detail as exhibiting both the pervasive influence of English thought and the mental independence of a young colonial. In 1747, the narrator continues,

I read with attention Doctor Clarke's Demonstration of the being and attributes of God; but did not find entire satisfaction. I proceeded through his evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion; but did not find his arguments conclusive for either. I did not perceive his reasonings so strong and conclusive as I had been accustomed to perceive those for the solar system, mathematics, and experimental philosophy. For many years I had been fed with demonstrations as to science. In 1748 I read Shaftsbury's Characteristics, and admired them as sublime views of Nature, and of the moral government of the Most High. I was particularly charmed with his rhapsody. At this time I had no thoughts of deism, and least of all that this was the deists' Bible, or their favourite author, though some passages, in the third volume, shocked me. At the same time I read and was so highly delighted with Pope's Essay on Man, that I committed to memory the first Epistle, and large paragraphs of the other Epistles; and repeated portions of it frequently by myself, in my chamber, and when I walked or rode abroad. I read also Castrell's and Whiston's Boyle's Lectures. Scott's preliminary discourses to the defence of Revelation seemed to give up too much of Revelation, and reduced it to Platonism, and a republication of natural religion. About 1751 I read Turnbull's Moral Philosophy. I was pleased with his scheme of treating moral, as Newton had treated natural, philosophy. I had previously to this read Butler's Analogy, which is a masterly production; but it served little more than to remove some rubbish, and to shew that there are no greater absurdities to be charged against revealed religion, than against some of the most acknowledged principles of natural religion; and so it still left me destitute of the positive evidence of Revelation. By all these authors I had advanced so far as to see, that Revelation was a most rational and sublime scheme, far exceeding natural religion. I only wanted to see that it was true, and positively of divine original. I had hitherto not seen Tindal, nor been conversant with any books, that directly attacked Revelation. In 1756, I read Tindal, Collins, and Bolingbroke.



As a result of ten years' reading, Stiles answered that he found himself able to obviate, to his own satisfaction, any and all objections, the most of which are very trifling. He gives evidence of this by scrutinizing those skeptical lights which were just coming over the horizon of the western world. In a hitherto unpublished letter of 1759,<sup>7</sup> speaking of Lord Kames's *Essays* as curiosities in this country, he says:

I do not know what is his Lordship's opinion of Revelation—but am by no means certain but that a Man may entertain his Lordship's Speculations with respect to Liberty & Necessity and yet Confirm Believers of Revelation; I think I may add, that I am acquainted with such. I am in no doubt but there are more Christians & honest Revelationists of this opinion, than Deists. I am so far from thinking it a general principle of Deism, that I question if there are ten Deists in the World carry their Idea of moral Necessity so high as his Lordship.

The Mr. Hume whom Dr. Leiland confutes directly opposes a supernatural Revelation—& strongly denies the Possibility of those Things which are the proper Evidences of Christianity: and I think treats the Subject with Caprice & Insolence: self-confident, nobly full of his own Discernment, he enjoys the supreme complacency of believing himself entrusted at last with the grand Secret imparted but to the happy few that the Basis or one main found<sup>a</sup> of Christianity is an absolute Delusion. And truly it is a new Discovery that it is beyond the reach of Omnipotence to suspend, alter, or counteract the general Laws he himself has established in the Creation. . . . Shall a King be able by a Seal and other infallible Signatures to evince his Proclamations to his Subjects so that they shall have no doubt of his Majesty's Will: and shall the Great Omnipotent King of the Universe be unable to evidence & ascertain his Will to such a Handful of Intelligences the small System of Man? . . . So the Newtonian philosophy tho founded on Demonstration is yet disbelieved in many foreign Universities. A Man of less Science & less prepossession will rationally believe & receive, what sublimer Minds of great Learning in vain attempt to comprehend. There is a moral Jaundice, which some peculiar Refinements in Speculation always bring on that tinges all Objects. The Removing of this is the first Step to discerning the Truth. I think Dr. Leiland deserves highly of the Christian world. The Self sufficiency of the Deists will be a very great Obstacle to their seeing the Truth. Men of Sense ought to be treated with Candor & politeness—whatever be their Religion.

To this dissertation there were shortly added some remarks on two more of the deistic leaders, and, what is especially significant, a

<sup>7</sup> As given in the Stiles manuscripts, at Yale University, p. 436; this is the first draft of a letter to Mr. Bennet, of Edinburgh, September 14, 1759. Stiles adds: "This letter not sent but an amended copy."

virtual confession of the influence of their optimism upon one brought up in the darkened chambers of Calvinism. Writing further to his Scotch correspondent, Stiles continues:

It is to be wished that Dr. Middleton, tho' a Sceptic if not an Unbeliever, had examined & discussed the Evidences of the Miracles of the first century in the same masterly manner he has done those of the second and third, methinks the Competition would burst forth irresistible Conviction. . . . Lord Bolingbroke appears to be better acquainted with political, than theological Learning. He that perfectly understands the natures and connexions of the several Kingdoms and Politics in Europe, is very ignorant of the Administration of God. . . . I doubt not the universe is very generally happy, an omnipotent & most benevolent Being had not else given it Birth. the Infelicity of this world would be in the universe' plan but as spots only scarcely perceptible spots in the Sun's bright orb.<sup>8</sup>

Having described the deistic movement in old England, Stiles as *Anglus-Americanus* turns to the movement in New England and gives a vivid account of the mental agitations of local thought during the French and Indian War:

As we are in the midst of the struggle of Infidelity I expect no great Reformation until that [Revelation] is demonstratively established. . . . From the Conduct of the Officers of the Army you entertain an Expectation favorable to Virtue. Far from this I imagine the American Morals & Religion were never in so much danger as from our Concern with the Europeans in the present War. They put on indeed in their public Conduct the Mark of public Virtue—and the Officers endeavor to restrain the vices of the private Soldiery while on Duty. But I take it the Religion of the Army is Infidelity & Gratification of the appetites. . . . They propagate in a genteel & insensible Manner the most corrupting and debauching Principles of Behavior. It is doubted by many Officers if in fact the Soul survives the Body—but if it does, they ridicule the notion of moral accountableness, Rewards & Punishments in another life. . . . I look upon it that our Officers are in Danger of being corrupted with vicious principles, & many of them I doubt not will in the End of the War come home minute philosophers initiated in the polite Mysteries & vitiated morals of Deism. And this will have an unhappy Effect on a sudden to spread Deism or at least Scepticism thro' these Colonies. And I make no doubt, instead of the Controversies of Orthodoxy & Heresy, we shall soon be called to the defence of the Gospel itself. At Home the general grand Dispute is on the Evidences of Revelation—some few of your small Folks indeed keep warming up the old Pye, & crying Calvinism, Orthodoxy &c—these are your Whitefields, Romaines, &c that make a pother: but the greater Geniuses among the Ministers are ranging the Evidences

<sup>8</sup> Stiles MS, pp. 465-67.

of Revelation to the public View, expugning the Augustine Interpretations of Scripture with the other corruptions of the Latin Chh, yet retained among protestants—and endeavoring a just & unexceptionable, rational Explication of the great Doctrines of the Gospel. The Bellamys &c of New England will stand no Chance with the Corruptions of Deism which, I take it, are spreading apace in this Country. I prophesy your *Two Witnesses* will avail more towards curing the Contagion than thousands of Volumes filled with cant orthodox phrases & the unintelligible Metaphysics of Scholastic Divinity, which is a Corruption of Christianity with *arabian* philosophy.<sup>8</sup>

The work here referred to is Jared Spark's *Two Witnesses; or, Religion Supported by Reason and Divine Revelation*.<sup>9</sup> The conclusion drawn by its author, that the overvaluing of reason tends to promote atheism, was one not held by Stiles. The story of the latter's efforts to foster liberty of thought in Yale has been told before, but not in its entirety.<sup>10</sup> Mr. Henry Collins, a merchant of Newport, R. I., had offered a dozen books<sup>11</sup> to the college library on the condition of their being deposited there for the free use of the students. He had, however, been informed that Rector Clap would not suffer the volumes, because they contained heresy. But when Stiles endeavored to represent the college as an excellent and generous institution both for science and religion, the books were forwarded, but only to be suppressed. Hereupon, Stiles wrote to the "rigid rector" what was not only a defense of a promising college patron, but an appeal for unrestricted thought.<sup>12</sup>

Mr. Collins remarkt strongly on the taking Dr. Clark's Sermons out of the Library: who told him of it I dont know. And I have heard those who are no friends to Clark say, they tho't it had not so generous an aspect in an Academy for Liberal Education. I have been hard put to it to defend it, for it is known to particular persons all over the Country. The Quakers & Baptists say they read any of our Books, but we prevent our Children reading theirs—and some have retorted and said it is the same principle as that on w<sup>c</sup> the Romanists keep protestant Books from the pple & from their Universities too. I believe the same reflexion would be made if Baxter's Works, or Calvin's Institutions, or

<sup>8</sup> Stiles MS, pp. 469-71. Letter from Newport, R. I., September 24, 1759.

<sup>9</sup> New London, 1746.

<sup>10</sup> L. Van Becelaere, *Philosophie en Amérique*, p. 55, quoting G. Stanley Hall (New York, 1903).

<sup>11</sup> Mostly Baptist, viz., Sternwell's *Sermons*, 4 vols.; *Answer to Rusen*, Foster's *Sermons*, 4 vols.; *Answer to Tindal, Of Heresy, etc.*, Cornthwait's Tracts.

<sup>12</sup> Stiles MS, p. 460; postscript of letter of August 6, 1759.

times. It was not until after the Revolutionary War that the satirist could describe undergraduate skepticism, could tell how the "clock-work gentleman" was made "twixt the Tailor and the Player, and Hume, and Tristram and Voltaire."<sup>14</sup> All this might have been expected. Action and reaction were equal. As at Harvard opposition had brought eclecticism, so at Yale the policy of suppression brought an explosion of free-thinking upon the advent of the Franco-American deism of Citizen Paine and President Jefferson.

<sup>14</sup> John Trumbull, *The Progress of Dullness* (New Haven, 1782), p. 21.

## CRITICAL NOTES

### THE ORIGINAL CONCLUSION OF THE GOSPEL OF MARK

The problem presented by the conclusion of Mark's gospel is a standing challenge to the critic. As the traditional text stands, every thoughtful reader must feel the difference in manner and atmosphere, as he passes from Mark 16:8 to the conclusion, which bears every mark of being a summary of resurrection appearances recorded in Matthew and Luke, perhaps somewhat influenced by John. A closer scrutiny reveals the fact that in none of these appearances is there any natural or fitting sequel to the promise of a Galilean appearance recorded in 16:7, all the appearances recorded in 16:9-20 being clearly Judean. Just the one Galilean appearance for which 16:7 prepares the reader is lacking.

The critical difficulty, however, is not greater than the textual. While the great majority of manuscripts have the familiar Longer Conclusion, some few exhibit along with it, or instead of it, another (Shorter) Conclusion, even less satisfactory; while the best and oldest witnesses, notably the ancient uncials Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, omit both, and compel the exclusion of both conclusions from all critical texts of Mark. Mr. Conybeare's discovery of an Armenian manuscript in which the longer conclusion is ascribed to Ariston the Presbyter articulates significantly with all this negative evidence, internal and external, and further enforces the conviction that Mark's gospel is a torso.

For it is incredible that Mark ended with the "For they were afraid" of 16:8.<sup>1</sup> Such a termination is more than abrupt; it leaves the narrative in mid-air, and relapses into silence at the most interesting and vital point in the whole history; indeed, on the threshold of the very climax, already foreshadowed by the record itself.<sup>2</sup> Some brief account at least of an appearance of the risen Jesus to his disciples in Galilee, such as has already been expressly promised (16:7), is requisite to any sort of completeness, and it seems on every account natural to suppose that Mark's gospel originally included such a termination.

It is a curious fact that the manuscripts know nothing of such a termination. As has been seen, they exhibit either the Longer Conclusion (Mark 16:9-20), a Shorter Conclusion, both of these together, or, in the

<sup>1</sup> Yet such is the view of O. Holtzmann (*The Life of Jesus*, p. 495).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mark 8:31; 9:9; 10:34; 16:6.

case of the oldest and best witnesses, no conclusion at all. That is to say, all manuscripts of Mark, without exception, go back to one mutilated ancestor, in which whatever may originally have followed 16:8 was, through design or accident, almost certainly the latter, wanting.<sup>3</sup> No vicissitude of manuscript transmission has, it would seem, in any corner of the world, in any manuscript or version, preserved to us any form of this most ancient gospel but this defective one. We know defective manuscripts of Barnabas and of Clement, but we know complete ones also. We know in Greek only defective manuscripts of Polycarp and of Hermas, but trustworthy versions enable us to recover what our Greek manuscripts lack. But for Mark, no Greek uncial or cursive, no version, lectionary, or ancient commentary, avails to supply the defect which even the scribes, ancient and mediæval, felt to be such. Clearly all the manuscripts, of the Greek or of versions, go back to one single common ancestor, defective in this important respect, and no other manuscript of this gospel seems anywhere to have left any impression whatever.

The textual evidence thus supplies the problem in a definite and uncompromising form, and there stops. It offers no help toward its solution. Far into antiquity as manuscript tradition can reach Mark lacked its termination.

At the risk of seeming to seek refuge from one insoluble mystery in another, it is proposed to have recourse here to the synoptic problem, or rather to certain tolerably sure results of synoptic study, in the hope of getting in this way a glimpse of the gospel of Mark at a point in its history far earlier than any manuscript tradition, however ancient or excellent, can reach. Indeed, we may hope to look back into the last quarter of the first century, and see with the eyes of the later synoptists. Let us see whether synoptic study has no clear and certain word upon the original conclusion of Mark.

No careful scrutiny of the synoptic gospels can fail to disclose the fact that Matthew and Luke made use of Mark in the composition of their gospels. Whatever the dates of their composition, they must have made use of the second gospel at points very early in its history; certainly within a generation of the time of its composition. It is highly probable that at this early time Mark's gospel was structurally complete; that is, whether or not it contained all that it ultimately did, it may reasonably be supposed to have been a finished gospel. Whatever it may have lacked, it can hardly have been without its conclusion; and we may fairly assume that, when

<sup>3</sup> But Jülicher holds this mutilation to have been the result of design (*Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 328).

used by the writers of the first and third gospels,<sup>4</sup> Mark still had its original conclusion. The alternative is to suppose that the second gospel irrevocably lost its conclusion within fifteen or twenty years of its composition, and before that gospel had become liable to neglect through the incorporation of its contents into some fuller treatise, such as Matthew, when the earlier work might naturally fall into obscurity, as superseded by the later and fuller one.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, only after such use had been made of Mark as Matthew and Luke exhibit, can the loss of its conclusion, through accident and neglect, be understood. We may, then, fairly seek light upon the lost original conclusion of Mark in Matthew and Luke.

In first approaching this task, through the chain of considerations already outlined, it seemed to the writer that, as so much of Mark is taken over into Matthew and Luke, we might seek in both of them common material subsequent to the parallels of Mark 16:8, and confidently assign such common material to their chief common narrative source, the gospel of Mark. But after the parallels to 16:8, they exhibit no common material whatever, so that this simple and apparently promising plan yields no results.

A closer scrutiny of the parallel material of the synoptic gospels, however, reveals another clue, in the somewhat different use of Mark made by Matthew and Luke in the latter part of their gospels, the record of the passion week and after. Here, it will at once be seen, Luke and Matthew differ much in their treatment of Mark, Luke making rather limited use of it, while Matthew takes over into his gospel practically everything that Mark affords. Both, of course, enrich their narratives from other sources, but Luke occasionally positively omits what Mark has, or substitutes other material for that preserved in Mark. Matthew, on the other hand, has absorbed substantially all that Mark has—prior, of course, to 16:8. Whatever Mark originally had then following 16:8 may reasonably be expected to appear in Matthew, not indeed entirely free from the enrichments characteristic of the first gospel, yet by no means so transformed as to be unrecognizable. Furthermore, the absence of such material from Luke, should it be absent, need occasion no suspicion, since Luke in this part of his gospel has been seen to be much less scrupulous than Matthew to include all that Mark has.

In that part of Matthew subsequent to his parallel to Mark 16:8, then, we must first and most hopefully seek traces of the original conclusion of Mark.

<sup>4</sup> Or at least the earlier of them.

<sup>5</sup> This view seems on every account more probable than that proposed by Jülicher.

Now this part of Matthew is short and simple. Mark 16:1-8 is paralleled in Matt. 28:1-8, and what remains in Matthew (28:9-20) exhibits but three elements. The first is the appearance to the women, 28:9, 10; the second, the bribing of the watch, 28:11-15; the third, the appearance of Jesus to the disciples in Galilee, 28:16-20. Which of these, if any, can have stood in the original conclusion of Mark?

The first of these joins with Mark 16:8 in a fashion that leaves nothing to be desired. "They went forth and fled from the tomb, for trembling and astonishment possessed them; and they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid." "And behold Jesus met them, saying, Hail. And they came and laid hold of his feet and worshipped him. Then saith Jesus unto them, Fear not: go tell my brethren to depart into Galilee, and there shall they see me." Some such account must have followed the "For they were afraid" of Mark 16:8; the "Be not afraid" of Matt. 28:9 correlates well enough with the "with fear" of Matt. 28:8, but far better with the "For they were afraid" of Mark 16:8. The vision of Jesus, which actually seems to interrupt the joyful women, hastening to give the disciples the good news (in Matthew), becomes in Mark the indispensable reassurance of women frightened and reticent. Finally, the renewed promise of a Galilean appearance, already once made in Mark (16:7), binds the episode afresh to the Marcan narrative. Matthew can have had no source in which his ninth and tenth verses stood in a more natural—nay, inevitable—setting, than that supplied by Mark. They are precisely such a continuation as the present end of Mark positively demands.

The second element in this concluding part of Matthew—the bribing of the watch—is of a very different sort. Not only does it fail to articulate closely and naturally with the narrative of Mark; it really defies any effort at such connection. It is simply the sequel of an incident already related by Matthew, the setting of the watch (27:62-66). Acquaintance with that incident is necessary to the understanding of this one, and Mark, being without the first, was doubtless without the second also. The author of the first gospel probably drew both from a single source, no longer to be identified. His incorporation of the story of the bribing of the watch into his mainly Marcan narrative in chap. 28 is fully and clearly paralleled in his introduction of the story of the setting of the watch in chap. 27. The second cannot have stood in Mark without the first, and the first is absent.

The third and final element in Matthew's conclusion, is the story of Jesus' appearance in Galilee, 28:16-20. Was this drawn by the first



evangelist from Mark? It is immediately clear that vs. 16, the going of the eleven to Galilee, follows easily and naturally upon vs. 10, the command that they should do so. "Go, tell my brethren to depart into Galilee, and there shall they see me. And the eleven disciples went into Galilee, to the mountain where Jesus had appointed them." If the words of Jesus to the women once stood in Mark, this Galilean appearance probably stood there likewise.

Quite aside from its easy connection with the appearance to the women, however, and more unmistakably than it, the Galilean appearance authenticates itself as material originally Marcan. It is just this Galilean appearance which had been predicted by the young man at the tomb, Mark 16:7. The original conclusion of Mark must have disappointed its context most perversely,<sup>6</sup> if it lacked such an account. The presence of the account in Matthew, however, shows that it did not lack it. For whence did Matthew derive this account, which is the natural sequel of the young man's prediction, but from the source from which he drew that prediction itself? The sequel must have stood in the document which contained the prediction; the two accounts must have gone together. Luke has no account of a Galilean appearance, and the record of Matt. 28:16-20 is the only such record that the synoptists preserve. That its original place was in the conclusion of Mark's gospel is evidenced specifically by the announcement of it in Mark 16:7, and generally by the prevailingly Galilean tone of Mark. Indeed, in the reference to the "mountain where Jesus had appointed them" there seems to lurk some allusion to the story of the transfiguration, for which Mark is demonstrably Matthew's source. Thus from many points of view this Galilean appearance exhibits the characteristics to be expected in the conclusion of Mark.

The narrative of Mark, when it breaks off with 16:8, evidently demands just two things for its completion; the reassurance of the women, and the reappearance of Jesus in Galilee. These two things Matthew records, and the conclusion seems inevitable that he derived them from his chief narrative source, the gospel of Mark.

Of the three elements present in Matthew after 28:1-8, therefore, the first and third give evidence of Marcan origin, and commend themselves in an extraordinary manner as integral, original elements of the second gospel. That there were other elements in Mark's original conclusion is altogether unlikely, in the light of either of the tests that have thus far controlled this study: (1) the external test, that everything that appeared in this part of Mark is contained in Matthew; and (2) the internal test,

<sup>6</sup> As the supplied conclusions do.

that the lost conclusion, when found, must show integral connection with the last preserved part of Mark, and to a less extent with the whole of that gospel. All that Mark anticipates, and all the possibly Marcan material that Matthew exhibits, is limited to the two elements already distinguished, and we conclude that they, and they only, constituted the original conclusion of Mark.

It may well be that Matthew did not incorporate this Galilean account into his gospel unmodified. Elsewhere his method constantly is to enrich his sources from one another, and it is entirely likely that he has done so here. If we seek to determine what element, if any, may have been thus introduced by Matthew into his Marcan paragraph, the eye is at once arrested by the long-contested baptismal formula, which has been felt to interrupt the passage. Scholars have pointed out that in not a few cases in the Fathers this passage is quoted without the clause, "Baptizing them into the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit," and have concluded that in the close of Matthew those words were originally lacking. Is it not more probable that it was in the conclusion of Mark that they were wanting, and that in those patristic quotations from which they are absent we have traces of a textual tradition going back ultimately to the un mutilated Mark ?<sup>7</sup>

It seems at first sight difficult to understand how such a work as the gospel of Mark should have been preserved through the medium of but a single copy, itself incomplete. We have ventured to suggest that in the patristic quotations above referred to we have a hint of some manuscript tradition of it independent of the imperfect copy that was canonized. For surely such copies must anciently have existed, and it is reasonable to suppose that they should have left some trace. Yet the general disappearance of copies of Mark is small cause for wonder, when we observe the fate of the other sources of Matthew and Luke. All these, without exception, were permitted to perish, doubtless from the feeling that whatever they contained of value had been taken over into the fuller treatises of Matthew and Luke. The wonder is that Mark did not share their fate, and maintained (doubtless through its association with the names of Mark and Peter) even the slender thread of manuscript tradition to which its preservation is due.

<sup>7</sup> Matt. 28: 17, "And when they saw him, they worshipped him, but some doubted," should perhaps be omitted with vs. 19 *b*, as obscure and interrupting the sense. Yet its very obscurity may be a sanction of its genuineness, and, on the whole, its position is all that makes it difficult, and for this Matthew may have been responsible, having perhaps transposed it from a place after vs. 18 *a*, or even after vs. 20, at the very end, in order to end his gospel with a lofty note.

To recount the steps of this argument: (1) The gospel of Mark for more than sixteen hundred years has been without its original conclusion, breaking off abruptly at 16:8. (2) It is probable, and indeed almost certain, that when first used as a source by the other synoptics, or at least by one of them, it still possessed its conclusion. (3) In dealing with the passion week, and the resurrection appearances, Matthew shows an evident disposition to take over all that Mark affords, and this tendency, having controlled him so long, can hardly have forsaken him seven or eight verses from the end. (4) Whatever stood in the original conclusion of Mark may thus fairly be expected to appear in that part of Matthew subsequent to 28:1-8 (Matthew's parallel to Mark 16:1-8). (5) Thus regarded, Matthew's conclusion yields two elements which so perfectly accord with the context in Mark, so naturally relieve its abruptness, and so briefly and fully round out its narrative, as to seem even more fitting and original when appended to Mark, than in their present position in Matthew.

The conclusion of Mark's gospel thus ran (vs. 7):

But go, tell his disciples and Peter, He goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him as he said unto you.

And they went out and fled from the tomb, for trembling and astonishment possessed them. And they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid. And behold, Jesus met them, saying, Hail. And they came and took hold of his feet, and worshipped him. Then saith Jesus unto them, Be not afraid, go, tell my brethren to depart into Galilee, and there shall they see me. And the eleven disciples went into Galilee unto the mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And Jesus came to them, and when they saw him they worshipped him, but some doubted. And he spake unto them, saying, All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The restoration of Mark's conclusion from Matthew was undertaken by Volkmar, but the results here given are independent of his work.

## PHILO'S DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINE FATHER AND THE VIRGIN MOTHER

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The writings of the New Testament stand singularly separated, both in time and in character, from others. Their insularity gives great interest to whatever is nearest them, and may have some subterranean connection with their ideas or language. For example, the Wisdom literature on the farther side and Josephus on the hither side are eagerly searched for traces of such connection. But Philo Judæus is the one writer who stands assuredly nearest, both in time and in affiliations, to the New Testament. His life covers chronologically the life of Jesus, with a margin of probably ten or fifteen years on either side. Some of his writings doubtless belong to the decade or two immediately following the death of Christ. He was a Jew intense in his Judaism, yet with Greek culture filling his mind to the saturation point.

There is, to be sure, in the writings of Philo no mention of Jesus or of the religion destined to so vast a development; but neither is there mention of Gamaliel or a hint that Philo was in the habit of visiting Jerusalem. Indeed, since Alexandria, his home, so far outshone Jerusalem in the eyes of Alexandrian Jews, while Greek culture was so distasteful to the conservative Judean Jew, it is not strange that Philo, the Alexandrian, with his high social and civic standing, with his literary interests and allegorizing methods, should not have maintained intimate relations with Jerusalem in its religious and political mutations, save as certain of these were shared by Alexandrian Jews. Just as strange would it be, however, if the New Testament writers, especially Luke, Paul, and the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, did not show evidence of acquaintance with the writings of the noted Alexandrian, then in their freshest popularity and representing the thought of a cultivated Jewish writer of their own day, who, like themselves, had begun to translate the Jewish hope into a hope for all humanity.

Attention has frequently been called, by various writers and in various periods, to the resemblances between Philo and the New Testament. Yet contrast is frequently most marked where resemblance is most striking, and when a few of these similarities are pointed out, it is not strange that no convincing impression is made on the casual student. For it must be confessed that with the somewhat dreary and formidable mass of Philo's writings the acquaintance of most New Testament scholars is of the casual kind. It has seemed that it might be of service to cull out and present, for the reader's own examination, some three hundred brief citations indicating Philo's view as to God's assumption of the character of father and

husband, God's begetting by a human mother, God's begetting by a virgin, the distinction in the Godhead, the Philonic representations of the Logos as God and as the Son of God, the doctrine of the God-man, of a divine-human mediator, of a vicarious representative of the race, of the sinless man, and the like. Yet after their presentation the question still arises whether these expressions, so startling in their resemblance to New Testament, and especially to creedal, utterances, yet so frankly figurative, so clearly guiltless of consistency, at times so puerile, can have been transferred in any real sense to the prose-world of New Testament ideas, so matter of fact, so charged with directest moral and spiritual affirmations, above all so normative to all of the world's and the individual's highest development since their promulgation. If, as is probable, the inescapable conviction comes to most students of the subject that a real and somewhat important influence has been exerted by Philo's writings upon those of the New Testament, the fact of the utter inertness of the former, compared with the enormous vital force of the latter, will serve to strengthen the theory of a unique and divine presidence in the composition of the New Testament Scriptures and in their sway of human life and thought.

An index of the citations precedes the citations themselves, which are given in the order of their occurrence in the Mangey text. Each citation, in addition to the reference to its location in the writings of Philo, is preceded by a serial number, which is used in making reference to it in the index. This has seemed the preferable plan, since many of the citations refer to various points under the classification, and their repetition would submerge an already overlaid article. No account can be taken of questions as to the text, admittedly very corrupt in places; yet the large number of these similar citations doubtless lends a presumption of authenticity which could not be assumed for any single utterance. In a similar way, the wide and homogeneous diffusion of these citations throughout the works commonly attributed to Philo renders it less necessary to enter into the question of the genuineness of particular treatises, albeit this diffusion forms a not unimportant argument for the substantial validity of what we may term the traditional canon of the Philonic books. The Tauchnitz edition of the text (Leipzig, 1893; 8 vols.) has been used, with free employment also of the translation of C. D. Yonge (London: Bohn, 1854; 4 vols.). Use of the original is made in this article where it seems most indispensable, but it need scarcely be said that this presentation of the subject will find its largest usefulness if it send the reader to the original for the full text and context of the citations.

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<sup>1</sup>These passages seem to throw light upon the readings of the Sinaitic palimpsest of the Syriac gospels (the Lewis Codex) in Matt. 1:18-25, where both divine and human paternity is assigned to Jesus, and it is twice said that Mary bore the child to Joseph.

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## II. CITATIONS FROM PHILO IN SERIAL ORDER

### FROM "CREATION"<sup>a</sup>

1. II. "God the Creator and Father of all."
2. "The Father and Creator."
3. "A father is anxious for the life of his children."
4. Of the external world "Moses . . . predicated generation as an appropriate description."
5. IV. This world fashioned according to an archetypal idea, "that so, using an incorporeal model, formed as far as possible on the image of God, he might make this corporeal world a younger likeness of the older creation." In Chap. VI he explains that this incorporeal world is the reason of God (*θεοῦ λόγος*).
6. V. "The Father and Creator."
7. XVIII. "The Father."
8. XXIII. God is the soul of the world.
9. "The mind which exists in each individual (is) . . . in some sort the God of the body which carries it about and bears its image within it."
10. XXIV. "The Father of the universe (*τῶν δλων*)."
11. "The Father of all (*τῷ δὲ παντων πατρι θεῷ*)."
12. "The Father in the eyes of his children."
13. The expression, "Let us make man," implies that God had assistants in the creative work. These, Philo says, are responsible for the evil, and God only for the good.
14. XXV. "The Creator and Father."
15. XXX. "The Father."
16. XXXIII. The number seven likened to "Victory, who had no mother, and to the Virgin goddess, whom the fable asserts to have sprung from the head of Jupiter."

<sup>a</sup>The centered titles designate the Treatises of Philo. The Roman figures prefixed to citations refer to the chapters into which the Treatises are divided in the editions named above; in the case of Treatises divided into books and chapters, the book and chapter are indicated in the first reference in each book, and subsequent Roman figures refer to chapters.

17. XL. "The mouth through which, as Plato says, mortal things find their entrance and immortal things their exit."
18. XLV. "The earth also, as it seems, is a mother."
19. XLVI. "The Father and Ruler of all things."
20. The first man created in the image of God was generic man, neither male nor female, incorporeal, immortal. The individual man, however, is a mixture of earthy substance and divine spirit.
21. Man, "mortal as to his body, but immortal as to his intellect."
22. XLIX. "For our generation has been from men, but (Adam) was created by God."
23. L. The stars are "rational divine natures."
24. Adam eager to please "his Father and King, . . . being akin and nearly related to the ruler of all."
25. LI. "Every man in regard to his intellect is connected with divine reason (*ᾠκειώται θεῷ λόγῳ*), being an impression or a fragment or a ray of that blessed nature; but in regard to the structure of his body he is connected with the universal world (*ἅπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ*)."
26. LV. "The Father of all was indignant."

FROM "ALLEGORIES"

27. Book I, Chap. V. The number seven compared by the Pythagoreans to the "goddess always virgin (*τῇ ἀειπαρθένῳ*), who was born without a mother, because it was not generated by any other, and will not generate any other."
28. VII. "God never desists from creating something . . . as being not only the Creator, but the Father of everything which exists."
29. XII. "The races of men are twofold, for one is the heavenly man, the other the earthly man." (*Διττὰ ἀνθρώπων γένη. Ὅμην γὰρ ἔστιν οὐράνιος ἀνθρώπος, ὁ δὲ γῆϊνος.*)
30. XIIIa. The mind is, as it were, the god of the irrational part (*Ὡσανεὶ γὰρ θεὸς ἔστι τοῦ ἄλογου ὁ νοῦς*), for which reason Moses does not hesitate to call it "the god of Pharaoh."
  - b) The human intellect "taking hold of the nature of God."
  - c) "Some things are created not by God, but through him, and the best are created both by him and through him."
31. XVI. Two Adams, the one factitious (*πεπλασμένον*), the other modeled after the image of God.
32. XXVIII. The two Adams, "the one somewhat earthly, the other having no participation in any perishable matter."
33. Book II, Chap. II. The two Adams.
34. IV. "Having first modeled the generic man, in whom they say that the male and female sexes are contained, he afterward created the specific man, Adam."
35. XIII. "But that it is God who begets men (*ὁ γεννῶν*) he will testify in the case of Leah, when he says, 'But the Lord, when he saw that Leah was hated, opened her womb, but Rachel was barren.' But it is the special property of the husband (*ἀνδρὸς δὲ ἰδιον*) to open the womb."

36. Book I, Chap. XIX. Generic virtue honored on account of its Father, God.
37. Generic virtue "issues out of the wisdom of God, and that is the Word of God."
38. Book III, Chap. XXVIII. Speaks of the birth of Isaac in the ordinary manner.
39. XXIX. Speaks of the birth of Rebecca's children in the ordinary way.
40. LII. Platonic doctrine of the soul "bound up in the body."
41. LXIII. Jacob to Rachel: "I am not in the place of God, who alone is able to open the womb of the soul, and to implant virtues in it, and to cause it to be pregnant and to bring forth what is good. Consider also the history of thy sister Leah, and you will find that she did not receive seed of fertility from any creature, but from God himself. 'For the Lord, seeing that Leah was hated, opened her womb, but Rachel was barren.' . . . God opens the wombs, implanting good actions in them, and the womb, when it has received virtue from God, does not bring forth to God, for the living and true God is not in need of anything, but she brings forth sons to me, Jacob, for it was for my sake probably that God sowed seed in Virtue, and not for his own. Therefore another husband of Leah (*ἀνὴρ τῆς Δεσας*) is found to be passed over in silence, and another father of the children of Leah, for he is the husband (*ἀνὴρ μὲν*) who openeth the womb, but he is the father (*πατὴρ δὲ*) of the children to whom the mother is said to bear them."
42. LXXVII. At the beginning of the chapter Abraham is spoken of as the veritable father of Isaac, but later on the paternity is ascribed to God. "What is here said has some such meaning as this: 'The Lord has begotten Isaac.' For he is the Father of perfect nature, sowing and begetting (*σπείρων . . . καὶ γεννῶν*) happiness in the soul."

FROM "CHERUBIM"

43. VII. God the Father of the stars.
44. IX. "I have also on one occasion heard a more ingenious train of reasoning from my own soul, which was accustomed frequently to be seized with a certain divine inspiration (*θεοληπτειῶσθαι*), even concerning matters which it could not explain to itself; which now, if I am able to remember it accurately, I will relate. It told me that in the one living and true God there were two supreme and primary powers—goodness and authority; and that by his goodness he had created everything, and by his authority he governed all that he had created; and that the third thing which was between the two, and had the effect of bringing them together, was reason (*λόγος*) for that it was owing to reason that God was both a ruler and good.  
 "Now of this ruling authority and goodness, being two distinct powers, the cherubim were the symbols, but of reason (*λόγος*) the flaming sword was the symbol. For reason is a thing very swift and fiery."
45. XII. "Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and if there are any others of like zeal

with them, are not represented as knowing their wives . . . for they who live with these men are in name indeed wives, but in fact virtues."

46. XIII. "But it is not lawful for Virtues which are the parents of many perfect things to associate with a mortal husband, but, without having received the seed of generation from any other being, they will never be able by themselves alone to conceive anything. Who then is it who sows good seed in them, except the Father of the universe, the unbegotten God, he who is the Parent of all things (*τὰ σύμπαντα γεννῶν*)?"

"This, therefore, is the being who sows, and presently he bestows his own offspring which he himself did sow; for God creates nothing for himself, inasmuch as he is in need of nothing, but he creates everything for him who is able to take it."

47. "And I will bring forward as a competent witness in proof of what I have said the most holy Moses. For he introduces Sarah as conceiving a son when God beheld her by himself, but he represents her as bringing forth her son, not to him who beheld her by himself, but to him who was eager to attain unto wisdom, and his name is called Abraham. And he teaches the same lesson still more plainly in the case of Leah where he says 'that God opened her womb.' But to open the womb is the special business of the husband (*ἀνδρὸς ὄδιον*). And she, having conceived, brought forth, not to God, for he alone is sufficient and all-abundant to himself, but to him who underwent labor for the sake of that which is good; so that in this instance virtue received the divine seed from the first great Cause of all things, but brought forth her offspring to one of her lovers who deserved to be preferred to all her other suitors. And when again the all-wise Isaac addressed his supplications to God, Rebecca, who is Perseverance, became pregnant by the agency of him who received the supplication; but Moses who received Zipporah, that is winged and sublime Virtue, without any supplication or entreaty on his part, found that she conceived by no mortal man."

48. XIV. Jeremiah, "like a man very much under the influence of inspiration, uttered an oracle in the character of God, speaking in this manner to most peaceful Virtue: 'Hast thou not called me as thy house, and thy father, and the husband of thy virginity?' showing that God is a house, the incorporeal abode of incorporeal ideas, and the Father of all things, inasmuch as it is he who has created them; and the husband of Wisdom, sowing for the race of mankind the seed of happiness in good and Virgin soil. For it is fitting for God to converse with an unpolluted and untouched and pure nature, in truth and reality virgin, in a different manner from that in which we converse with such. For the association of men with a view to the procreation of children makes virgins women. But when God begins to associate with the soul, he makes that which was previously woman now again virgin. Since banishing and destroying all the degenerate appetites unbecoming a human being, by which it had been made effeminate, he introduces in their stead genuine and perfect and unadulterated virtues; therefore he will not converse with Sarah

before all the habits, such as other women have, have left her and she has returned into the class of pure virgins."

49. XV. "But it is perhaps possible that in some cases a virgin soul may be polluted by intemperate passions and so become impure. On which account the sacred oracle is cautious, calling God the husband, not of a virgin, but of virginity; of an idea, that is to say, which is always existing in the same principles and in the same manner . . . therefore it is seemly that the uncreated and unchangeable God should ever sow the seeds of immortality and virgin virtues in a woman who is transformed into the appearance of virginity. Why then, O soul, since it is right for you to dwell as a virgin in the house of God, and to cleave to wisdom, do you stand aloof from these things and rather embrace the outward sense which effeminates and pollutes you?"
50. XVII. "In the history of Moses the names which he affixes to things are the most conspicuous energies of the things themselves, so that the thing itself is at once of necessity its name, and is in no respect different from the name which is imposed upon it."
51. XXXI. "Such a house being prepared in the race of mankind, all things on earth will be filled with good hopes, expecting the return of the powers of God; and they will return bringing laws from heaven and bonds for the purpose of sanctifying it and hallowing it, according to the command of their Father; then, becoming the associates and companions of these souls which love virtue, they sow in them the germs of happiness; as they gave to the wise Abraham his son Isaac as the most perfect proof of their gratitude for the hospitality experienced from him."

FROM "SACRIFICES OF ABEL AND CAIN"

52. III. "Speaks of the death of Moses as "the migration of a perfect soul to the living God." His soul "was at that time becoming gradually divine (*επιθεοποιεῖται*)."
53. IX. "But if, having gone through a constant course of improvement, you shall at last arrive at the end, then not only shall the Father give thee the pre-eminence, but he shall bestow on thee all the inheritance of the Father, as he did to Jacob."
54. XXXIX. The legislative power of God has a twofold division, one referring to rewards and the other to punishments; "accordingly the Levite is the minister of the former division, for he performs all the ministrations which have a reference to perfect holiness, according to which the human race is raised up and brought to the notice of God, either by whole burnt-offerings, or else by saving sacrifices, or else by repentance for one's sins."

FROM "WORSE AGAINST THE BETTER"

55. II. "All those who through the improvement of their reason are adorned in the similitude of the Father."

## FROM "GIANTS"

62. II. The stars are entire souls, pervading the universe, unadulterated and divine (*ἀστέραί τε καὶ θείαι*).
63. III. "Some souls have descended into bodies, and others have not thought worthy to approach any one of the portions of earth; and these, when hallowed and surrounded by the ministrations of the Father, the Creator has been accustomed to employ as handmaidens and servants in the administration of mortal affairs. . . . These then are the souls of those who have been taught some kind of divine philosophy, meditating from beginning to end on dying as to the life of the body in order to obtain an inheritance of the incorporeal and imperishable life. . . . Those giving themselves up to the pursuit of unstable things, not one of which is referred to the most excellent portion of us, the soul or mind, but all rather to the dead corpse connected with us, that is, to the body."
64. IV. Good angels serving as ambassadors of man to God and of God to man. Evil angels = demons = giants = wicked men who, "not being acquainted with the daughters of right reason (*τὰς μὲν ὀρθοῦ λόγου θυγατέρας*), that is, with the sciences and the virtues, but which pursue the mortal descendants of mortal men, that is, the pleasures . . . have selected some of them to be their wives."
65. XIII. "Some men are born of the earth, and some are born of heaven, and some are born of God" (*οἱ μὲν γῆς, οἱ δὲ οὐρανοῦ, οἱ δὲ θεοῦ γυγνώσκουσιν ἀνθρώποις*).
66. XIV. "Abraham, while in Chaldea and still Abram, was a man born of heaven, investigating the sublime nature of things on high. . . . But when he became improved and was about to have his name changed, he then became a man born of God, according to the oracle which was delivered to him: 'I am thy God; take care that thou art approved before me to be blameless.'"

## FROM "UNCHANGEABLENESS OF GOD"

67. I. "For the appropriate progeny of God (*τὰ ἀκεία τοῦ θεοῦ γυνήματα*) are the perfect virtues."
68. II. "Hannah, when she had become pregnant, having received the divine seed, and after she had completed the time of her labor, brought forth, in the manner appointed by the arrangement of God, a son whom she called Samuel."
69. VI. "God is the Creator (*δημιουργός*) of time also, for he is the Father of its father, and the father of time is the world. . . . so that time stands toward God in the relation of a grandson; for this world is a younger son of God; for the only son he speaks of as older than the world is Idea."
70. XXIX. "Thamar . . . receives a divine seed . . . is filled with the seeds of virtue."
71. "The Word of God, the interpreter and prophet of his will."

FROM "TILLING OF NOAH"

72. XXI. "God . . . appointing as . . . immediate superintendent of (the sun, moon, and stars) his own right reason, his first-born son (τὸν ἀρχαῖον αὐτοῦ λόγον, πρωτόγονον), who is to receive the charge of this sacred company as the lieutenant of the great king."

FROM "PLANTING OF NOAH"

73. XXX. "The Father . . . produced a race, which should be capable of receiving all learning and of composing hymns of praise, producing them from one of the faculties existing around him, the virgin Memory, whose name men in general distort and call Mnemosyne."

FROM "ON DRUNKENNESS"

74. VIII. "The Creator of the universe is also the Father of his creation; and . . . the mother was the knowledge of the Creator, with whom God uniting, not as a man unites, became the Father of creation. And this knowledge, having received the seed of God, when the day of her travail arrived, brought forth her only and well-beloved son, perceptible by the external senses, namely this world."
75. XI. "Was not the Ruler of the universe the Creator and Father of it?"
76. XX. "Men who honor instruction and right Reason are the most excellent guardians of the laws which the father, that is to say, right Reason, established, and faithful stewards of the customs which Education, the mother, instituted; and they were instructed by right Reason, their father, to honor the Father of the universe, and not to neglect the customs and laws established by Education, their mother."
77. XXXVI. "Samuel was perhaps in reality a man . . . was born of a human mother . . . abandoned the ranks of mortal things."

FROM "ON SOBRIETY"

78. XI. "Abraham had God as his father . . . was his adopted only son."

FROM "CONFUSION OF LANGUAGES"

79. XIV. "'Behold a man whose name is the East' (Zech. 6:12) . . . that incorporeal being who in no respect differs from the divine image . . . For the Father of the universe has caused him to spring up as his eldest son, whom in another passage he calls the first-born; and he who is thus born, imitating the ways of his Father, has formed such and such species, looking to the archetypal patterns."
80. XXVIII. Certain men "display a perfect ignorance of the one Creator and Father of all things; but they who have real knowledge are properly addressed as the sons of the one God, as Moses also entitles them where he says, 'Ye are the sons of the Lord God' (Deut. 14:1), and again, 'God who begot thee' (Deut. 33:18) . . . and even if there be yet not anyone worthy to be called a son of God, nevertheless let him labor earnestly to be adorned according to his first-born Word, the eldest angel, as the great archangel

of many names; for he is called the name of God, and the Word, and the man according to God's image, and he who sees Israel. . . . for even if we are not yet suitable to be called the sons of God, still we may deserve to be called the children of his eternal image, of his most sacred word; for the image of God is his most ancient word."

81. "Those who flourished many years afterward and lived blameless lives are spoken of as the sons of David, though during his lifetime even their great-grandfathers had not been born. The truth is that the birth here spoken of is that of souls made immortal by their virtues, not of perishable bodies, and this birth is naturally referred to the leaders of virtue as its parents and progenitors."

FROM "MIGRATION OF ABRAHAM"

82. VII. "How then should any good thing be wanting when the all-accomplishing God is at all times present with his graces, which are his virgin daughters, which he, the Father who begot them, always cherishes as virgins (*κουροτροφεί*), free from all impure contact and pollution?"
83. Philo's experience: "Sometimes . . . I have found my mind barren and unproductive and have been . . . filled with amazement at the power of the living God, by whom the womb of the soul is at times opened and at times closed up; and sometimes, when I have come to my work empty, I have suddenly become full, ideas being in an invisible manner showered upon me and implanted in me from on high."
84. XXV. "And I have brought forth, too, without requiring a midwife. . . . God having sown and generated an excellent offspring."
85. XXXIX. "The soul which before appeared to be defiled, changes and returns to its virgin state."

FROM "WHO IS THE HEIR?"

86. XII. "The race of mankind is twofold, the one being the race of those who live by the divine Spirit and reason; the other of those who exist according to blood and the pleasure of the flesh."
87. "Sarah has none but a male offspring, being born only of God, who is the Father of all things, being that authority which is without a mother. 'For truly,' says the Scripture, 'she is my sister by my father's side, but not by my mother's.'"
88. XXIV. "That which openeth the womb is the invisible, spermatic, technical, and divine Word, which shall properly be dedicated to the Father."
89. XXXV. "The seventh day, always virgin and without any mother."
90. "The fifth commandment . . . is sacred, having reference, not to men, but to him who is the cause of birth and existence to the universe, in accordance with which it is that fathers and mothers appear to generate children; not generating them themselves, but only being the instruments of generation in his hands. . . . Since mortal parents are the boundaries of the immortal powers, which, generating everything according to nature, have permitted



102. XIII. "The expression, 'Let us make,' indicating a plurality of makers . . . . The Father is conversing with his own powers, to whom he has assigned the task of making the immortal part of our soul, while he was fashioning the rational part within us . . . . also because the soul of man alone was destined to receive notions of good and evil . . . . he thought it necessary to assign the origin of evil to other workmen than himself, but to retain the generation of good for himself alone."
103. XIX. "The Word is, as it were, the charioteer of the powers, and he who utters it is the rider who directs the charioteer how to proceed with a view to the proper guidance of the universe."
104. XX. "The high-priest is not a man, but is the Word of God . . . . he has no errors . . . . cannot be defiled, because . . . . he has received imperishable and wholly pure parents, God being his Father, who is also the Father of all things, and Wisdom being his mother, by means of whom the universe arrived at creation."
105. XXI. To this high-priest "'a virgin of the sacred race is joined,' that is to say, an opinion forever pure and undefiled and imperishable . . . . being content with her who has chosen one husband and one Father only, the all-governing God."
106. XXV. God "displaying himself by his virgin graces . . . . to all those who are desirous to see him."
107. "For it was not a man which was now being brought forth (Isaac), but a conception of the purest character . . . . truly divine (*θελος τωτον*)."

FROM "THE CHANGE OF NAMES"

108. IV. "The creative power which is called God . . . . for by means of this power the Father who begot and created all things did also disperse and arrange them. The soul indeed of the wicked, God did not make."
109. VI. "There is nothing between God and the soul but his own virgin grace."
110. XXIII. a) "Isaac must not have been a man, but the adopted son of God (*ὁ ἐνδιδομένος υἱὸς θεοῦ*) . . . . b) and indeed Moses calls the man of an intellect devoted to virtue a god, when he says, 'The Lord, seeing that Leah was hated, opened her womb' . . . . c) But Tamar, when she became pregnant of divine seeds, and did not know who it was who had sown them . . . . decided within herself that it was not a mortal man who gave these things."
111. XXIV. "And Wisdom, which after the fashion of a mother has conceived and brought forth the self-taught race, points out that it is God which is the sower of it."
112. XXV. a) "Virtue is the mother of all created good, without having received the seed of it from any mortal man." . . . . b) Hannah . . . . by 'she who was barren' means the mind which has never received any mortal seed."
113. XXXVI. "Dinah means incorruptible judgment, justice the attribute seated by God, the everlasting virgin (*ἡ δὲ παρθένος*)."

114. "The ever-virgin virtue."
115. XXXVII. a) "Having no knowledge of the one husband and Father of the virtue-loving soul, namely God (τὸν ἑνα ἀνδρα καὶ πατέρα φιλαρέτου ψυχῆς, θεόν)."
- b) "Moses is the purest mind, and Aaron is his word (λόγος αὐτοῦ)."
116. XLIV. a) "Leah is thought worthy of such an honorable reception by the prince that her womb is opened by him so as to receive the seed of divine generation."
- b) "And do not wonder if God, who brings forth all good things, has also brought forth this (self-taught) race which, though rare on earth, is very numerous in heaven."
- c) "Why then do you wonder if God showers upon men virtue, unaccompanied by any labor or suffering . . . and indeed we read in Scripture: 'Behold, I rain upon you bread from heaven.'"
117. XLV. "Virtue therefore will bring thee forth a legitimate male child, far removed from all effeminate passions." Spoken of Isaac.
118. XLVI. "'And at that time she shall bring forth a son to thee,' that is to say, Wisdom shall bring forth Joy. What time, O most marvelous being, are you pointing out? Is it that which cannot be indicated by the thing brought forth? For that must be the real time, the rising of the universe, the prosperity and happiness of the whole earth and of heaven and of all intermediate natures and of all animals and all plants."

FROM "DREAMS"

119. Book I, Chap. X. Socrates among the Greeks corresponds to Terah among the Hebrews in following the motto, "Know thyself." "Socrates was really a man; but Terah was the principle (λόγος) in accordance with which each one is to know himself."
- 120, 121, 122. XII, XIII, XV. "God the Father of the Universe."
123. XXVIII. God "teaching Abraham and begetting Isaac . . . assigning to one the soul of a pupil and to the other that of a son."
124. XXXI. "The Father who begot the soul."
125. XXXIV. "Right reasons of wisdom do ye all leap up, form connections, sow seed, and pass by no soul which you see rich and fertile and well-disposed and virgin; but, inviting it to association and connection with you, render it perfect and pregnant, for so you will become the parent of all kinds of good things, of a male offspring, variegated, ring-straked, and speckled."
126. XXXVII. "For there are, as it seems, two temples belonging to God; one being this world, in which the high-priest is the divine Word, his own first-born son. The other is the rational soul, the priest of which is the real true man, the copy of whom perceptible to the senses is he who performs his paternal vows and sacrifices, to whom it is enjoined to put on the afore-said tunic, the representative of the universal heaven, in order that the

world may join with the man in offering sacrifice, and that the man may likewise co-operate with the universe."

127. XXXIX. "'I am the God who was seen by thee in the place of God' ('Εγώ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὁφθαλμοῖς σου [ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ]) . . . . Do not pass by what is here said, but examine it accurately and see whether there are really two gods. For it is said, 'I am the God who was seen by thee,' not in my place, but 'in the place of God' as if he meant some other God. What then ought we to say? There is one true God only, but they who are called Gods catachrestically are many; on which account the holy Scripture on the present occasion indicates that it is the true God that is meant by the use of the article, the expression being, 'I am the God' (ὁ θεός); but when the word is used catachrestically, it is put without the article, the expression being, 'He who was seen by thee in the place, not of the God, but "of God"' (θεοῦ); and what he here calls God is his most ancient word." Cf. John 1:1 (ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος).
128. XL. "The Scripture . . . . has spoken of God under the likeness of man, though not of any particular man."
129. XLI. "Why then do we wonder if God at times assumes the likeness of the angels, as he sometimes assumes even that of men, for the sake of assisting those who address their entreaties to him? . . . . He assumes the appearance of an angel without changing his own real nature. . . . Those who are unable to bear the sight of God look upon his image, his angel Word, as himself."
130. Book II, chap. IV. "The virtuous man . . . . contemplating the things that are in the world and inquiring about the Father who made them."
131. X. "Cut off the hand and the power, because it has thought that the faculty of propagating seed was in our own power, and also because it has attributed to the creature the power which belongs to the Creator."
132. XXVIII. 'The high-priest of whom we are speaking is a perfect man, the husband of a virgin, a most extraordinary statement (τὸ παραδοξότατον), who has never been made a woman, but who, on the contrary, has ceased to be influenced by the customs of women in regard to her connections with her husband. And not only is this man competent to sow the seeds of unpolluted and virgin opinion, but he is also the father of sacred reasonings . . . . he is . . . . the entire race of mankind, or, rather, he is a sort of nature bordering on God, inferior indeed to him, but superior to man. . . . Will he then be God? I would not venture to say that . . . . but he touches both extremities."
133. XXXIV, XXXV. The mind belongs either to God alone "or else to that intermediate nature which is between the mortal and the immortal race . . . . indicating that the mind of the wise man . . . . is superior indeed to man, but inferior to God . . . . And the good man is on the borders, so that one may appropriately say that he is neither God nor man, but that he touches the extremities of both, being connected with the mortal race

by his manhood and with the immortal race by his virtue." The characteristic of intermediate nature between God and man is applied to the high-priest when he enters the holy of holies, by a strange mistranslation of Lev. 16:17.

134. XXXVI, XXXVII, refer to the Word as a river, and as "the cup-bearer of God, the Master of the feast."

FROM "ON ABRAHAM"

- 135, 136, 137. II, XI, XVI. "The Father and Creator of the Universe."  
 138. XI. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in name indeed men, but in reality Virtues. The nature of the Virtues is immortal.  
 139. XV. Abraham, "the wise man . . . busied in the search after the true God. For the Chaldeans were above all nations addicted to the study of astronomy and attributed all events to the motions of the stars. The man who had been bred up in this doctrine . . . beginning to perceive a pure ray of light . . . followed the light, and saw what he had never seen before, a certain governor and director of the world standing above it."  
 139a. XVI. The "world is not the first God, but the work of the first God."  
 140. XVIII. "What other man would not have returned to his former home?"  
 141. XIX. Abraham goes into Egypt with his family.  
 142. XX. Israel the nation which has received the offices of priesthood and prophecy on behalf of the whole human race.  
 143. XXII-XXIV. The three guests of Abraham at Mamre. The one in the middle is the Father of the universe, the others his creative power (God) and his royal power (the Lord). "A vision at one time of one being, at another of three. A threefold image of one subject, one image of the living God, and others of the other two as if they were shadows irradiated from it."  
 144. XXV. Some souls who own their being recognized by the Father to his beneficent power (God), and others to his governing power (the Lord). Abraham's guests three persons and one. "That what is seen in reality a threefold appearance of one subject is plain (*ἡ τριττὴ φαντασία δυνάμει, ἐνός*)."  
 144a. XXVIII. God the cause of good only and not of evil.  
 145. XXXII. "A legitimate son is born to the wise man (Abraham) by his wedded wife, a beloved and only son, very beautiful in his person and very excellent in his disposition."  
 146. XXXV. This "his only legitimate son . . . The man who gives the only beloved son that he is possessed of, performs an action beyond all the powers of language."  
 147. XXXVI. "The Father of the universe." Sarah feared "lest she should be deprived of her rejoicing (Isaac), as belonging to no created being, but to God alone, on which account the holy Word encouraged her and said, 'Be not afraid.'"

## FROM "JOSEPH"

148. XLIII. Joseph says to his brethren: "We have [not only our earthly father, but] also the uncreated, immortal, everlasting God for our Father . . . 'for I am (and do not be astonished at my words) in the place of God.'"

## FROM "LIFE OF MOSES"

149. Book I, Chaps. I-VI. An account of the marvelous infancy of Moses, "the greatest and most perfect man that ever lived."
150. VI. "Very naturally, therefore, those associated with him and everyone who was acquainted with him marveled at him, being astonished as at a novel spectacle, and inquiring what kind of a mind it was that abode in his body, and that was set up in it like an image in a shrine; whether it was a human mind or a divine intellect, or something combined of the two."
151. X. Moses, while speaking to the Midianite shepherds, "appeared inspired, and his appearance became changed, so that he looked like a prophet."
152. XII. The flame in the bush the image of God or an angel.
153. XXVIII. "Has he (Moses) not also enjoyed an even greater communion with the Father and Creator of the universe, being thought worthy of being called by the same appellation? For he was also called the God and king of the whole nation."
154. XXIX. The pillar of cloud and fire "was perhaps an angel."
155. L. Balaam of Israel: "Their bodies may indeed have been fashioned according to human means of propagation, but their souls have been brought forth by divine agency, wherefore they are nearly related to God."
156. LII. Balaam's prophecy: "A man shall come out of thee hereafter who shall rule over many nations, and his kingdom shall increase every day and be raised to heaven."
157. LVII. "He who kills even an enemy and an alien appears to be guilty of blood by reason of his supreme and common relation to a common Father."
158. Book II, Chap. I. Moses a perfect and mediatorial priest, yet a created and mortal being. "The virgin graces."
159. IV. "Propitiating the Father of the universe with holy prayers."
160. VIII. "The same being was the Father and Creator of the world."
161. XII. "Man being a kind of copy of the powers of God, a visible image of his invisible nature, a created image of an uncreated and immortal original."
162. Book III, Chap. VI. "The Father and Ruler of the universe."
163. XXV. "The Father."
164. XXVI. "The Father of the universe."
165. VIII. The creative power (God) and the kingly power (Lord).
166. XIV. The high-priest superior to all men. When he enters into the temple to offer up the prayers and sacrifices, "all the world may enter

with him." The twelve stones on the breastplate, the *logeum* (λόγεον), "an emblem of that reason (λογος) which holds together and regulates the universe." "For it was indispensable that the man who was consecrated to the Father of the world should have as a paraclete his son (i. e., the Logos), the being most perfect in all virtue, to procure forgiveness of sins, and a supply of unlimited blessings . . . so that he shall be in a manner changed from the nature of a man into the nature of the world."

- 167. XXIV. "The Father."
- 168. XXVI. "The Father of the universe."
- 169. XXVII. The seventh day, "destitute of any mother and devoid of all participation in the female generation, being born of the father alone without any propagation by means of seed, and being born without any conception on the part of the mother . . . being neither born of corruption nor liable to corruption."
- 170. XXXI. "The Father of the world who holds together heaven and earth."
- 171. XXXIV. "Their Father and Creator."
- 172, 173. XXXV, XXXIX. "The Father."
- 174. XXXIX. Moses' "mortality putting on immortality." Changed "from body and mind to mind alone."

FROM "THE TEN COMMANDMENTS"

- 175. IX. "The Father of the Universe."
- 176. XII. "The God and Father and Creator of the universe." Parents imitate God's nature and so generate the particular individual.
- 177. XIV. All created things are brothers to one another, inasmuch as they are created, since the Father of them all is one, the Creator of the universe. We should not worship "our brothers," the stars. God is "in a manner the Father of that which he hath made."
- 178. XVIII. "The Father and the Sovereign of the world."
- 179. XXI. "The Father and Creator of the universe."
- 180. "Seven, the virgin number which has no mother."
- 181. XXII. Parenthood is "of mortal and immortal essence." Similarity of parents in the act of generation to God, the Father of the universe."
- 182. XXIII. Parents are "evident gods" (ἐμφανεῖς θεοί) of their children.
- 183. XXV. God the Father of the world as to men's souls or minds, which are copies of the everlasting idea.
- 184. XXX. Six "the most generative of all numbers."

FROM "CIRCUMCISION"

- 185. II. Not man, but God the cause of generation.

FROM "MONARCHY"

- 186. Book I, Chaps. II, IV. "The Father of the universe," three times.
- 188. VIII. "The Father of all."
- 189. Book II, Chap. V. "The soul of the high-priest in the image of God; this image the Word, through whom the world was made."

190. VI. "The man consecrated to the service of the Father of the world should also bring the son to the service of him who has begotten him." The high-priest of the Jews a mediator "on behalf of the whole race of mankind, and also of the different parts of nature, of the earth, of water, of air, and of fire."
191. VIII, IX. The high-priest and his virgin wife.
192. XII. The high-priest "being always ready to offer up prayers and sacrifices on behalf of the whole world. . . . For the law designs that he should be the partaker of a nature superior to that of man, inasmuch as he approaches more nearly to that of the Deity, being, if one must say the plain truth, on the borders between the two, in order that men may propitiate God by some mediator, and that God may have some subordinate minister by whom he may offer and give his mercies and kindnesses to mankind."
193. XV. The widowed or childless daughter of the high-priest returning to the class of virgins.

## FROM "ANIMALS FOR SACRIFICE"

194. X. The true high-priest has no participation in sin; bears the sin of the nation.

## FROM "THOSE OFFERING SACRIFICE"

195. IX. The beneficent power (God). The punitive power (Lord).
196. XI. "A more venerable and sacred kind of relationship. The virtuous are sons of God."

## FROM "SPECIAL LAWS"

197. I. A man's parents are "imitations of the divine power, since they have brought into existence people who had no existence."
198. II. "The Creator and Father of the universe."
199. VII. "The power of the husband exists because of his sowing the seed of the virtues in the soul as in a fertile field." The mind compared to a virgin.

## FROM "TEN FESTIVALS"

200. Second, I. "The seventh day which some have denominated the virgin, others have called the motherless, as being produced by the Father of the universe alone." The cohabitation of numbers. "The Father."
201. Tenth. "All the fruits of the year are the offspring of the number seven, which stands in the relation of a mother."

## FROM "PARENTS"

202. I. Parents something between human and divine. As God is to the world, so are parents to their children.
203. IX. "The Father and Creator of the universe."

## FROM "SPECIAL LAWS—MURDERERS"

204. X. Sinlessness of the high-priest.

FROM "IMMODESTY"

205. II. "The masculine soul is that which devotes itself to God alone, as the Father and Creator of the universe . . . but the female soul is that which depends upon all the things which are created."  
206, 207. IV. "The Father and Creator of the world." "The Father."

FROM "MAGISTRATES"

208. VI. "Creator and Father of all."

FROM "COURAGE"

209. I. "The Creator and Father of all." Represents the Midianites as urging their women to yield their bodies to ensnare the Israelites, declaring that in this act of patriotism they will "preserve the virginity of their souls everlastingly."

FROM "HUMANITY"

210. II. Moses' "virgin hands." "Creator and Father of the universe."  
211, 212. IV, VI. "Creator and Father of the universe."  
213. XVIII. "The air, and the most holy nature of the Spirit."

FROM "REPENTANCE"

214. I. "Never to do anything wrong is the attribute of God, and perhaps of a god-like man" (*ἰδιον θεοῦ, τὰχα δὲ καὶ θεοῦ ἀνδρός*).  
215. II. "The true servant and suppliant equals the whole people."

FROM "REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS"

216. II. The sowing of seeds by the creator in the rational soul. Man a composite animal, of mortal and immortal nature.  
217. IV. "Creator and Father of the universe."  
218. V. "Father and Creator of all men and all things."  
219. VI. "A recondite allusion to Abraham and the ray of light suddenly beaming upon him, revealing the existence of a governor of the universe. Cf. 139.  
220. X. Abraham following the vision. Isaac, "a son utterly blameless, to whom he bound the cables of the whole race, and thus brought them to a safe anchorage."  
221. XX. "The virtuous man shall be the head of the human race, whether he be a single man or a whole people."

FROM "CURSES"

222. VII. a) "The virgin periods of seven years." b) Men are brothers as having one common mother, namely, Nature." c) The soul, when barren or having lost its offspring, "becomes changed in all its parts and becomes a pure virgin, and, having received the divine seed, it fashions and brings to life a new family."  
223. VIII. "Their merciful Savior, God, who bestows on the race of man his especial and exceedingly great gift, namely, relationship to his own Word



. . . . for even though they may be at the very extremities of the earth acting as slaves . . . . they shall all be restored to freedom at a given signal.

IX. But when they have received this unexpected liberty, those scattered about in Greece and in the islands and over the continents . . . shall hasten to one place . . . guided by some vision more divine than is compatible with its being of the nature of a man, invisible to everyone else, but apparent only to those who are being saved, by whose intervention they might obtain a reconciliation with the Father."

FROM "NOBILITY"

224. III. Of Adam: "The Father of this man was no mortal at all, and the sole author of his being was God. And he, being in a manner his image and likeness, was condemned to change an immortal for a mortal existence."
225. V. "The only everlasting God and the Father of all other things . . . . When therefore he (Abraham) was possessed by the deity (*ἐνθεοῦν*), he at once changed everything for the better, his eyes and his complexion and his size and his appearance while standing, and his motions and his voice; the Holy Spirit (*τὸ θεῶν πνεῦμα*), being breathed into him from above, took up its lodging in his soul, clothing his body with extraordinary beauty . . . . the most nobly related of men, aiming at making himself a kinsman of God."
226. VI. Tamar, following the beam of truth, "preserved her own life free from all stain," and was "the beginning of nobleness to all those who came after her."

FROM "THE VIRTUOUS FREE"

227. VII. "But the lawgiver of the Jews ventures upon even a more bold assertion, . . . . and so he teaches that the man who is wholly possessed with the love of God and who serves the living God alone is no longer man but God (*οὐκ ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπου ἀλλὰ θεοῦ*), being indeed the god of men, but not of the parts of nature, so as to leave to the Father of the universe alone the attributes of being both King and God.
228. XVI. Refers to the Greek heroes or demigods reputed to be born of a mixed human-divine generation, and repudiates the idea.

FROM "CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE"

229. I. As to the demigods: "How can the same man be both mortal and immortal, even if we leave out of the question the fact that the origin of all these beings is liable to reproach as being full of intemperance and youthful folly, which its authors endeavor with great profanity to impute to blessed and divine natures, as if they, being madly in love with mortal women, had connected themselves with them, while we know gods to be free from all participation in, and from all influences of, passion and completely happy. . . . Though rational men have a near relationship to the deity."

230. VIII. "The seventh day pure and always virgin. The women (the Therapeutridæ), though old, are virgins in respect of purity . . . desiring not a mortal but an immortal offspring, which the soul that is attached to God is alone able to produce by itself and from itself, the Father having sown in it rays of light appreciable only by the intellect, by means of which it will be able to perceive the doctrine of wisdom."
231. XI. "The Father and Creator of the universe."

FROM "INCORRUPTIBILITY OF THE WORLD"

232. IV. "Father and Creator" quoted from the *Timæus* of Plato.
233. VI. "Mother Earth."
234. VII. The mythological representations of "the womb of the earth," and of armed men from seed, are ridiculed.
235. VIII. Mention of the theory of an eternal succession of births.
237. XIV, XVI. God, Providence—the soul of the world, presiding over everything "in the opinion of the Stoics."

FROM "CAIUS"

No allusions.

FROM "AMBASSADORS"

238. I. "The Father and Sovereign of the universe."
239. XI. Caius likens himself to one of the demigods.
240. XII. "If virtues can make their possessors immortal, vices can make them mortal."
241. XIII. Caius calls himself a god.
242. XIV. The form of God not capable of being imitated by an inferior.
243. XVI. The Jews taught the existence of but one God, "their Father and the Creator of the world."
244. XXXVI. "The Creator and the Father of the universe."

FROM "CONCERNING THE WORLD"

245. I. "God the Father of everything else."
246. II. "The Father."
247. III. The doctrine of gradation of souls. Transmigration. The rational soul—the image of God, the seal of God, the everlasting word.
248. V. "The intellect is the only portion which the Father who generated it has thought worthy of freedom."
249. VI. "The godlike man who speaks thus in the Psalms."
250. "God the Father and Creator and Governor of all things in heaven and earth." God the grandfather of time.
251. VIII. "The Creator of the gods is also the Father of everything, and the world is a most beautiful work of his and his offspring." Quoted from the *Timæus*.

## FRAGMENTS QUOTED BY EUSEBIUS

252. Lib. VIII, c. 13. "The Father of the universe." The second God who is the Word of the other (*τὸν δευτέρον θεόν, ὃς ἐστὶν ἐκείνου λόγος*). "God the Father of the world. . . . The Father of all rational understanding."

## FRAGMENTS FOUND IN JOHN OF DAMASCUS

253. "Man, the first-born of God and the most excellent of his creatures. . . . The Father of all visible things. . . . The Father of his creatures. . . . The path which leads to the Father. . . . the Father of the universe."

## FRAGMENTS FROM A MONKISH MS.

254. "The Father of the universe" "The Father and Creator of the world," twice. Philosophy of the soul and mind. "Creator, Father, Guide and Governor." "One God, the Father of the universe."

## FRAGMENTS PRESERVED BY ANTONIUS

255. Ser. CIV. "A king is a kind of god (*ὡς θεός*), being of the likeness of God."  
256. "In the power of his authority and rank (the king) is equal to God who ruleth over all things."

## FROM "QUESTIONS AND SOLUTIONS"

- 257, 258. Book I, Chaps. IV, VIII. The two Adams, one of whom is the Word.  
259. VI. "The Father."  
260. XXI. Adam, the first man, born out of the earth. Eve of an intermediate nature.  
261. XXXVI. A bad and a good God.  
262. XLII. The gods in heaven, i. e., the stars.  
263. LI. "A desire of virtue which makes the soul immortal."  
264. LIV. "The unborn father . . . 'One of us,' God conversing with his own virtues."  
265. LV. The Sovereign power and the disciplinary power. "Moreover, he was not influenced by the mediation or exhortation of any other being in communicating incorruptibility to man."  
266. LVII. The creative and royal Powers of God.  
267. LVIII. "'I have gotten a man from the Lord,' the Father and Creator."  
268. LXXVIII. "The divinity the cause only of the good and not of all things."  
269. XCII. The giants born of the angels and women. "Sometimes Moses calls the angels sons of God, and at other times calls men who are very excellent and endowed with great virtue, the sons of God."  
270. XCIII. "That heavenly being, man, who is a mixture compounded of soul and body, from the very hour of his birth to his death, is the slave of the body."  
271. XCIX. "The Father of the universe. . . . The way of the Father."  
272. Book II, Chap. X. "No man is the inheritor of the divine substance except him who is endowed with virtue."

273. XII. "A virgin number (seven)-free from all admixture. Neither does it generate anything nor is it generated. . . . The unit uncreated and unbegotten, etc."
274. XIII. "The authority of the Father . . . . Their faith in the Parent of the world."
275. XV. "By the grace of the Father we desire to throw away and wash off all sensible and corporeal qualities."
276. XVII. Adam created out of the earth in the spring. Noah a second Adam.
277. XXV. "And on this account we must render thanks to the merciful Father because he (Noah) received his consort and colleague (the ark, his body) no longer as one endowed with superior power, but to be subordinated to his own power."
278. XXXIV. "It was necessary that there should be some Creator and Parent acting like a governor and director." XLIII. "We admire the Father on account of his exceeding kindness."
279. LI. Beneficent virtue, God; the kingly attribute, Lord.
280. LIV. "The Father is kind and merciful."
281. LVI. The incorporeal Adam. Noah, the second Adam, beginning the race anew.
282. LIX. "The rational part of man is the substance of the divine spirit."
283. LX. "All we men are brothers . . . . for we have received a lot as being children of one and the same mother, rational nature."
284. LXII. "Why is it that he speaks of some other god, saying that he made man after the image of God, and not after the image of himself? Answer: No mortal thing could have been formed on the similitude of the supreme Father of the universe, but only after the pattern of the second deity, who is the Word of the supreme Being. It is befitting that the rational soul of man should bear before it the divine Word; since in his first Word God is superior to the most rational nature possible. But he who is superior to the Word holds his rank in a better and most singular pre-eminence, and how could the creature possibly exhibit a likeness of Him in Himself. . . . His Word of which the human mind is the similitude and form."
285. Book III, Chap. I. "The Father of the universe."
286. IX. Inspiration: "But the class of prophets loves to be subject to such influences, for when it is divining and when the intellect is inspired with divine things, it no longer exists in itself, since it receives the divine spirit within and permits it to dwell with itself."
287. X. "For while the soul of the wise man descending from above, from the sky, comes down upon and enters a mortal and is sown in the field of his body, it is truly sojourning in a land which is not its own. At death the mind is released from its mischievous colleague . . . . the body . . . . 'Thou shalt go to thy fathers in a good old age' appears to intend to indicate the incorporeal substances and inhabitants of the divine world whom in other passages he is accustomed to call angels."

288. XVIII. "Why is it that Sarah, the wife of Abraham, bore him no children? Answer: The mother of opinion is here spoken of as barren; in the first place, in order that the son of generation might appear more wonderful as being born by a miracle; in the second place, that his conception and nativity might appear to be not more owing to the marriage of the man than to divine providence. For it is not due to the faculty of conception that a barren woman should bear a son, but rather to the operation of a divine power. This is the literal meaning of the statement, but if we look at its inward sense," etc.
289. XXXIV. Hagar looking upon the angel at the well as God. "But may we not suppose that she mistakenly looked upon the angel as God, looking upon the second as the first, that is, upon the Word as God?"
290. XXXV. "It is with perfect correctness that she says that the angel appeared before the well as God."
291. "Therefore he designs to show that the man who is conspicuous in virtue is both a citizen of the world and equal in dignity to the whole world."
292. XL. "Such conduct is pleasing to the Father . . . The whole treaty of God is the incorporeal Word, which is the form and measure of the universe according to which this world was made."
293. "The benefits which the Father bestowed upon the wise man."
297. XLIII. "The mind is the familiar and natural father of the uttered word."
295. XLIV. "The wise man has no seed or fruit in himself . . . but from the great Cause himself."
296. XLV. "The real country of the soul is the air and heaven; the earth and the body in which it is said to sojourn is only a colony . . . therefore the Father gives it (the soul) authority over the earth and the body."
297. XLVIII. "The true Father of the universe . . . The one true and genuine Father of all."
298. LIV. "From the time that the soul acquires a share of the divine nature it begins to conceive and bring forth varieties of nations, i. e., of all other holy and sacred persons."
299. LVI. A man one hundred and a woman ninety years of age. "It is clearly seen that is only the power and grace of God."
300. LX. "It is said with great propriety that his mother shall bring forth Isaac in the succeeding year, since the birth does not belong to the present time, but to another great and holy time; and that which is divine rejoices in abundance and is by no means like the nations of this world."

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## THE SEPTUAGINT RENDERING OF GEN. 4:1

H. A. Redpath writes in the *American Journal of Theology*<sup>1</sup> on Gen. 4:1, as follows:

It is on all sides admitted that this is a very difficult passage. The LXX translates *διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ* . . . . The Targum of Onkelos reads *בְּמַחַת* for *אֵת*. If this was the original reading, then the *διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ* of the LXX, so far as the preposition is concerned, is on all fours with the *διὰ* (= *בְּמַחַת*) *κυρίου* of Josh. 11:20 . . . . For the use of *διὰ* by the LXX I have given the nearest analogy I can find.

From this wording it appears that Redpath also is inclined, as were other scholars before him, to presuppose for *διὰ* of the LXX, not the *אֵת* of the Massoretic Text, but *בְּמַחַת* as found in Onkelos. G. Spurrell, for instance, in his *Notes on Genesis* wrote:

It is uncertain whether *διὰ* is a free rendering, or whether they had *בְּמַחַת* for *אֵת* in the text, and similarly the Vulgate and Onkelos.

Holzinger<sup>2</sup> quotes from Field: *ὁ Ἑβραῖος καὶ ὁ Σύρος . . . ἐν θεῷ*, and adds: "wohl auch LXX (*διὰ*) *בְּ*." He presupposes that *ἐν* and *διὰ* are renderings of a Hebrew *בְּ*. For this supposition there is no ground whatever; it is positively excluded by the statement *ὁ Ἑβραῖος . . . ἐν*; but neither is there any necessity for presupposing *בְּמַחַת* for *διὰ*.

Already Ball quoted in the *SBOT*—at my suggestion, if I remember correctly—for *διὰ* = *אֵת* Gen. 40:19: *μνησθητί μου διὰ σεαυτοῦ* = *זכרתני אֵתךְ*. I think this example, taken from the very same book, and therefore from the same translator, is a nearer analogy for the use of *διὰ* in Gen. 4:1 = *אֵת* than that quoted by Redpath. Of earlier authorities who were in favor of *בְּמַחַת* I can quote Drusius, Seb. Schmid, Kamphausen, Diestel. Cheyne<sup>3</sup> recommended *לַעֲמֵת*, "even as." But there is no documentary evidence for changing *אֵת*. Gunkel is right when he says: "Septuagint and Vulgate read the received text."

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## CHRYSOSTOM ON THE LIFE OF JOHN THE APOSTLE

In his article on "The Martyrdom of John the Apostle," published in this *Journal*, Vol. VIII, p. 541, Mr. F. P. Badham quotes a passage from Chrysostom, *In Matthæum*, which seems to show that Chrysostom, too, knew of the martyrdom of John. Then he quotes another passage, in

<sup>1</sup> April, 1904, pp. 300 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Kurzer Hand-Commentar*.

<sup>3</sup> *Expository Times*, Vol. X, p. 476.

which he finds a *Milderung* on Chrysostom's part. From this he concludes: "It would seem, then, that Chrysostom wavered on the point, or perhaps that he held different views at different times." But it is evident from the work first quoted that Chrysostom always put a great interval between the death of James and that of John; for in the first passage quoted by Mr. Badham he goes on to say:

James did not live a long time afterwards; but was so burning already from the very beginning that he left all earthly things, went up to the unspeakable height, and was killed immediately. 'Ο δὲ Ἰάκωβος μακρὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐπέζησε χρόνον· ἐκ προοιμίων δὲ οὕτω διεθερμάνθη, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἀφελὲς πρὸς ὕψος ἀνέβραμεν ἀφατον, ὡς εὐθέως σφαγῆναι (p. 648 E).

On John, on the contrary, he writes in the same work,<sup>1</sup> because in the gospel of John the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem (= Matt., chap. 24) is not found:

Of these things John writes nothing, that he might not appear to write from the history of past events; for he lived a long time after the capture; but they that died before the capture and had seen nothing of it write it, that the force of prediction is apparent: οὗτοι τοῦτων οὐδὲν ἔγραψεν Ἰωάννης, ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῶν γεγεννημένων τῆς ἱστορίας γράφειν (καὶ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ὥλωση ἐξῆλθε χρόνον πολὺν) ἀλλ' οἱ πρὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως ἀποθανόντες, καὶ μηδὲν τοῦτων ἑωρακότες, αὐτοὶ γράφουσιν, ὥστε πανταχόθεν διαλάμπει τῆς προρρήσεως τὴν ἰσχύν.

Professor Schmiedel had suggested that John was martyred on the same occasion as his brother. But surely Mr. Badham is right when he says that the subsequent reputation of the two brothers is most easily accounted for by a longer activity on the part of John. I have not searched the other writings of Chrysostom for statements about the life and death of John; but the present one will suffice to show that even at the time when Chrysostom wrote the first passage about the fate of the brothers predicted in Matt., chap. 20, he put a great difference between that of James and that of John.

<sup>1</sup> Hom. 76, *In Matthæum*, p. 735 B.

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## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

### RECENT ENCYCLOPÆDIC AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE

The fourth volume of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*<sup>1</sup> extends from "Quail" to "Zuzine." Among the more important articles it contains are "Resurrection and Ascension Narratives" and "Simon Peter," by P. Schmiedel; "Right, Righteousness," by W. E. Addis; "Romans," by van Manen; "Sacrifice," by George F. Moore; "Sermon on the Mount," by J. Moffatt; "Son of God" and "Son of Man," by N. Schmidt; "Temple," by I. Benzinger and G. Box; "Text and Versions," by F. C. Burkitt; "Trade and Commerce," by G. A. Smith; and "Wisdom Literature," by C. H. Toy. Professor Cheyne's initials are attached to a multitude of short articles as well as the more extended ones "Servant of the Lord," "Tribes," and part of "Zoroastrianism." Nearly all of his work is vitiated by his ubiquitous Jerahmeel hypothesis, which has dominated all of his recent utterances. The Assyrian topics come from the competent hands of C. H. W. Johns and T. G. Pinches, while the Egyptian subjects are equally well treated by W. Max Müller. The point of view of Schmiedel and van Manen has been made known to English readers by their articles in former volumes of this *Encyclopædia*. The narratives of the resurrection are the result, not of the disciples and Paul actually having seen the risen Jesus, but of subjective visions which they felt themselves compelled to believe objectively real. The letter to the Romans was written, not by Paul, but by a Christian of the Pauline School, and it originated some time toward the end of the first century, or the beginning of the second. "Trade and Commerce" is one of the best articles in the entire *Encyclopædia*, and constitutes the best treatment of the subject extant. Much might be added concerning Mesopotamian trade and commerce from a study of the many contract tablets and the Hammurabi code, but the latter was not published in time to be used in the preparation of this volume. Familiarity with the Hammurabi code would have caused some modifi-

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia Biblica: A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political and Religious History, the Archaeology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible*. Edited by T. K. Cheyne and J. Sutherland Black. Vol. IV, Q to Z, cols. 3989-5444. New York: Macmillan, 1905. \$5.



cations in the statements of the article, especially by its evidence of the existence of a recognized class of agents, or traveling salesmen.

This volume possesses the same merits and defects as its predecessors. There is an abundance of scholarship in it; the very names of the authors, Benzinger, Francis Brown, Burney, S. A. Cooke, G. B. Gray, McGiffert, Marti, G. F. Moore, W. M. Müller, Nestle, Pinches, Stade, Wellhausen, *et al.*, are the strongest possible guarantee of learning and of accuracy in details. The many carefully selected lists of books are invaluable. The spirit of investigation everywhere manifest is inspiring. The clear presentation of difficult problems is illuminating, even though the solutions offered may not always commend themselves. The same preponderance of the Old Testament over the New is seen here as in earlier volumes; of the fifty-six contributors, e. g., only six or seven are distinctively New Testament scholars; and of these few, the two whose results are discredited by the great body of New Testament scholars are assigned three of the four most important articles. Biblical theology receives very slight attention; a more cordial attitude toward it, permitting the inclusion of such subjects as regeneration, salvation, and sin, would have been much appreciated by many students. The editor's hypothesis concerning the large influence of Jerahmeel and north Arabia upon Israel is more prominent than before, and in no way made more reasonable or attractive. In a word, this volume, together with its predecessors, is indispensable to the scholar who desires to keep abreast of the progress of his science and is qualified to discriminate between fact and fancy; in the hands of the non-specialist, or ordinary Bible student, it is liable to be misleading and confusing.

The "Extra Volume" of the *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible*<sup>2</sup> constitutes an important addition to the volumes already issued. The articles in this volume are much longer than the average of those in the other volumes, and deal in part with subjects lying somewhat out of the field prescribed for the previous volumes. Thus there is a notable series of articles on the religions of ancient nations: on Babylonia and Assyria, by Jastrow; on Egypt, by Wiedemann; on Greece and Asia Minor, by Ramsay. One of the most notable articles is that by Professor Kautzsch, on the "Religion of Israel." It would be difficult to refer the English reader to any book or article from which he could gain in comparatively brief

<sup>2</sup> *A Dictionary of the Bible: Dealing with its Language, Literature and Contents, including Biblical Theology.* Edited by James Hastings, with the assistance of John A. Selbie. Extra Volume, containing Articles, Indexes, and Maps. New York: Scribner; Edinburgh: Clark, 1904. Cloth, \$6; half morocco, \$8, per volume.

space a more admirable survey of the problems of the Old Testament field as they now present themselves to Old Testament scholars, and of the solutions which sober scholarship gives to these problems. Other notable articles dealing with the Old Testament and related subjects are those by Professor McCurdy, on "The Semites;" Professor Jastrow, on "Races of the Old Testament;" Professor Buhl, on "Roads and Travel in the Old Testament;" and by C. H. W. Johns, on "The Code of Hammurabi."

In the New Testament field Frants Buhl writes on "New Testament Times;" Schürer, on "The Diaspora;" and Professor Votaw, on "The Sermon of the Mount." In the field of late Jewish literature, H. St. John Thackeray writes on "Josephus;" James Drummond, on "Philo;" and Professor Schechter, on "The Talmud." In patristics Mr. Stenning writes on "The Diatessaron;" Professor Bartlet, on "The Didache;" Professor Menzies, on "The Gospel according to the Hebrews;" Mr. Kenyon, on "Papyri;" Mr. Turner, on "Greek Patristic Commentaries;" Professor Tasker, on "The Apocryphal Gospels;" and Professor Ropes, on "The Agrapha." If to these be added Dr. Murray's article on "The Textual Criticism of the New Testament," and Professor Ramsay's admirable treatment of "Roads and Travel in the New Testament," it will be evident that the volume contains a large amount of valuable material for the New Testament student. Limits of space forbid detailed criticism of the volume. General criticism can be only by way of commendation. The volume constitutes a valuable collection of monographs, a goodly number of which, published singly, would have constituted notable volumes on the subjects discussed.

Why should a vast literary undertaking like the *Jewish Encyclopædia*<sup>3</sup> seek the attention of a world already overburdened with issues from the press? Dubnow, in his charming little book on *The Philosophy of Jewish History*, gives what may be taken as an answer to this question. If we consider Jewish history quantitatively, we find that it has a continuous duration of thirty-five hundred years—a longer period without interruption than any other one of the historical nations can show. If we look at this long stretch of events qualitatively, we find a sacred tradition, principles that are universal in their application, a unique spirituality, an explicit code of morality, a luminous theory of life. It is claimed that both quantitatively and qualitatively Jewish history is to the last degree distinctive.

<sup>3</sup> *The Jewish Encyclopædia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.* Vols. I-X, A to Samoscz. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1902-5. \$7 per volume.

*Bible*<sup>4</sup> was published in 1898; seven thousand copies were distributed. A second edition became necessary, and this was published in 1903. The second edition of the work contains some revisions of a minor kind; practically the work is as before. Professor Davis' book is useful for those who do not wish to acquaint themselves with the present progressive views of the Bible. The dictionary occupies substantially the same ground and point of view as Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, issued a generation ago. For the understanding of biblical history and biblical ideas which has grown out of modern historical Bible study, one must go to the Hastings *Dictionary of the Bible* and the *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

Some two years ago we printed in the *Journal of Theology*<sup>5</sup> a short sketch of the development of the *Theologischer Jahresbericht*<sup>6</sup> from its beginning to the completion of the twentieth volume, briefly surveying the gradual growth of this excellent bibliographical repertory. What was said then, viz., that "nowhere in the field of theological literature is there a work similar to it," holds true now more than ever; for every new volume is not only better and more conveniently arranged, but contains also more condensed information than its predecessors.<sup>7</sup> Each part of the *Jahresbericht*, let us again remind our readers, may be had separately, so that every student can purchase for a few marks that part in which his special line of work makes him most interested.

Krüger now shares the heavy editorial burden with Professor W. Köhler, also of Giessen, and known to the readers of this *Journal* through his article, "Emperor Frederick II, the Hohenstaufe."<sup>8</sup> The part "Exegese," formerly published under one cover, is now divided into three separate sections. We enumerate thus: (1) *Vorderasiatische Literatur*, by Georg Beer; and *Ausserbiblische Religionsgeschichte: Nichtsemitisches Heidentum*,<sup>9</sup> by Edvard Lehmann—111 pages; M. 4.60. (2) The Old

<sup>4</sup> *A Dictionary of the Bible*. With many new and original Maps and Plans, and amply illustrated. By John D. Davis. Second Edition, Revised. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1903. 802 pages. \$2.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. VI, pp. 101-3 (January, 1902).

<sup>6</sup> *Theologischer Jahresbericht*. Herausgegeben von G. Krüger und W. Köhler. Dreiundzwanzigster Band, enthaltend die Literatur und Totenschau des Jahres 1903. Berlin: Schwetschke, 1904. 1354 pages.

<sup>7</sup> In this respect equaling the excellent *Jahresbericht für Geschichtswissenschaft*, which we commend most heartily. It discusses to a large extent the same literature as the *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, but treats it from a different point of view.

<sup>8</sup> *Journal of Theology*, Vol. VII, pp. 225-48 (April, 1903).

<sup>9</sup> This latter a welcome addition in the briefest form.

Testament, by Paul Volz—116 pages; M. 4.70. (3) The New Testament, by the veteran Heinrich Holtzmann, Rudolph Knopf, and Johannes Weiss—91 pages; M. 3.75. (4) Church History, by Erwin Preuschen (from the beginning to the Council of Nice); G. Krüger (from the Council of Nice to the beginning of the Middle Ages); Otto Clemen and Georg Koch (the Middle Ages); W. Köhler (the Reformation to 1648); C. F. Arnold (from 1648 to 1789); J. Werner (from 1789 to 1870); and E. Issel (from 1871, with special reference to interdenominational relations)—766 pages; M. 18.20. (5) Systematic Theology, by A. Neumann (encyclopædia and methodology); Titius (dogmatics), Neumann and Christlieb (philosophy of religion and apologetics), and A. Hoffmann (ethics)—231 pages. M. 9.75. (6) Practical Theology, by O. Everling (general and introductory subjects); J. Smend (catechetics), C. Lülmann (pastoral theology); O. Herring (missions and Christian sociology); Meydenbauer (canonical law); Stuhlfauth (ecclesiastical art); Spitta (liturgies), and Eberhard Nestle (necrology for 1903)—200 pages. M. 8.45. (7) a carefully prepared index by C. Funger—256 pages; M. 6.45.

We notice with pleasure, that American literature is much better represented in the *Jahresbericht* than was the case some years ago; perhaps, to some extent, due to the circulation and influence of this *Journal* and kindred reviews in Germany and adjacent countries. We note that not only is every article and critical note of this *Journal* briefly summarized, but also the longer and more important reviews are carefully registered. We beg to thank the editors and their collaborators for this courtesy, and hope that every notice of forthcoming volumes of this annual will help to increase the list of subscribers in England as well as in this country.

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#### SYRIAC LITERATURE

There can be no doubt about the desirability of having Nöldeke's famous *Syriac Grammar* translated into English, for it is the standard work on the subject, and, however true it may be that most English-speaking students who learn Syriac know German and use it with ease, it is not true of all; and a grammar in English will be resorted to much oftener even by those who know German very well. It is therefore a great credit to Dr.

Crichton to have undertaken the important task of bringing Nöldeke's grammar in an English dress before English-speaking students.<sup>1</sup>

In two points the English edition has an advantage over the German. Dr. Crichton has added an "Index of Passages" which will prove valuable to the student, and in order to facilitate the use of the book he has added in the margin to the various sections the headings which Nöldeke had given in his very full table of contents, which of course appears also in its proper place.

The translation has been executed with reasonable fidelity and care. More can hardly be said. Elegant English need of course not be expected, especially in a work of this kind. The principal point is that the translator should represent the original accurately and reliably. An examination of several specimen passages shows that this has been done in the main. Occasionally he misses a particular shade of meaning, but it is seldom that this makes much difference. I mean, for instance, the omission of such little words as *oft*, *schon*, *wohl*, etc., in the translation. But why the translator should have translated, e. g., "freilich beruhen aber viele dieser Unterschiede nur auf künstlicher Festsetzung durch die Schulen" by "Many of these differences, however, rest doubtless upon *rules of art* laid down by the schools" (p. xxxiii),<sup>2</sup> is hard to see, since the literal translation "artificial" would have expressed the meaning to a nicety. What shall be said of the following translation: "*Besides*, the influence of the actually living tongue—the Aramaic popular dialects and the Arabic—*did not attain its prevalence*" with such a disturbing effect as might have been expected," for the German: "der Einfluss den wirklich lebenden Sprachen, aramäischer Volksmundarten und des Arabischen, kam dabei nicht so störend zur Geltung, wie man erwarten sollte" (p. xxxiv)? Now this is not intended to discredit Dr. Crichton's work. He deserves our gratitude. Fine translating is a high art and requires a man who understands the genius of both languages. What the translator has aimed at he has accomplished. This translation "has been executed with reasonable fidelity and care."

We may therefore congratulate ourselves upon having now a standard Syriac grammar in English; for it becomes more and more apparent how important the study of Syriac is, not only for the Semitic philologist and

<sup>1</sup> *Compendious Syriac Grammar*. By Theodor Nöldeke. With a table of characters by Julius Euting. Translated (with the sanction of the author) from the second and improved German edition by James A. Crichton. London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. xxxiv + 336 pages. 18s. net.

<sup>2</sup> Italics are mine.

historian and the Old Testament scholars, but also for the New Testament exegete. It is he who welcomes as eagerly as the philologist, not only such a grammar, but also such an important contribution as is given us by Dr. Schulthess in his fine, accurate, and reliable dictionary of the Syro-Palestinian dialect.<sup>3</sup> For the scientific study of the synoptic gospels the study of the Palestinian Aramaic is well-nigh indispensable, and it is for this reason that the publication of this lexicon concerns the New Testament scholar most profoundly. The brilliant Friedrich Schwally published more than a decade ago, his *Idioticon des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch*, but this was somewhat premature. Since then a good deal of new material has become known. Schulthess rightly emphasizes in his preface that not only those matters are of interest and importance in determining this Syro-Palestinian dialect in which it differs from the Edessan and the Jewish dialects, but also those in which it agrees with them, the Palestinian Jewish being here of greatest importance. Schwally had omitted all words which the Christian Palestinian dialect had in common with these others, and noted only those in which it differed, aside from practical reasons, presumably to bring these differences into clearer relief. That he would agree to the correctness of Schulthess' principle may reasonably be supposed. It is needless to say that Schulthess has done his work as it ought to be done; it is of distinguished accuracy and reliability.

By publishing a collection of the acts of the Nestorian Synods, J. B. Chabot has laid not only students of Syriac literature, but also church historians and students of the history of doctrine, under lasting obligation. The great volume<sup>4</sup> contains the Syriac original and a French translation of the thirteen synods beginning with the synod of Mar Isaac in 410 A. D. and ending with the one of Mar Henanisho in 775 A. D. Among the appendices which form the third part of the volume (pp. 525-650) the first synod of Timothy I in 790 A. D. is also given, pp. 599-608. Another appendix treats of the canonical authorities of the Nestorian church, while the first three appendices bring additional matter for three synods.

The great value of this publication is at once apparent when it is remembered that the Nestorian church maintained a severe isolation, and that it

<sup>3</sup> *Lexicon Syropalaestinum adiuvante Academia Litterarum Regia Borussica*. Edidit Fridericus Schulthess. Berlin: Reimer, 1903. xvi + 220 pages. M. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Synodicon orientale ou Recueil de Synodes Nestoriens*. Publié, traduit et annoté par J.-B. Chabot d'après le MS. Syriaque 332 de la Bibliothèque Nationale et le MS. K. VI, 4 du Musée Borgia, à Rome. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902. 695 pages. Fr. 30.

soon gave up the church discipline as it was determined by the first Greek councils, which it had at first officially adopted. Under the leadership of the archbishop of Seleucia, who had taken the name of "patriarch of the Orient," new synods were convened and new decrees were issued. It is the collection of these acts and decrees which M. Chabot has given us here. He believes that it is the first collection of decrees of the oriental councils, and shows conclusively that the recension which he publishes dates from the decade and a half between 575 and 790 A. D. He points out that the fact that at the beginning of most of the synods the confession of faith is given, makes it possible to follow the development and modifications of Nestorian doctrine. This makes it, of course, of utmost value to the student of ecclesiastical doctrine. The numerous lists of bishops, and the various clues which it gives for the chronology of the patriarchs, furnish important contributions to eastern church history.

The editing of the Syriac text is beautifully done, and so is the translation into French. Numerous footnotes illuminate the text and several long notes are placed in the appendix. It is difficult to estimate the exceedingly great amount of work and learning contained in the notes. Five indices heighten the usefulness of the book and facilitate quick reference. In fact, one does not see what more could have been done in any way for this great work.

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#### MANUSCRIPTS AND PALEOGRAPHY

Some of the readers of the *Journal of Theology* will probably ask themselves what a stenographical monthly has to do with a circle of theological scholars, and they will suppose that it is to be placed in a seminary library to help the students use shorthand for their lecture notes. Closer acquaintance with the number lying before me<sup>1</sup> will lead them to revise their opinion. This is the oldest of the German stenographic magazines, and it enters with this issue upon a new career, under the auspices of its former efficient editor, Dr. Curt Dewischeit, of Breslau, and of a new publisher, Georg Reimer, of Berlin, who has given to the journal an excellent outfit in paper, ink, and printing. This *Archiv* is not devoted to the interests of any one school of shorthand, but is open to all, and is warmly recommended by the principal men in the various schools.

<sup>1</sup>*Archiv für Stenographie: Monatshefte für die wissenschaftliche Pflege der Kursive aller Zeiten und Länder.* Herausgegeben Curt Dewischeit. 56. Jahrgang, Neue Folge, Band I, Heft I. Berlin: Reimer, February, 1905. Issued in monthly numbers. Price for the year, M. 5.

The scientific character of the publication, and the manifold interests which the pursuit of the history of shorthand embraces, will be clear if we examine the contents of this number. Classical scholars will be drawn to an article by Otto Morgenstern on "Cicero and Stenography" (pp. 1-6). Josef Dürich treats of "Stenography at Present among the Slavonians" (pp. 15-24); Béla Vikár, of "Historical Stenograms in Hungary" (pp. 39-41); and Julius Brauns, of "Stenographic Polylogograms" (pp. 32-36). Albrecht von Kunowski writes about "Stenographic Psychology," and the intricate concatenations of the nervous and psychic movements which take place in the effort to hear, to determine the sounds or tones in, to spell, and to write down the words of other men. Carl Wessely, the well-known Vienna scholar, publishes in the original Greek, with a translation, a contract made by a master in the year 155 A. D. with a shorthand teacher to give his slave shorthand lessons for two years (pp. 36-38). The fees are to be 120 drachmas and the usual presents for feast-days. Erwin Preuschen, of Darmstadt, discusses in a first article (pp. 6-14) "Stenography in Origen's Life." He shows how Origen's friend Ambrosius supplied him with shorthand writers and copyists and girls that wrote beautiful copies. The prices which Preuschen gives on p. 11, n. 9, appear to be totally impossible; many a journal today does not pay its contributors so much as that. A review or two and a series of short notes close this number. The notes refer, among other things, to the proposed new treatment of Luther's *Table Talk*, to shorthand as used in taking down Calvin's sermons, and to the edition of the Bible in Pitman's phonographic script, which fills 800 pages and contains 773,692 words. Americans will be glad to have this interesting journal.

Professor Lambros, who for the last thirty years and more has been publishing all manner of interesting books and articles in the line of Greek history, Greek paleography, and Greek philology, found that great quantities of the materials which he had collected in the libraries of the East and of the West were in danger of perishing with him unused, because they did not seem to be suitable for publication in separate books. His patriotism urged him at the same time to put into a permanent form many items discovered which throw light now upon early Greek history, now upon the Greece of the Middle Ages. He chose the name for his periodical<sup>1</sup> in memory of the Ἑλληνομνήμων of Andreas Mustoxydes, that was published sixty years ago. Material, ample material, is waiting to fill the numbers, for Lambros has notes about and copies from manuscripts

<sup>1</sup> Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων: Τριμηνιαῖον περιοδικὸν σύγγραμμα συντασσόμενον καὶ ἐκδιδόμενον ὑπὸ Σπυρ. Π. Δαμπροῦ. Τόμος πρῶτος Ἀθήνησιν: Σακελλαρίου, 1904. 534 pages. Fr. 15.



in some sixty different libraries, ranging from Athens to London, to the Escorial, to Palermo, to Jerusalem, to Berlin. The numbers are issued March 31, June 30, September 30, and December 31. Williams and Norgate, 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, are the agents for England and the colonies.

Each number offers first various articles, then a few pages of miscellaneous notes, and then a review of new books. Photographs and facsimiles are found here and there. Twenty pages with indexes and a table of contents close the volume and make the material accessible to scholars.

Here are the subjects of a few articles: "A New Fragment of John of Antioch;" "An Inscription Touching Queen Anna Cantacuzene;" "Michael Kalophrenas and the Patriarch Metrophanes II;" "Attala I as a Geographer;" "Théonas, an Unknown Chronicler of the Empire of Trebisonde;" "The Ancient Inscriptions in the Manuscripts of the Middle Ages." A series of articles is given to a catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in the libraries at Athens. Thus far the Library of Parliament is presented. It is much to be desired that the author succeed in having fixed numbers given to the manuscripts. If, as is sometimes the case, the monks on Mount Athos change the numbers Lambros gave to their manuscripts, it is not easy to do anything about it. But it surely should be possible in a city like Athens to secure definite numbers. When I asked for one of the volumes, given in the first number of the *Νέος Έλληνομνήμων*, the librarian could not find it. It is much to be regretted, that the descriptions of the manuscripts do not contain the number of columns and the number of lines; if these are not known, manuscripts are often hard to identify. But we need not complain of these things. We must thank Professor Lambros for opening his portfolios and giving us so much valuable material.

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The materials of textual criticism are being continually enriched by the publication of texts and facsimiles. Professor Lake has rendered a fresh service to textual study in photographing and deciphering the Athos leaves of Codex H<sup>Paul</sup>,<sup>3</sup> so important for the text of Galatians and 2 Corinthians. His facsimile edition of these sixteen pages, with transcriptions, makes the testimony of this ancient uncial accessible to textual critics as it has never been before.

<sup>3</sup> *Facsimiles of the Athos Fragments of Codex H of the Pauline Epistles, Photographed and Deciphered.* By Kirsopp Lake. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905. Plates XVI. 21s., net.

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## FOUR BOOKS ON THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

1. *Das Marcusevangelium und seine Quellen.* Von R. A. Hoffmann. Königsberg i. Pr.: Thomas & Oppermann, 1904. ix+644 pages. M. 16.
2. *Das Evangelium Matthaei übersetzt und erklärt.* Von J. Wellhausen. Berlin: Reimer, 1904. 152 pages. M. 4.
3. *Principles of Literary Criticism and the Synoptic Problem.* By Ernest DeWitt Burton. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1904. 72 pages. \$1.
4. *The Diatessaron of Tatian and the Synoptic Problem.* By A. Augustus Hobson. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1904. 81 pages. \$0.50.

In Herr Hoffmann's exhaustive study of the triple tradition we have a theory of the relationship of the gospels which presents some new features. The author starts from the numerous differences of expression in parallel accounts, which serve only to convey the same meaning. These, as he thinks, must be due to translation. He postulates, therefore, an Aramaic Mark which was used by the editor of the first gospel (=Matthew) and translated by him. Meanwhile the Aramaic gospel had been re-edited and enlarged by an Aramaic editor. This longer Aramaic recension was used by the editors of our second and third gospels (=Mark, Luke). In each case translation implied more than a mere literal rendering of the Aramaic into Greek, and included considerable editorial revision. The shorter Aramaic gospel is symbolized as  $U_1$ , the longer as  $U_2$ . One startling feature of this theory, as elaborated by the author, is that Matthew in general has an earlier and more original narrative than Mark. Matthew's order, for example, in chaps. 8-12 is that of  $U_1$ .  $U_2$  had altered the order, and Mark and Luke have followed him. In the incidents in which Matthew has a shorter narrative than that of Mark, Matthew's longer form is secondary and due to expansion of  $U_1$  in  $U_2$ . Sections in Mark which do not occur in Matthew are for the most part due to interpolation by the editor of  $U_2$ . In such details as  $\alpha\iota \delta\epsilon \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\iota$  (Matt. 8:27), the two demoniacs (8:28), the two blind men (20:30), the immediate cursing of the fig tree (chap. 21), the mother of the sons of Zebedee (20:20), "Why askest thou me about the good" (19:17), Matthew is primary, representing faithfully  $U_1$ , while Mark's account is secondary, being based upon  $U_2$ , in which  $U_1$  has been modified.

Of course, a theory like this has much in its favor. It will explain so many features of the gospels. If Matthew diverges from Mark, he is following the original Aramaic Mark. If Matthew and Mark agree, they both translate the same Aramaic. If Matthew and Luke agree against Mark, they independently use the same word to translate their Aramaic original, as in  $\eta\delta\upsilon\nu\eta\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$  (Matt. 17:16; Luke 9:40), against  $\iota\sigma\chi\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$

(Mark 9:18), or Mark has deviated from the Aramaic, as in the omission of *δεστραμμένη* in the next verse. Herr Hoffmann works patiently through Mark and its parallels very much on the method of B. Weiss, endeavoring to show that the phenomena of the triple tradition are explicable on the theory presupposed by him. It is a defect in his method that he so rarely attempts to reconstruct the Aramaic original of which he everywhere finds signs of translation. Of course, much can be explained on his theory, though we cannot but think that the arguments by which he tries to justify the priority of Matthew's text to Mark's (which this theory often involves) are strained and precarious. Judged as a whole, the Markan text seems to us generally more original. But the weakest point in the system is its failure to account for verbal agreement in two or in all three gospels. Herr Hoffmann has much to say on the divergences, but what explanation can he give of the agreements? It is true that he occasionally notices the more striking ones with a view to explaining them away. In Mark 8:2, e. g., he reads *ἡμέραις τρισίν* and omits *μοί*, at the same time omitting *ἦδη* from the parallel in Matthew. But, not to speak of a long list of rare or unusual words, such as *ἐρημία*, *σφυρίς*, *ψιχίον*, *εὐκοπώτερος*, *δύσκολος*, *ἐπίβλημα*,<sup>1</sup> there are everywhere found exact agreements in Greek phraseology which no theory of independent translation can adequately explain. There is much to be said in favor of an original Aramaic Mark,<sup>2</sup> but the Mark which lay before our first evangelist must have been a Greek translation practically identical with our second gospel and with the Mark used by Luke. Otherwise, in spite of all divergences, their verbal agreement is entirely unaccountable.

We feel ourselves, therefore, on surer ground when we turn to Wellhausen's interesting commentary. This consists of a translation, followed by a series of notes which turn chiefly on the relationship between the three gospels, upon critical and grammatical points, and upon traces of an Aramaic stage of tradition behind the gospels. There is no introduction, but the author assumes that Matthew has used Mark and also other sources. Those sections which are common to Matthew and Luke are denoted Q. This does not mean that they all came from a single source; but some of them have a fixed sequence and betray literary connection. These are given as Q\*. The following may serve to give some example of Wellhausen's treatment of the gospel. The phrase "kingdom of the heavens" is literary and secondary. Christ spoke of "God" and the "kingdom of

<sup>1</sup> See Sir John Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, pp. 42 ff.

<sup>2</sup> So recently Pfeleiderer, *Urchristentum*, Vol. I, pp. 400 f. Zimmermann, *Markus-evangelium*, p. 148.

God" as did the Galilean peasants. Chap. 5:4 is an interpolation from Ps. 37:11, and there are seven, not eight, beatitudes; cf. the seven parables of chap. 13 and the seven woes in chap. 23. Luke's text in the beatitudes is primary. Matthew has moralized them. In 6:4, the second ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ is the object of βλέπων. We must translate "who sees what is secret," "der auf das Verborgene den Blick richtet." In 6:27 ἡλικία is "height." "Es gibt Riesen unter den Exegeten, welche den Wunsch grösser zu sein, als man ist, unbegreiflich finden." In 9:16 πλήρωμα is an Aramaism. The verb occurs in Syriac with the meaning "to patch," and there is a derivative—"tailor." Chap. 10:16-42 is compiled by Matthew from various sources. In 10:31 πολλῶν is due to mistaken translation. It should be translated "much," and be connected with "better"; of 6:26; 12:12. The "wisdom" of 11:19 is the divine wisdom; her children are the Jews. Ἀπό represents an Aramaic preposition—"against." Wisdom is justified against the Jews, since their complaints against her are seen to be querulous and contentious. In 12:41, 42 we have words which originally had nothing to do with the Sign of Jonas. Chap. 12:40 is to be preferred to Luke 11:30. Luke has omitted the reference to the fish intentionally. "Rise up in judgment with" in vss. 41, 42 can be understood only through retranslation into Aramaic, where it means "impeach," "indict."

In 21:29, 30 the right order is first the obedient, then the disobedient son. The Jews in vs. 31 say ὁ ὑστερος, purposely giving a wrong answer. The first words of Christ's reply are an expression of indignation at their perversity. On 23:35 we have a longer note than usual. The Zachariah of 2 Chron. 24:20, 21 cannot be meant. He was a son of Jehoiada, was perhaps an invention of the Chronicles, was anyhow quite an obscure man, was not slain "between temple and altar," and occurs too early in the history to form a culminating point. The Zacharias of Josephus<sup>3</sup> suits admirably. "It is ludicrous that commentators who do not object to the equation Barachias=Jehoiada should suddenly develop scruples to the equation Barachias=Bariscæus. They have no ground for preferring the Zachariah of Chronicles to the Zacharias of Josephus, but only a motive." Chaps. 22:7 and 23:38 presuppose the destruction of Jerusalem; so may the reference to Zacharias. The learned commentator seems to us here not to give due consideration to the prominent place occupied by the Zachariah of Chronicles in the Jewish tradition.<sup>4</sup> Chap. 17:24-27 was

<sup>3</sup> *Bellum*, IV, 335.

<sup>4</sup> B. Sanhedrin, 96b; Gittin, 57b; J. Taanith, 69a. See Merx. *Die vier Evangelien*, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 334.

written before the fall of Jerusalem. Chap. 16:17 is not necessarily late. The latest redaction of the gospel need not be later than 100 A. D.

While the two books noticed above deal with special aspects of the synoptic problem, the two following treat it as a whole, but from different points of view. For some years the efforts made to analyze the gospels into sources have seemed unable to advance beyond the position arrived at by B. Weiss and Holtzmann, that Mark and the Logia form the two main sources. Recently attempts have been made in several quarters to supplement this by the supposition that Luke used also a special source (sometimes parallel with the Logia), to which he gave the preference over his two other sources. In the meantime protests have been raised from time to time against the whole "Logia" part of the two-document theory. Every attempt to construct a Logia document by putting together sections common to Matthew and Luke has failed, because it remained inexplicable why these two writers should have used such a document so differently and with such freedom. The theory of a special source for Luke in addition to the Logia seems only to complicate matters without explaining very much. Moreover, the use of the term "Logia" for the Greek document thus discovered as a source for Matthew and Luke seemed arbitrary. Papias speaks of a Hebrew or Aramaic writing. This common source of Matthew and Luke, if it existed, must have been Greek. And why did the name Matthew pass from it to the first gospel and not to the third?

Professor Burton's work seems to us to be extremely valuable as advancing the whole question to a further stage. He lays down the principles which govern the literary relationship between documents, and applies them to the three gospels. This leads him, after careful consideration of alternatives, to the result that Matthew and Luke are derived from Mark and from another literary source, which, however, must have been, not a single document, but two or more documents. Turning now to the gospels themselves, the writer in a most original and independent manner analyzes the non-Markan sections of Matthew and Luke, as follows: (1) There are in Matthew's six long discourses some 160 verses without parallel in Mark or Luke. Adding to these some 70 sayings peculiar to this gospel in its shorter discourses, we obtain about 230 verses not reported in the other gospels, and constituting a little over one-fifth of the whole gospel. These passages constituted a source for Matthew, and were probably taken from the Matthean Logia. Thus an explanation is found for the name Matthew as applied to the first gospel. (2) Luke 9:51-18:14; 19:1-28 was another source used by Matthew and Luke. It contained in common with Mark an arrival at Jericho which explains its position

in the third gospel. Matthew has borrowed from it sayings which he has interwoven into other sections in his gospel. (3) Matthew and Luke both used also a Galilean document represented for us by Luke 3:7-15, 17, 18; 4:26-13, 16-30; 5:1-11; 6:20-49; 7:1-8:3, and the parallels in Matthew, Mark, and Luke both had other sources for the narratives peculiar to them.

It is not possible here to give any impression of the systematic way in which the writer works up to these conclusions. He is careful to give reasons which make it improbable that any two of the main sources mentioned above, or of the minor sources, were only parts of one document. The last eighteen pages of the book are occupied by a most useful table exhibiting the parallelisms of the gospel.

We shall not attempt to criticise the theories here sketched. The strongest and most original part of the thesis is the treatment of the "Logia" question. There is much to be said for a view which limits this document to sayings and confines its use to Matthew. The weakest point is perhaps the theory that Luke's Perean section formed a common source. If so, Matthew has omitted a good deal from it (unless he had a shorter revision of it) and in other ways has treated it with great freedom. Professor Burton thinks that it had no indication of the precise period to which the events belonged. Does this mean that Luke has given it a unity which it would otherwise lack by inserting the allusions to a journey to Jerusalem? If so, is it not more probable that he is compiling disconnected narratives from many sources (oral and written)? The document is in any case rather an amorphous one, and, without the geographical link, is difficult to understand as a separate work. It seems easier to suppose that Luke should have drawn together scattered narratives, and given them a literary connection, even though he thus made a rather shapeless section in his gospel, than it is to think of this loose collection of narratives as having a separate literary existence. It should be added that Professor Burton admits that the agreements of Matthew and Luke are an "unexplained remainder," but many scholars will assent to his statement that they owe their origin "to causes that belong to the border line between editorial revision and scribal corruption, or else to some slight influence of one of these gospels in its final form on the mind of the writer of the other."

This book may be recommended to students as the most weighty contribution to the critical analysis of the gospels that has recently appeared and as one which marks a distinct advance in the treatment of the whole subject.

We have not left ourselves much space for Mr. Hobson's interesting contribution to the synoptic problem. He lays down the principles to be

followed before the text of the Diatessaron can be used for critical purposes. "The Arabic version is the basis. The other documents are to be used as corroborative or as checks." "Tatian followed no gospel constantly as his primary source." He then shows that Tatian in his rearrangement of the gospels made displacements of order, added and omitted clauses, conflated sentences, and rewrote clauses. Consequently his work presents incongruities and repetitions, and furnishes "examples of almost every sort of phenomena which are generally alleged to be present in works supposed to be compilations." He thinks that this should serve, on the one hand, to counterbalance objections to documentary hypotheses of the origin of the gospels as insufficient to account for the phenomena which they present, and, on the other, to corroborate the documentary theory, in so far as a complete similarity between Tatian's method and that of the synoptists can be shown to exist. Defenders of the "oral" theory would do well to study Mr. Hobson's moderately stated refutation of *a priori* objections to a documentary origin of our gospels.

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#### SOME RECENT WORKS ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

It is certainly a matter of interest that, while the strife of opinions continues concerning the authorship and character of the fourth gospel, the Christian world ceaselessly draws strength and inspiration from its pages, as though no question were to be raised regarding them. Whatever positions sober and reverent critical study may ultimately reach, the church will not part with that delineation of Jesus given us here. His teachings as here set forth will ever be of supreme importance and worth. No one who has felt their power can believe them to be simply human creations. Of the three books estimated in this article, two make critical questions entirely subordinate, and the third uses them simply to show that the descriptions of the prologue come to us from the Old Testament rather than from Hellenism. One book is from a Roman Catholic scholar in France; another, from the critical atmosphere of Germany; while the third reflects the study of a devout American scholar, who, while well acquainted with the critical discussions about the gospel, accepts without hesitation its Johannine authorship and its full historicity.

L'abbé Fouard's "St. John and the End of the Apostolic Age"<sup>1</sup> is the

<sup>1</sup> *Saint Jean et la fin de l'âge apostolique*. Par C. Fouard. Paris: Lecoffre, 1904. 343 pages. Fr. 7.50.

last of a series on the origins of the church. It aims to set forth the life of John as well as a history of the time in which he lived and wrote. It gives us a picture of religious conditions toward the close of the first century. No space is used for the discussion of mooted questions. Statements are made simply as the results of the author's wide study and reflection. John wrote the gospel at the end of the first century, perhaps at the beginning of the second. The three epistles usually attributed to John are from him, and, despite all differences in form and character, the Apocalypse and the fourth gospel are by the same hand. These positions are all laid down in the introduction to Fouard's book. The work itself opens with a vivid sketch of the condition of the Jews after the fall of Jerusalem, and proceeds to make clear the position of the early church in the regions beyond the Jordan. This sketch is followed by equally entertaining chapters on the fortunes of the church under the Flavian dynasty and during the persecution of Domitian, making altogether the most valuable part of the book. The whole is meant to be a setting for the literature which is subsequently described as related to the historical situation. Hence the fifth chapter takes up the letters to the seven churches. In the author's mind there is no doubt that John went to Asia after the destruction of Jerusalem and made his home in Ephesus. The seven letters form a sort of encyclical epistle written by the aged apostle from Patmos to the churches whose faith was ominously threatened by such foes as the Nicolaitans. In view of recent illuminating discussions regarding the Apocalypse, one turns with keen interest to Fouard's interpretation of this book, to which he gives about fifty-five pages. He claims that it could have been written only at Ephesus, after the apostle's deliverance from his exile upon Patmos, and he sees in it a presentation of the triumph of Christ and his church. It is a strong word of consolation for those who are in the midst of tribulation and persecution. "The gospel tells us of the first coming of the Christ, humble as the humanity with which he clothed himself; the Apocalypse describes his second glorious coming as God. The crown of thorns is exchanged for a crown of stars; in place of the outrage of the mob and the soldiers, is the song of angels, the worship of the elders, and incense of saints. Calvary becomes a throne and mount of adoration; Jerusalem, the city of guilt, becomes the celestial city resplendent with glory." The book has thus a spiritual meaning. It is not predicted history. It is a word of cheer amidst the dark, perilous days of Roman persecution.

The book offers but little to the student who is seeking light on critical problems. Its real value consists in its portrayal of the historic



situation in which it places the writings of the apostle. The style is lucid and vivid.

Pastor Steinführer<sup>2</sup> sets before himself the task of showing that "the entire section John 1:1-14, with the exception of the apologetic remark in vss. 6-8, is a connected citation from Isaiah." With a good deal of ingenuity, the basis of the Logos doctrine is discerned in the ancient prophet, and the whole prologue after the same fashion is drawn from the same source. Undoubtedly there is a basis for the Logos doctrine in the Old Testament, but it is far more likely that the writer of the prologue came to his teaching through influences immediately about him than through such handling of the prophet Isaiah as is here indicated. The argument is strained. Note this, e. g.: "The prologue refers to Isa., chap. 9. The first section in John, viz., vss. 1-5, shows in all its parts a relative character. It must, therefore, be read backwards, if one wishes to reproduce the interpretation of the Hebrew in proper sequence. Accordingly, vs. 5 in John corresponds with vs. 1 in Isaiah." The book is a clever piece of theorizing, no more.

In the work of Dr. Smith<sup>3</sup> we are presented with a serious, scholarly endeavor to put before us *the Teaching of the Gospel of John*. The author has forestalled criticism by acknowledging that his sources include more than the gospel. From one point of view we are sorry for this, for a careful, exegetical setting forth of the teaching of this great gospel alone is always in order and to be welcomed. The difference in method from that found in such a work as Dr. Stevens's is at once apparent. Dr. Smith aims to present "those who are without the training or facilities required for thorough independent study a completer view of some subjects than could be gained from John alone." The result is a setting forth of some doctrines in a comprehensive way that really gives the substance of the whole New Testament teaching regarding them. Critical questions regarding authorship and historicity are not considered, because they lie outside the general scope of the work. The author has, however, quite definite views of his own upon these same questions. That John the apostle wrote the gospel he thinks "may be regarded as one of the assured results of biblical criticism;" the trustworthiness of the record is to him also beyond question, although allowance may be made for a Johannine impress. When he comes to the interpretation of the nature and mission

<sup>2</sup> *Der ganze Prolog des Johannesevangelium in Satzfolge und Gliederung wörtliches Citat aus Jesaja.* Von W. Steinführer. Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1904. M. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *The Teaching of the Gospel of John.* By G. Ritchie Smith. New York: Revell, 1904. 406 pages. \$1.50.

of Jesus, he gives us three chapters full of careful discrimination and helpful analyses. Beyschlag has said, in substance, that of all the gospels the fourth has enabled us most clearly to understand the human consciousness of Jesus. This is not so apparent to most students of this record of the profound sayings of the Master, but it is not necessary so to interpret these sayings as to fall into the other difficulty of a double consciousness in him who "emptied himself and took upon himself the form of a servant." What is meant, e. g., by saying that "his ignorance pertained to his human nature?" Space fails us to call attention in detail to the chapters on "Salvation," "The New Life," and "The Church." They are all the fruits of painstaking, scholarly work. Here and there positions are taken as against some modern views, which are worthy of note. We can name only a few: Scripture teaches a threefold fatherhood of God; the personal pre-existence of Jesus is unquestionably a teaching of the New Testament; "flesh" does not include the idea of sinfulness, but describes human personality on the side which tends to sin; the decided preponderance of New Testament teaching is in favor of the post-millennial view. The work concludes with an interesting comparison of the thinking of John and Paul. We wish he might have tried to show us how far John was influenced by Paul. While in places one will differ in specific interpretations, and at times may dissent from conclusions, yet, at the same time, it is a pleasure to recognize in this work of Dr. Smith a fine, stimulating study of the fourth gospel and the themes which it suggests.

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#### RECENT BOOKS ON THE APOSTOLIC AGE AND THE LIFE OF PAUL<sup>1</sup>

It almost seems as if Weinel were justified in asserting that Paul "is the great discovery of the theology of the nineteenth century" (p. 312), to judge by the ceaseless attempts which are made to estimate his position and influence. Friend and foe alike are drawn under the spell of this potent personality. It is remarkable that those who have been attracted to the study of Paulinism from the theological side, however critical may be their

<sup>1</sup> 1. *Paulus: Sein Leben und Wirken*. Von Carl Clemen. I. Teil: "Untersuchung;" II. Teil: "Darstellung." Giessen: Ricker, 1904.

2. *The Story of St. Paul*. By B. W. Bacon. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904.

3. *Paulus*. Von Heinrich Weinel. Tübingen: Mohr, 1904.

4. *L'Apôtre Paul et Jésus-Christ*. Par Maurice Goguel. Paris: Fischbacher 1904.

standpoint, have joined in a chorus of admiration for the man who has been called "Jesus' most genuine disciple,"<sup>2</sup> who represents "the most heroic effort made by humanity to grasp and appropriate the thought and the divine life of the Master."<sup>3</sup> But discordant notes may be heard from other quarters. This hero of the faith has the faculty also of provoking intense scorn and hatred. A great scholar like Lagarde can express his amazement that "historically trained persons should ascribe any importance whatsoever to this Paul," while that perverted genius, Nietzsche, describes the apostle as "a fellow whose craftiness is equalled by his superstition. . . . A very distressful, very pitiable, very disagreeable man, disagreeable even to himself."<sup>4</sup>

In view of conflicting verdicts like these, it is not surprising that the life and activities of Paul, whether as missionary or religious thinker, continue to give a stimulus to keen and patient research. The volumes with which we are here concerned are admirable specimens of scholarly work. There are numerous points on which we find ourselves in disagreement with the writers, but this does not mar our cordial appreciation of the careful, scientific method which, as a rule, they employ, and the desire to reach the truth, which is their aim, combined with the frank recognition that there were influences at work in the history of the great Christian apostle which elude the ordinary canons of historical criticism.

Clemen's first volume is devoted to a minute investigation of the sources. The subtitle of Bacon's work, "A Comparison of Acts and Epistles," shows that the same subject is always present to his mind. It is obviously of immense advantage to have this detailed and complicated inquiry in a separate volume, so that the portrayal of the apostle and his work can be presented without interruption, while references to the preceding discussion point to the basis of the conclusions reached.

Clemen begins with an examination of the Pauline epistles, rejecting the Pastorals, with the exception of a few verses containing personal details, and also Ephesians, assigning Colossians to Paul's captivity at Cæsarea, and, in opposition to his former position,<sup>5</sup> giving Galatians the earliest date among the letters.

There can be no doubt that in questions of the authenticity of a writing the personal equation of the critic must count for much. Clemen decides against Ephesians on the ground of its relation to Colossians, its language, its dependence on 1 Peter, the self-estimate of the apostle in 2:3, 20; 3:4 ff.,

<sup>2</sup> Weinel, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> Goguel, *op. cit.*, p. 378, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Weinel, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 3.

<sup>5</sup> In his *Chronologie der paulinischen Briefe* (1893).

its impersonality, and the problem of the address.<sup>6</sup> Weinel takes the same position because of the "formal ecclesiasticism and legality" which he finds in this epistle as well as in the Pastorals.<sup>7</sup> Leaving aside the insoluble problem of the address, we make bold to say that for some minds the richest stratum of Paul's religion, the ripest fruit of his spiritual reflection, is disclosed by this letter. Its thought is felt to be more characteristically Pauline than either that of Colossians or 1 Peter, so that the hypothesis of dependence on the latter writings falls into the background. Its impersonality is certainly no greater than that of Romans, and is the tone which might be expected, if it were intended to be a circular letter to the churches of Asia, the most probable theory which has as yet been broached. The self-estimate of the apostle, one of the main pivots of the argument against the epistle, is a ground of objection which it is difficult to comprehend. Eph. 2:3 is surpassed by its parallel in Rom. 2:3-12; 2:20 and 3:4 ff., are thoroughly intelligible in the light of such passages as 2 Cor. chaps. 11 and 12, and Gal. chap. 1, which are far stronger statements under the same category. The charge of "formal ecclesiasticism and legality" appears to us singularly unhappy. If the religion of the Spirit is to be found anywhere, it is surely here. It is satisfactory, therefore, to find that Bacon accepts Ephesians, while Goguel, without committing himself, feels the seriousness of many arguments in its favor.

The book of Acts is subjected to a most elaborate scrutiny by Clemen. Every section from beginning to end passes under review. The perusal of these pages<sup>8</sup> is rendered needlessly difficult by the fact that the discussion takes the form of a continuous narrative. There are no subdivisions. There is no tabular conspectus of the "sources,"<sup>9</sup> as estimated by the author, so that his judgment of their respective scope and value is hard to arrive at. And, finally, there is no summary of results. It is to be hoped that in a second edition the author will come to the help of his readers in the directions indicated. Bacon's view of the "sources" of Acts may be traced throughout Part I of his volume. His general standpoint is well indicated by the following extract:

Tradition attributes this book to a certain Luke, said to have been of Antioch, of whom we know nothing whatever, except that he is one of a group surrounding Paul at Rome, a physician and a gentile. There are strong indications, *per contra*, that the Diarist ["we"-sections] was a Jew, belonged in Philippi, and

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 138-46.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 162-331.

<sup>9</sup> As e. g., in Moffatt's *Historical New Testament*.

certainly was too closely associated with Paul to so entirely mistake [*sic*] his standpoint as does the author of Acts. In proportion as we come nearer the Diary, Acts tends to agree with Paul. In the earlier parts where . . . the compiler rests on a Jewish-Christian source, he swings almost to the other pole; but even to the end the ecclesiastical pragmatism dominates. The Diary is overlaid with more or less legendary embellishments, such as the story of the earthquake which releases Paul and Silas from prison . . . and with expansions, such as elaborate speeches which the author particularly delights to put in the mouth of Paul, "before governors and kings," the Council of the Areopagus, . . . Felix, and later Festus and Agrippa in Caesarea. . . . There is thus a foundation which is strictly historical, and a superstructure which is less historical in proportion as it rises above the base.<sup>10</sup>

The author deals severely with the harmonizing endeavors of the church in past ages, but the disintegrating tendency of his own method seems in danger of running to a similar extreme. This is unfortunate in a work which he describes as purposely "untechnical," "a historical study for mixed audiences."<sup>11</sup> In the circumstances it would have been prudent to act upon his own canon: "Before rejecting anything we have to be sure there is *real* opposition."<sup>12</sup> Both Clemen and Weinel proceed more cautiously, although their main standpoint is closely akin to Bacon's.

No section of Acts calls forth a severer criticism than that which narrates the events immediately subsequent to the conversion of Paul. Here Bacon and Clemen attempt to show a complete contradiction between Acts 9:19-31 and Gal. 1:17-2:1. Let it be granted that Luke views the history from amidst the circumstances of a later time, and therefore lays his emphasis on facts which Paul had no wish to emphasize, seeing his chief concern in Galatians was to demonstrate his complete independence of the Pillar-apostles and the Jerusalem church. It seems to us that a lengthened period of history is compressed within the section of Acts above referred to. The vague expression "after that many days were fulfilled" (vs. 23), is surely compatible with Paul's departure to Arabia (where Clemen supposes he spent only some months),<sup>13</sup> and return to Damascus. It is by no means necessary to conclude from the text (vs. 26) that, immediately after his escape from Damascus, Paul made for Jerusalem. Luke's account, moreover, of the hesitation of the disciples there in receiving him is wholly reasonable. And so is his statement that Barnabas acted as mediator (in spite of Clemen).<sup>14</sup> Paul says that of the apostles he saw none but Peter and James on that visit. There is not a syllable in Acts to contradict the assertion. To spend

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 156, 157.

<sup>11</sup> Pp. vii f.

<sup>12</sup> P. 12.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 114.

<sup>14</sup> Vol. I, p. 212.

fifteen days there is thoroughly congruous with Luke's phrases, "coming in and going out at Jerusalem" and "speaking boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus," and within the short space of a fortnight he could scarcely make acquaintance with the "churches of Judea which were in Christ" (Gal. 1:22). Equally needless objections are raised in the matter of Paul's commission to preach to the gentiles. To begin with, Bacon finds glaring discrepancies between the various accounts of the giving of this commission in Acts, chaps. 9, 22, and 26.<sup>15</sup> But such a view rests on an arbitrary idea of the nature of the experience in question. It may not be tied down to one day or hour. It is bound to be realized in stages. He further asserts that Luke, who does not regard Paul, but rather Peter, as *the* Apostle to the gentiles,<sup>16</sup> "holds back" Paul's missionary activity among the gentiles until the time when Barnabas and he are set apart for the work, as recorded in Acts 13:1-3.<sup>17</sup> Surely, this is entirely to ignore Acts 11:26, where distinct mention is made of Paul's labors at Antioch, a sphere which must have embraced gentiles. Clemen<sup>18</sup> and Weinle<sup>19</sup> give a much more reasonable account of the circumstances.

It may be frankly admitted that some serious difficulties emerge from the account of the Jerusalem "conference" in Acts, chap. 15, as compared with Gal., chap. 2. But the main crux of the chapter is the promulgation of the decrees. There is something to be said for Bacon's theory,<sup>20</sup> that these decrees were really issued to meet the requirements of a mixed community such as Antioch, and that their immediate occasion was Peter's vacillation on the question of eating with gentiles.

Our interest is enhanced when we turn from these discussions of "sources" to the character and equipment of the apostle himself. And herein lie the value and charm of Weinle's study. Written with grace and vivacity, its aim is to interpret the character of Paul "from his own time for ours."<sup>21</sup> And, in our judgment, the main elements of the interpretation are true and adequate.

The historical method has illuminated many obscure places in the New Testament, but there belongs to it a tendency which shows great danger of being pushed to an extreme. This is the minute analysis of the various *influences* which have combined to form the character and mental equipment of great personalities. The eager quest after these formative elements is apt to be too generously rewarded. Thus Bacon describes Paul as "saturated with the atmosphere of the noblest Greek learning of the age."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>16</sup> P. 217.

<sup>17</sup> P. 68.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 112.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 133; cf. Weinle, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

He considers that "the Stoic philosophy . . . left an indelible impress on his memory," and that "in Stoicism, as revealed in that Hymn of Cleanthes which he quotes at Athens, we should not fail to see a more indirect but not less real influence" than Pharisaism.<sup>23</sup> We are also told that "Paul was profoundly influenced by the book called the *Wisdom of Solomon*, which presents some of the most characteristic Stoic ideas in Pharisean garb."<sup>24</sup> The "conception of the new humanity as a single organism, the *unio mystica* in Christ," is said to be "Stoic in its roots."<sup>25</sup> Every unprejudiced student admits that the apostle spent much of his life in an atmosphere in which there was to be found a cosmopolitan interchange of ideas. But surely it requires no very elaborate study to discover that Paul was heart and soul a Jew, that his religious thought was essentially rooted in the Old Testament, seen now in the light of his Christian experience, and that no other formative influence can be compared to the heritage he possessed as a Hebrew of the Hebrews. It is surprising to find Bacon using Paul's speech at Athens as an argument for Stoic influence, after describing it in another place as an "expansion" of the author's.<sup>26</sup> But, apart from this, he himself admits<sup>27</sup> that "the sermon as a whole is more closely paralleled in the literature of Jewish and Jewish-Christian missionary propaganda." Those scholars who emphasize the influence of the *Wisdom of Solomon* on Paul seem invariably to leave out of account, as we have tried to show elsewhere, the existence of the very important Wisdom literature of the Old Testament. It is difficult to speak seriously of the Stoic origin of Paul's conception of the "body" of Christ and its members. Vivid metaphors have been the common property of thinkers and writers from time immemorial. But, apart from this consideration, which is quite legitimate, the idea of the fellowship of believers in Christ surely lies at the very root of Paul's Christian experience. If he learned anything from his conversion, it was that the Spirit of Christ was the principle of new life in his being. This inestimable possession he shares with all who are united to his Lord. But the conception of the one Spirit must inevitably lead to that of the one Body, more especially as love is the very center of the religious life for the Apostle.

Clemen recognizes without hesitation the essentially Jewish background of Paul's thought, among other things rejecting very decisively the hypothesis of an influence of the Mysteries upon the apostle's conceptions<sup>28</sup>—a theory which Weinel upholds with most precarious arguments.<sup>29</sup> With

<sup>23</sup> P. 24.<sup>24</sup> P. 33.<sup>25</sup> P. 259, n. 2.<sup>26</sup> *Vide supra*.<sup>27</sup> P. 22, n. 1.<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 71.; see also pp. 67-70, 73.<sup>29</sup> Pp. 91 ff.

some reservations of which the above instances are typical, it may be said that Bacon and Weinell present a large amount of most valuable material for constructing the environment of the apostle's mental life. We would note especially Bacon's fascinating lecture on "The Christological Epistles,"<sup>30</sup> in which, however, his statements as to Paul's quotations seem to us to go beyond the evidence, and Weinell's masterly discussion of the "world of spirits."<sup>31</sup> The latter scholar's treatment of Pauline ethics<sup>32</sup> is a singularly impressive and original contribution to a much-neglected subject.

We have little space left for dealing with Goguel's comparison of the teaching of Paul with that of Jesus. The inquiry is carried out with much insight and patience. The author remarks with surprise that this subject has been very seldom handled. But a perusal of his own work suggests a probable explanation. One feels that there is far too much ground to cover, unless the attempt is planned on a very large scale. Isolated parts of the field may be treated with admirable penetration.<sup>33</sup> But the perspective of the whole is apt to be lost. Goguel describes the central object of the teaching of Jesus as "salvation in its concrete reality," while that of the Pauline theology is "the analysis of the means by which salvation is realized."<sup>34</sup> "Largely a matter of temperament," he goes on to say. But does not the distinction arise, rather, from the very nature of the relation between the Master and his apostle? What could Paul do, as a missionary and Christian teacher, but interpret the fact of Christ and his gospel? The author's general conclusion is stated with decisive clearness: "Paul had the incomparable merit of understanding admirably the thought of Jesus, and reproducing it without alteration on a single point."<sup>35</sup>

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The Ritschlian movement has been uniformly characterized by the practical purpose to free the gospel from theology. The theology in question was, at the outset, that of the church, that is, the ecclesiastical orthodox theology on the one hand, or the pietistic or rational theology on the other. In a later stage of the movement, effort was made to distinguish

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 298-334.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 19-26; cf. the very full investigation in his *Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister*, 1899.

<sup>32</sup> Pp. 104-8, 255-74.

<sup>33</sup> See e. g., the section on the righteousness of God, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-17.

<sup>34</sup> P. 110.      <sup>35</sup> P. 377.



between the biblical-theological theories of a Paul or a John, and the kernel of their gospel, which was rather uncritically assumed to be that of Jesus himself. More recently the same treatment has been applied to the synoptics, with presupposition that the gospel was Jesus', but the theology imbedded in the narratives was a creation of other agencies. This is Wernle's standpoint in his *Beginnings of Christianity*. As a continuation of this process, which has been going on consciously for more than a quarter of a century, the discovery is made, e. g., that there is a difference also between the *gospel* of Paul and the *gospel* of Jesus. On this point there is some fluctuation in Wernle's book, but solid conviction is reached by Wrede in his *Paulus*.<sup>36</sup> But it is only a short step from Wernle to Wrede, according to whom a deep gulf exists between Jesus and Paul—so deep that it is one's scientific duty to recognize in Paul "the second founder of Christianity." Indeed, it is not Jesus *and* Paul, but Jesus *or* Paul. This is also Brückner's contention in his work concerning *Die Entstehung der paulinischen Christologie*. According to Wrede, however, it is no small historical error to see in Paul the theological interpreter of Jesus and the continuer of Jesus' gospel. Even the name "disciple of Jesus" does not properly designate Paul's historical relation to Jesus. Paul is farther removed from Jesus than Jesus is from the noblest figures of the Judaic piety of his day. To be sure, there are threads of connection between the two, but they do not prove that Jesus really exercised an influence upon Paul. And, of course, many of the precepts and rules of Jesus were known to Paul from tradition, and they were valid to Paul as norm. But the decisive consideration is that Paul, in all important points, was guided by different motives from those of Jesus. And it is not until we place the two men side by side, it is not until we apprehend the central concern on each side, that we become aware of the enormous distance between the Pauline teaching and the preaching of Jesus. In the case of Jesus everything is concentrated on the personality of the individual. The burden of Jesus is that man should yield his soul entirely and undividedly to God and God's will. The major part of the preaching of Jesus has therefore the form or character of an imperative. To be sure, "reward and punishment" are by no means thoughts that Jesus dispensed with, but they serve to set forth the seriousness and the sharpness of the divine will and the greatness of human responsibility. With Jesus it is *this* that is central. Not so with Paul. The Pauline center is a historical-superhistorical deed of God, or a sum of divine deeds, which communicates a *finished* salvation to human-

<sup>36</sup> *Paulus*, Von W. Wrede. [=Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher, I Reihe, Heft, 5, 6]. Halle: Gebauer-Schwetschke, 1905. M. o.70.

ity. Whoever "believes" in these divine deeds—the incarnation, death, and resurrection of a *heavenly being*—is "saved." Paul—and this is the gist of it—converted, which means perverted, Christianity into a redemption religion. Paul's innovation was his making the *Heilstatsachen* proclaimed by him, the incarnation, the death and resurrection of Christ, the *Fundament* of religion. Redemption thoughts are not entirely wanting in the religion which lives in the precepts and parables of Jesus. But, they are not the essential thing there. With Paul, religion is the appropriated and experienced redemption itself. And the fundamental condition of this redemption is faith in *ideas* which can be correctly designated only with the word "myth." Thus, the religion of Paul is theological throughout; his theology is his religion.

Whence the Pauline theology? Mostly a Jewish heritage, save what is derived from his view of Christ, his death and resurrection. But even Paul's Christology did not arise through his idealizing and apotheosizing of Jesus; nor through his conclusion from the heavenly existence of the Risen One to the pre-existence of the latter. Such an assumption makes the kernel of the Christology an intellectual creation of Paul, a work of his fantasy. But this is incompatible with the assurance, confidence, and enthusiasm which Paul derived from his faith. There remains but a single explanation: Paul already believed in such a heavenly being, in a divine Christ, *before he believed in Jesus*; and in the moment of his conversion, when Jesus confronted him in the luminous glory of his resurrection body, Paul identified Jesus with his Christ; *and Paul could do this because he had not known Jesus*. In short, the Pharisee Paul possessed a sum of finished ideas concerning a divine being and transferred them to Jesus. The death of Jesus is not the historical death of the man Jesus; similarly as to resurrection. It is not the human historical Jesus that is of importance to Paul, but the mythological being from heaven.

Great as Paul's ethical interest is, there is no doubt that he subordinated the moral goods of character to something else. That something else is faith, namely, a conviction with a quite specific content, capable of being formulated, at bottom the acceptance of a dogma. It may almost be said that with Paul the first question is whether a man is a member of the church, and that all human excellence is valueless unless one has fulfilled this condition, or, in other words, believed in the crucified and risen Son of God. The criterion of piety is adhesion to christological dogma, "not doing the will of the Father in heaven."

So far Wrede. Of the other aspects of his interpretation of Paul's thought we cannot now speak, but hope to return to the book at a later date. It

must suffice now to raise two queries. First, since Wrede reduces to a negligible minimum the direct and indirect influence of the personality of Jesus upon Paul, what is the explanation of the enigmatic fact that precisely this man Jesus becomes the bearer of all these messianic predicates which Paul already affirmed? And, second, can Wrede successfully establish his interpretation of Paul's thought concerning faith? Is it possible to maintain that the Paul who said of himself, "It is no longer I that live but Christ that liveth in me, and the life that I now live in the flesh I live by faith, faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me," and, on the other hand, identified this faith in all essential characteristics with the faith of Abraham, really conceived of faith as the holding of a dogma, of specific content and capable of being definitely formulated?

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It has often been said that the new work in theological lines is only for educated people, and that the uneducated cannot understand the circumstances of ancient history, cannot appreciate the fine distinctions that must be made, and would only be confused and injured by any attempt to place the subject before them. In any case, it is a matter of fact that theologians have, as a rule, not tried to bring their researches into a popular form, and that such preachers as have attempted something of this kind have been attacked as destroyers of the souls of the people. The result has been that the people have received the results of biblical and of historical criticism in a roundabout way by means of petty, half-educated, or hardly educated popular speakers or penny-a-line writers, who have caught up enough of the given subjects to make startling, even if incorrect, statements to strike the minds of their readers and hearers. This state of affairs has been brought to the notice of a number of advanced German theologians, and they are trying in several ways to relieve the difficulty. One way is by a series of cheap books upon these topics. The little book before us,<sup>37</sup> costing only ten cents, gives a most excellent view of the apostolic age from the pen of Professor von Dobschütz, late of Jena, now at Strassburg as Heinrich J. Holtzmann's successor.

Dobschütz, after a brief introduction, discusses in three chapters: (1) "Christianity upon Jewish Ground; the Original Church;" (2) "Christianity upon Greek-Roman Ground; the Pauline Churches;" (3) "Chris-

<sup>37</sup> *Das apostolische Zeitalter*. Von Ernst von Dobschütz. [= *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*, herausgegeben von Friedrich Michael Schiele. 1. Reihe, 9. Heft.] Halle: Gebauer-Schwetschke, 1905. 70 [2] pages.

tianity in the Sub-Apostolic Age; the Growing Universal Church." The style is in general thoroughly popular, being short, sharp, and pungent. The book is a valuable addition to the popular literature of the day, and will be read with interest by every wide-awake theologian.

CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY.

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### NEW BOOKS ON THE APOCALYPSE

Professor Völter, now professor of theology at Amsterdam, some twenty-two years ago wrote a pamphlet about the book of Revelation, in which he attempted to show that that book was the result of a series of editorial efforts reaching far down into the second century. He now returns to the subject,<sup>1</sup> and is inclined to hope that he can, and the supposition is that he thinks that he with this essay does, finally solve the problem of the origin of the Revelation.

He proceeds chronologically, and first of all, by a skilful use of the dissecting-knife, separates all later grafts from the earliest stem, or, if you please, from the original form of the work. This original Apocalypse consisted of 1:4-6; chaps. 4-9 (with slight changes in 4:1 and 5:9, and omitting a few words in 5:6, 10; 6:16, and the verses 5:11-14 and 7:9-17); 9:14-18 (saving a few words in 11:15, 18); 14:1-3 (all but a few words in 14:1); 14:6, 7; 18:1-19:4 (save two words in 18:20); 14:14-20; 19:5-10 (save the last words of vs. 10). That leaves of the twenty-two chapters in all perhaps eight or nine as really original.

This first Revelation cleaves closely to the Old Testament and to Jewish tradition, and coincides largely with "Enoch," Ezekiel, and Daniel. Jesus is the lamb that was slain and that redeemed 144,000 out of the twelve tribes. The man who wrote this "Revelation" was full of the impression made by Nero's barbaric murder of Christians in Rome and by the burning of that city, and therefore probably wrote in the year 65. His name, he tells us himself, is John, and, as he addresses his book to the Seven Churches in Asia, he must either have lived there or at least have been there in passing. Völter thinks it impossible that John the apostle, the son of Zebedee, the fisherman of Galilee, should have had enough literary education and method to write such a book. He thinks, besides, that John was not acquainted with Greek, and therefore could not have written this Greek book. We may remark here at once that this Revelation is scarcely of so refined a literary character that its

<sup>1</sup> *Die Offenbarung Johannis neu untersucht und erläutert.* Von Daniel Völter. Strassburg: Heitz & Mündel, 1904. 171 pages.

author must needs have been a graduate of a university, and as for the Greek language, the large Greek element in the Palestine of those centuries would make the knowledge of that language, for a man who evidently did not belong to the offscouring of the land, no very uncommon thing. But to go on: as little does Völter think that the presbyter John, whom Papias names, wrote the book; he could have written it (how does Völter know that this John had the education that he denies the other John?), but in that case Papias could not have failed to speak of his authorship. Luckily another John, John Mark, is left. His wealthy and gentle descent, and that at Jerusalem, points to an education good enough for the work (it must be remarked that we are accustomed to think of John the apostle both as not bereft of means and as connected with, or at least of good repute in, the highest circles at Jerusalem), and Papias says that he wrote up Peter's recollections. These recollections Völter considers to have been one of the sources of the gospel of Mark, not that gospel itself. Mark went with Barnabas and Paul on the first journey as far as Perga; on the second journey he went with Barnabas and not with Paul; but in 2 Timothy he goes to or from Colosse or Ephesus for Paul. This fits him, thinks Völter, for writing to the Seven Churches of Asia, although it is scarcely possible that he should really have gone thither at Paul's request; that is a thought that a friend of the Pauline party put in. Völter thinks that Mark regarded the coming and death of Jesus as intended only for believing Jews, and that he regarded the God-fearing heathen as second-class believers. In Asia Minor Mark at first rather outrivaled Paul, and the Pauline party tried at a later date to neutralize or to put to good use the successes of Mark by claiming that there was no difference between Mark and Paul, and that Mark's work in Asia Minor was done at Paul's instance. The fourth gospel had the same aim, and Völter feels sure that the beloved disciple in that gospel is none other than John Mark. So much for the original Revelation of John.

A large part of the remaining material in this book, after we have taken out this original revelation, belongs to another book written a few years later. This consists of chaps. 10; 17; 11:1-13; 12:1-16; 15; 17; 19:11-22:6. The doctrine contained in these chapters is the very one that is attacked in the epistles of John, and may very well be the doctrine of Cerinthus, to whom the doctrine in the Revelation and especially in the twelfth chapter, has been ascribed, and of the Alogi of Epiphanius. Cerinthus was an extreme Jewish-Christian and used in his doctrine much that was of Parsee origin. He wrote this book in the spring of the year 70 A. D.

These two books, John Mark's of the year 65, and Cerinthus's of the year 70 A. D., were combined with each other by an editor at the time of Trajan, say in the year 114/115 A. D., and this editor added various paragraphs and verses and words, and changed others; see, for example, chaps. 5:6, 9; 6:16; 7:9-17; 12:17; 13:18; 14:9-12; 15:1-4, 7; 16:2; 19:5-10a; 14:8; a little in chaps. 18 and 19; more in 21:9 ff.; 22:8, 9. And finally a Christian of Hadrian's reign acted as preface writer and added a note or two here and there, as in 1:1-3; 1:9-3:22; 14:13; 16:15; 19:10; 22:7, 10 ff.

Völter's book impresses one as being incomplete. He discusses, it is true, the original Revelation at some length; he deals in detail with the Parsee parallels, especially for the book written by Cerinthus; and he treats at length of some questions touching the editor of the year 114/115, as, for instance, concerning Trajan, תריון, θρηϊον. Nevertheless, the last two divisions, about the editor and about the writer of the preface, fall flat with no summary of results. As for the results in general, it will be enough here to say that they do not seem to be so certain as Völter would have us think. A man who let his fancy rove in the vast future was certainly not the kind of man to stick to a combination of earlier figures and personages such as Völter would find impossible. He could without the least difficulty have named the Messiah, now the lamb that was slain, now the lion out of Judah, now an angel. But it would be useless to try to solve the problem within the bounds of a review. Völter's work is diligent, interesting, and instructive.

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Ramsay's fresh and rich book<sup>2</sup> adds much to our knowledge of the Roman province of Asia in the first century A. D., and the influence of Christianity therein. One might have thought that Professor Ramsay in his previous books upon the subject<sup>3</sup> had exhausted this field, or at least had completed his contribution regarding it. But he is one who continues his studies, enlarges and reconsiders his data, revises his hypotheses and judgments, and elaborates his earlier work; so that his latest writings are his best. The present volume has grown out of a series of articles

<sup>2</sup> *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia, and Their Place in the Plan of the Apocalypse*. By William M. Ramsay. New York: Armstrong, 1905. 446 pages. \$3.

<sup>3</sup> *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (1890); *The Church in the Roman Empire before 170 A. D.* (1893); *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen* (1895). Subsequently he published two related works, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (1895-97), and *A Historical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (1899).

written by the author for the Hastings *Dictionary of the Bible*. The seven cities of Asia named in the book of Revelation (Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea) are treated as representative of the entire province. Their geographical features, political institutions and relations, social characteristics, religious conditions and practices, together with the place and influence of Christianity in the cities, are set forth with the peculiar authority that attaches to Professor Ramsay's unequaled scholarship in this field, and with his well-known attractive and forceful style. Where else can one learn so easily, delightfully, and surely about early Christianity in Asia? There is not only the story itself, but also maps, photographs of these places as they now appear, and pictures of many political and religious antiquities of the time. The book combines the merits of scientific and popular history-writing.

In three special ways this volume is valuable: (1) as a contribution to the understanding of the apostolic age; (2) as an aid to the interpretation of the New Testament Apocalypse; (3) as a practical study in comparative religion. And this is perhaps the order of relative value.

Professor Ramsay is always and first of all a historian, collecting his facts widely and accurately, and construing them with skill and insight. In the whole history of Christianity since its founding by Jesus Christ no portion is more interesting or important than that of the growth of the movement in Asia during the period 50-100 A. D. For the province of Asia at this time became, and in the second century continued to be, the chief seat of Christianity—surpassing Judea and Syria—by reason of the apostolic labors of Paul and John. Professor Ramsay has studied this history, and has made opinion regarding it, as few scholars have done. Through such researches the apostolic age becomes better known to us year by year.

The author aims also to promote a truer interpretation of the book of Revelation; for this remarkable book was written in and to the province of Asia, and its seven letters are addressed to seven Asian churches. Two things are necessary to the right understanding of the Revelation: an adequate knowledge of the historical conditions which produced the book, and an acquaintance with the literary material and characteristics of apocalyptic literature. Professor Ramsay contributes mainly to the former, and this is well, for recent study of the Apocalypse has dealt chiefly with the latter. Specifically in chaps. 14-30, where the letters are historically interpreted in detail; more generally in chaps. 1-13, where we read about "Writing, Travel, and Letters among the Early Christians," "The Relation of Christian Books to Contemporary Thought and Literature," "The Education of St. John in Patmos," "The Flavian Persecution in the Pro-

vince of Asia as Depicted in the Apocalypse," "The Province of Asia and the Imperial Religion," "The Jews in Asian Cities," and "The Pagan Converts in the Early Church." New information and new points of view are abundant in these pages, enlarging knowledge and stimulating thought at the center of the gentile-Christian movement.<sup>4</sup> Some aid is also rendered to the literary interpretation of the Apocalypse, as in chap. 6 on "The Symbolism of the Seven Letters."<sup>5</sup>

Lastly, Professor Ramsay wishes that we should learn from this history, not only the story of the past, but at least one vital and specific lesson for the present, namely, how Christian missions should today be conducted among oriental peoples. Chap. 11 shows how the cities of Asia were meeting-places of the Greek and the Asiatic spirit.<sup>6</sup> To assist the comingling of these two elements, and to produce a fusion of both on a higher plane, Christianity came in, as preached by Paul. Christianity then showed itself to be, and it still is, the "religion which associates East and West in a higher range of thought than either can reach alone, and tends to substitute a peaceful union for the war into which the essential difference of Asiatic and European character too often leads" (p. v). "The new stage toward which [modern] Christianity is moving, and in which it will be better understood than it has been by purely European thought, will be a synthesis of European and Asiatic nature and ideas" (p. viii).

<sup>4</sup> The author says (p. vi): "The Judaic element in the Apocalypse has been hitherto studied to the entire neglect of the Greek element in it. Hence it has been the most misunderstood book in the New Testament." The Greek element has been neglected; and the book has been misunderstood, in part because of this neglect, but still more through ignorance of the history and the type of literature to which the book belongs.

<sup>5</sup> "It is not to be supposed that St. John consciously modeled his descriptions on works of art. He saw the figures march across the heavens. But such ideas and symbolic forms were in the atmosphere and in the minds of men at the time; and the ideas with which he was familiar moulded the imagery of his visions, unconsciously to himself" (p. 59).

<sup>6</sup> "The oriental came into relations with the European spirit: each tried to understand and to outwit the other. Thus an amalgamation of oriental and European races and intellect, manners and law, was being worked out practically in the collision and competition of such diverse elements. It was an experiment in a direction that is often theorized about and discussed at the present day. Can the East take on the western character? Can the Asiatic be made like a European? In one sense that is impossible; in another sense it was done in the Græco-Asiatic cities, and can be done again. It was done in them, not by Europeanizing the Asiatic, but by profoundly modifying both; each learned from the other; and that is the only treatment of the problem that can ever be successful" (p. 134).

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## RECENT BOOKS ON THE SPIRIT

Mr. Schoemaker's work<sup>1</sup> is a careful lexicographical study of the uses of רִיחַ and πνεῦμα in the canonical Scriptures, classical writings, Septuagint, Apocrypha, Philo, and Josephus. He has arranged the Old Testament sources in chronological order and takes up the use of רִיחַ under four periods: the oldest documents, the deuteronomic, the exilic and early Persian, the late Persian and Greek. In the New Testament he has made a topical classification and treats the material in four divisions: the teaching of Jesus; the four evangelists; Acts, Catholic epistles, and the Apocalypse; and the Pauline epistles. It would have been better had he treated the Johannine writings after Paul. His work will be useful to all who wish to have the material before them in convenient form for their own study of the field, although Mr. Schoemaker's work makes no addition to our knowledge of the subject.

Dr. Johnson's book<sup>2</sup> is an attempt to set forth certain doctrinal positions regarding the Spirit upon the basis of the New Testament material. It contains much that is spiritually suggestive and stimulating, but it is of little value to the scientific theologian because of his failure to use the historical method in his treatment of Scripture and his habit of reading subsequent speculation into the New Testament. At some points he shows himself sympathetic with modern thought, but at many others he is plainly in the bondage of an antiquated theological system.

Professor Wood has given us a book<sup>3</sup> for which we have long been waiting—a study of the biblical conceptions of the Spirit based upon historical criticism. His book is delightfully written. It is clear, concise, and conveniently arranged. It is divided into three parts: "The Spirit of God in Hebrew Thought," "The Spirit of God in New Testament Thought," and "Conclusion." It is preceded by an introduction by Professor Porter, of Yale, which adds to its value. Professor Wood's method is to collect and classify the uses of the word "Spirit" in a given period, as Mr. Schoemaker has done, and then to draw from them his conclusions as to the doctrine held by the writers. Under each period he discusses related questions which his conclusions naturally raise.

<sup>1</sup> "The Use of רִיחַ in the Old Testament and of πνεῦμα in the New Testament: A Lexicographical Study," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXII, Part I, pp. 13-67. By W. R. Schoemaker.

<sup>2</sup> *The Holy Spirit, Then and Now*. By E. H. Johnson. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1904. 305 pages.

<sup>3</sup> *The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature*. By Irving F. Wood. New York: Armstrong, 1904. 280 pages. \$1.25 net.

In the writings before the Exile he finds the following uses of the term: it is used of God acting, and is always a dynamic conception; it is used of God acting directly or indirectly upon man; it is the explanation of unusual gifts of national importance; it is rarely used to explain the basis of physical life. The two elements which the phenomena ascribed to the Spirit always possess are their unusual and extraordinary character, and their national significance. Individual religion had not yet sufficiently developed to let the private Israelite ascribe his own exalted emotions to the Spirit. But the prophets, whose work was always regarded as national, and certain great heroes were the men of the Spirit. The divine, as in all early religions, was seen in the startling, and the "Spirit" was the term used to account for certain surprising, superhuman phenomena in which God was felt to be acting through them for the advancement of his chosen people. Professor Wood takes up the question whether the charisma was thought of as an increase of already existing powers or as an altogether new gift—a question probably too modern to be answered from the data at hand. His answer, however, is that powers which were in themselves abnormal were regarded as caused by new endowments, while powers which were normal, but developed to an extraordinary degree, were ascribed to the Spirit, in so far as they exceeded the usual and normal condition. Again: Had the activities of the Spirit always a religious value? Yes. Did the Hebrews make a clear distinction between God and the Spirit of God? All the phenomena ascribed to the Spirit are also accredited directly to God, and "the distinction between the operation of God and of the Spirit of God was completely obscured." Still he has reminded us previously that the Spirit was not a simple equivalent for God. "Had the Hebrew no independent idea to convey by the phrase, he would not have used it."

He finds the origin of the conception in the idea of "the breath of God" as an explanation for the peculiar psychical phenomena in prophecy. "At the same time this psychical conception, with its roots in anthropomorphism, was strengthened by a religious conception, with its roots in polydemonism." Jehovah was surrounded by subordinate divine beings, and as his personality became clearer, theirs grew more shadowy, until they disappeared and their functions were merged in this expression for God in action.

In the post-exilic period he finds four modifications in the use of the term: there is an approach in one instance to a static conception where "Spirit" is used for the divine omniscience; God's action in creation and in the ordinary processes of nature is assigned to the Spirit; the charismatic

emphasis no longer predominates, but the Spirit is thought of as the first cause and controlling power in the external world, and as the guide of Israel's past and the director of its future; and the Spirit is frequently spoken of as the basis of rational and physical life in man. But of far more importance than all these modifications is the use of the Spirit as the basis of personal ethical life. The instances of this use are few, but they are harbingers of the full development of the doctrine to be reached in Paul. Professor Wood points out a distinction between the method in which the Spirit is connected with nature and with man. It is thought of as operating "upon nature, but both in and upon man." "The tendency was toward the position that the Spirit is God immanent in man, as distinguished from God transcendent over the world, including man." The term was of great value in helping Hebrew thought to avoid pantheism, as it became more speculative.

In the Palestinian-Jewish writings he finds a reversion in some respects to the conception held before the Exile. The "Spirit" is no longer used of God acting upon nature apart from man. The charismatic conception again becomes dominant, but now it is the ethical element in the charisma, rather than its merely spectacular aspect, which is emphasized. The "Spirit", however, is no longer a description for a living experience. It is not once spoken of as the possession of a contemporary. It is a memory of the past and a hope for the future messianic age. This is not due to the fact that vital religion was dead, as the Maccabean period is enough to refute, but to the theological tendency to put God far away and to avoid any phrase which had an anthropomorphic relation.

In the Alexandrian-Jewish writings the rarity of the expression "Spirit," which one might have expected to be a fruitful term with Philo, is explained by the fact that "Wisdom" and "Word" were more useful because of their affinity with Greek philosophy, and "Spirit" had already acquired so definite a content and was so fixed in Hebrew usage that it did not as readily lend itself to Philo's system. When the word "Spirit" is used, it is essentially identical with the "Logos." There are no contributions from this literature to the biblical development of the idea, but Philo's thought profoundly influenced early ecclesiastical ideas of inspiration.

The two main factors in the formation of the New Testament doctrine were the Hebrew tradition and the new religious experience of the followers of Jesus of Nazareth. The peculiarly Christian contribution to the terminology is the expression "the Spirit of Christ." The use or omission of the adjective "holy" is merely incidental and does not alter the meaning.

In the teaching of Jesus in the Synoptists we find the Spirit rarely

mentioned. He taught a complete harmony of life with God. He wished his disciples to be in direct communication with God himself, their Father. "Even so thin a veil as the idea of the Holy Spirit might tend to obscure the relation." When he does employ the word, it is in a Palestinian-Jewish sense. The Spirit is a manifestation of God's special activity in guiding and energizing the work of the Messiah. It is also promised as the source of special divine powers in the members of the messianic kingdom when the Christ is no longer at hand. It is not a new life, but the source of special gifts superadded to the ordinary life of the Christian. In their description of the life of the Messiah it is surprising that the synoptists refer so infrequently to his endowment with the Spirit. Professor Wood suggests two explanations of this fact: Jesus' own meager use of the term, and "the feeling that he stood so close to God that there was no need for the intervention of the Spirit."

In the conception in vogue in the primitive church before Paul there was practically nothing that was new. What was new was the wealth of emotional experiences which brought the old term so often to men's thoughts. "The Spirit now means not something different from what it did formerly, but means, in the large, the same things, not now as matters of memory or of hope, but of a vital, vivid experience in actual life." In all the phenomena ascribed to the Spirit there is an emotional intensity which seemed to a religious mind to demand the explanation of a divine origin. The discrepancy between the account of the glossolalia given in the story of Pentecost and that found in the epistles is due probably to an interpolation by the editor of Acts into an earlier narrative. He sums up the idea of the Spirit held by the primitive church in the following sentence:

The Spirit was used as the name for the divine cause which the early church assumed to lie beneath those experiences, whose strong emotional element seemed to mark their extra-human origin, and whose providential end was the advancement of the messianic kingdom.

The Spirit is never employed to express God's relation to nature, nor in the pre-Pauline period is it thought of as an essential part of the ordinary Christian life, but as a *donum superadditum*. As for the relation of the Spirit to God, Professor Wood says:

They drew no fine-spun distinctions between God acting and the activity of God . . . The Spirit was both. They unified or separated the Spirit and God in a way that is very puzzling to a logical theologian, but very reasonable when we take our stand in experience rather than in dogma.

Paul's great contribution is his assignment to the Spirit of "the internal

development of the kingdom in the individual life." The early church had seen the Spirit only in the unusual, and had tested its presence not so much by the ethical quality as by the extraordinary character of its effects. Paul accredited to the Spirit all experiences, however common, that served to further the messianic kingdom. With keen religious insight he saw that what was of highest value was not external gifts, but the life within, which issued in ethical conduct. Love was for him the fruit of the Spirit *par excellence*. His teaching is a development from the earlier view. He did not give up the charismatic idea, but held it along with this more comprehensive conception. The advance he made probably did not seem as radical to him as it does to us. With regard to the relation of the Spirit to God, "Paul makes a difference, not *ab intra*, but *ex officio*." They are not, however, mutually exclusive in their work. The inclusive term was "God."

The Spirit might be used for a special way of divine energizing or it might not. That was immaterial. The essential thing was the realization that the Spirit's working was the actual moving of God upon the heart. God, not the Spirit, was the ultimate thought.

It is not so easy to describe the relation of the Spirit to Christ.

Christ is the objective exhibition of the love and purpose of God. The Spirit is the sum of all divine influences acting upon man to make effective this revelation in the life of man. . . . The Spirit is wider than the influence of the personal Jesus Christ . . . . It is not simply the risen Christ, but it includes the sum-total of influences which come from him and from the historic purpose of God which prepared for him.

Paul does not raise the metaphysical problem of the Trinity. He ascribes similar experiences now to God, now to the indwelling Christ, now to the Spirit. He does not seem to have faced the question of the ultimate relation of these three to one another.

The Johannine writings show this difference from the conception held in the primitive period that the gift of the Spirit is not special and temporary, but normal to every Christian and permanent. This is an advance on Paul, not in the addition of a new conception, but in the disappearance of the charismatic idea altogether. The great question is how much of this teaching we can ascribe to Jesus himself. Professor Wood does not think that we can confidently deny it to him, but regards the probabilities as against his responsibility for this view. This, however, is not to discard all the references to the Spirit in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters of the fourth gospel. Very likely the original form referred to a temporary gift for special ends. "A penumbra of early Christian thought

and interpretation" has gathered around it. There is no trace of Alexandrian influence in the Johannine conception. There is a Pauline factor to be accounted for, and a mystic strain due to the author's own temperament.

Professor Wood closes his book with an excellent summary. With the theological doctrine he, of course, as a biblical theologian, has nothing to do.

One might be inclined to differ with Professor Wood at several points, but such differences are minor. Our main criticism of his work is that, while starting from the data of religious experience, he confines himself to those which are explicitly referred to the Spirit of God. One should examine all the phenomena and ask the question why some are ascribed to the Spirit and others to the Angel of Jehovah or Satan; why certain emotions are spiritual and others demonic. Identical data of religious experience are at one period of Israel's history assigned to the Spirit, at another to some other agency. Why the difference of explanation? The problem emerges plainly in the discussion whether Christ's exorcisms were due to Beelzebub or the messianic Spirit. Similar phenomena were capable of various interpretations. The starting-point should be to gather all the phenomena, whether ascribed to the Spirit, or angels, or demons, or any other divine or Satanic agent. It is at this point that Professor Wood's book is inferior to those of Gunkel and Weinle.

We cannot, however, be too grateful to him for giving us what is plainly the best book in English on this important subject.

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The second part of Dr. Lechler's<sup>4</sup> work on the Holy Spirit deals with the biblical teachings. In the first part he had dealt almost exclusively with the exegesis of the scriptural material. In this second part, on the other hand, he is concerned only with the philosophic and dogmatic task of integrating this material into a theological system.

The method which he pursues in this part is to set forth, in an abbreviated form, an outline of dogmatic theology into which is fitted, at the proper places, the doctrine of the Spirit previously obtained from the exegetical study. One recognizes from the outset that both in his exegesis and in his constructive work the author is dominated by a strong ecclesiastical bias.

<sup>4</sup> *Die biblische Lehre vom heiligen Geiste*. II. Teil: "Philosophisch-dogmatische Begründung." Von Karl von Lechler. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902. xvi + 390 pages. III Teil: "Praktische Verwertung." Gütersloh: Bertelsman, 1904. viii + 290 pages.

this duality the Spirit has no *self-existence* such as God has, though it possesses self-activity. The Spirit of God is from God just as the Son of God also is. He is another from God, or, better said, God in his "otherness."

From these extracts it is readily seen that the volume has little that the critical student can use to further his investigation of the subject. The book, however, will find its way into the hands of a class of people who are averse to all critical problems, and in such hands it will without doubt aid in stimulating thought and clarifying certain ideas. The method of presentation is logical, and the spirit in which the work is done, earnest and devout.

The third part of Lechler's work, issued after his death, is concerned only with the practical application of the doctrine of the Spirit to church life and work. Its usefulness is thus, to a great extent, limited to workers in the field of applied Christianity. The volume contains little that the author has not in some form stated in his previous volumes on the subject, but the material is given a different turn or application. The author tries to show the intimate relation which exists between the Holy Spirit and the church. The latter possesses in itself neither self-existence nor self-activity. The Spirit is the constant and active force in the church. It uses as instruments both persons and things for the advancement of the kingdom of God.

In this book the author shows a strong tendency (not wholly absent from the volumes which have preceded it) to over-elaborateness. The German passion for orderliness and completeness has often led him to repeat what he has said in some other connection, a reference to which would serve his purpose as well.

In conclusion, we may say of the three volumes, taken together, that they form one of the most elaborate treatments of the biblical doctrine of the Holy Spirit found in recent literature.

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#### RECENT BOOKS ON PATRISTIC LITERATURE

A dozen or so recent books on early Christian literature point to several significant facts concerning the present lines of interest in this field. The exploitation by recent scholarship of the non-Greek and Latin literatures has procured rich spoil, and at the same time has raised the translation to a position of even more importance than the text; for, while all serious workers may be supposed to be at home in Greek and Latin, they mainly must be excused from Georgian and Armenian, or even Coptic and Syriac,

so far as possible. That a correct text, however, is recognized to lie at the foundation of all is strongly emphasized in the fact that the translations here considered even take into account text-critical matters so that translators substantially form new texts, while the works directly concerned with text-criticism are of consummate thoroughness. The elaborate study of the Clementine literature and those connected with the Apostolical Constitutions suggest that the higher criticism is far from being confined to the biblical writings, and, finally, the fact that one-third, and perhaps not the least important one-third, of this group is concerned directly with Egypt is significant of the remarkable present-day growth of our knowledge of that land.

The high promise of the source-critical and historico-critical first part of Dom Butler's edition of *The Lausiac History of Palladius* (1898) is well sustained by this second part,<sup>1</sup> which contains a critical edition of the shorter Greek text, with introductory study of the manuscripts, footnote apparatus of variants, fifty-odd pages of critical and historical notes, and, characteristically of Butler's well-considered, unhurried comprehensiveness, four appendices and five indexes. The appendices concern chronology, literary sources, and a classification of the variants; the indexes include beliefs and practices, Scripture citations, personal names, geographical names, and Greek words. A map of monastic Egypt and a chronological table, in the introduction, add materially to the practical value of the edition. The purely manuscript work is unpretentious and modestly referred to as limited to the "materials at my disposal," but these materials include personal collations, or at least verifications, of every western manuscript used, and the minute thoroughness with which the table of manuscripts is worked out leaves little to be desired in this regard. The work bears throughout the earmarks of the best modern cosmopolitan method and of competency in all its aspects—textual, historical, literary, source-critical, and especially linguistic. In it we have not only the only text of the shorter and, as Butler thinks, original form, but apparently a very admirable text, and, whatever individual conclusions may be disputed, the net result must remain creditable enough to the author and the group to which he belongs, to deserve specially emphatic mention and to promise permanent usefulness.

Of hardly less interest to the student of Egyptian Christianity is Leipoldt's thorough study from Coptic sources of the life of Sinuthios, or

<sup>1</sup> *The Lausiac History of Palladius*. II: "The Greek Text, Edited with Introductions and Notes." By Dom Cuthbert Butler. [—"Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature," Vol. VI, No. 2.] Cambridge: University Press, 1904. 9 + 278 pages.



Schenute.<sup>2</sup> This is a most welcome addition to our knowledge of the Coptic church. There is little enough literature on the "Father of Coptic Christianity," and what little there is, is based chiefly on a biography by his admiring but uncritical pupil, Besa. This study of his character, writings, theological and social activity, and especially of the cloister life in his famous White Cloister, is founded chiefly on Schenute's own works, of which there are hundreds of fragments scattered in various libraries. The study is one of very great interest and shows a man, intolerant indeed, a Copt of the Copts, hostile toward everything Greek, but sincerely pious in his fanatical way, who founded for his people a national church, a national literature, and, in a sense showed them the way to economic salvation. Not the least interesting result of the long life-work of this commanding personality was that, it is said, he paved the way for the only truly popular revolution in all Egyptian history. While the author distrusts the oriental imagination in the matter of figures, he points out that the data indicate that Schenute became a monk in 371 and died after 451—which is not so far from the usual tradition, which gives him 118 years of life.

Leipoldt's "Sahidic Extracts from the Apostolical Constitutions"<sup>3</sup> is a much slighter work, but is, in its way, equally well done. It includes a translation from Lagarde's text from the eighth book in the *Canones Ecclesiastici*, together with a fragment of another Coptic text of this from a Paris manuscript which varies a good deal from the one of Lagarde; and a translation of this latter also.

The translation of the Didaskalia by Achelis and Flemming<sup>4</sup> is founded on a text-study comparing the two manuscripts which underlie the texts of Lagarde and Gibson, respectively, with one another and with the variants of three other manuscripts, as well as with the Latin translation and the corresponding portions of the Apostolical Constitutions. The Gibson manuscript (h) is found to be of a later line and abbreviated. The four essays, which occupy about as much space as the translation itself, deal with the text, the use of the New Testament in the Didaskalia, the author,

<sup>2</sup> *Schenute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national-ägyptischen Christentums.* Von Johannes Leipoldt. [= "Texte und Untersuchungen," N. F., Vol. X. No. 1.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 6+213 pages. M. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Sahidische Auszüge aus dem 8. Buche der Apostolischen Konstitutionen.* Von Johannes Leipoldt. [= "Texte und Untersuchungen," N. F., Vol. XI, No. 1 b.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. 1+61 pages. M. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Die syrische Didaskalia Übersetzt und erklärt.* Von Hans Achelis und Johannes Flemming. [= "Texte und Untersuchungen," N. F., Vol. X, No. 2.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. 6+387 pages. M. 12.50.

place and date, and, most interesting of all to a general reader, the church life of the age as exhibited in the Didaskalia. The work was written in Coeslyria in the third century, more likely near the end than the beginning of the century, by a bishop who was not much of a theologian, though a reputable Bible student and a skilled physician—a sort of Bible-college medical missionary—perhaps born a Jew, who consciously and conscientiously attempts to perpetrate the pious fraud of representing the work as having been actually written by the apostles.

Something like a sequel to the essay on the New Testament canon of Achelis-Flemming is Baur's *Apostolos der Syrer*.<sup>5</sup> This is an account of the state of the canon of the New Testament (except the gospels) among the Syrians between 360 and 460 A. D. Both Syriac writing and Greek-writing Syrians are included among the sources searched, and the conclusion of the matter is that all the Syrian writers included in their canon the Acts, the ten general letters of Paul, including Hebrews, and finally three out of four pastoral epistles, while they unanimously rejected the four short catholic epistles and the Apocalypse. The four longer catholic epistles and the epistle to Philemon are authoritative to some and not to others, and similarly some apocryphal writings, such as the Acts of Thecla, third Corinthians, second Philippians, and one to the Laodiceans, are used by one writer or another as authentic, but never won a place in the "official" New Testament.

The Pseudo-Clementine literature, which, if not Syrian, has at least Syrian affiliations, is one of the best existing types of complex literary evolution, and has during the last century called forth some most brilliant essays in documentary criticism. This essay of Waitz<sup>6</sup> is not unworthy of its company. Although the author modestly disclaims pretension to the comprehensiveness of some of his predecessors, limits the work to "source-criticism," and leaves to others to decide how far he may have advanced the matter toward its goal, he can hardly fail to realize his modest hope that the essay will, at least, "contribute something" to move things beyond that "dead center" at which this "weighty literary problem" has so long stuck fast. And, in fact, its application of modern methods of analysis are so thorough and acute that it seems to mark a very long step in a fresh direction. The author, first eliminating the Epitomes, as depend-

<sup>5</sup> *Der Apostolos der Syrer in der Zeit von der Mitte des vierten Jahrhunderts bis zur Spaltung der syrischen Kirche*. Von Walter Bauer. Leipzig: Röder, 1903. 90 pages. M. 1.80.

<sup>6</sup> *Die Pseudoklementinen Homilien und Rekognitionen: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung*. Von Hans Waitz. [—"Texte und Untersuchung," N. F., Vol. X, No. 4.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. 6+396 pages. M. 13.

ing on the Homilies, extracts from the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* their common source—the *Grundschrift*. From this he then analyzes out four sources—the preaching of Peter, the Acts of Peter, the dialogues of Clement with Appion, and Bardesanes *On Fate*; then, by an exhaustive comparison of Scripture quotations, he proves his analysis, and incidentally makes contribution to the history of the canon. He concludes that the *Grundschrift* was written about 220–30 and its sources as follows: *Preaching* shortly after 135, but radically revised, with many additions, about the year 200; the other three written about this same time or a little later. The *Homilies* and the Greek *Recognitions* were written on the basis of the *Grundschrift* between 325 and 400, and 350 and 400, respectively, and each afterward suffered several known redactions. Like the critics of the Hexateuch and the critics of the gospels, the critics of the Clementines vie with one another in making both documents and their sources as late as possible; and therein they may be right, but it is not necessary to accept all of Waitz' conclusions in order to admire his thorough work. It may be doubted, too, whether any search for the *Grundschrift* can be final which does not take more account of the Syriac form reckoned, not as a patch-work from *Recognitions* and *Homilies*, but as a stage of evolution of the *Grundschrift* itself.

Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*,<sup>7</sup> 11, 12, add (No. 5) the liturgical texts relating to baptism and the Lord's Supper in the Eastern Church in the second and fourth centuries, and (No. 8) a handy introduction to the non-evangelical gospels, including recently found fragments. The series is being issued in England, with English title page and cover. In the later issues the apparatus is also in English.<sup>8</sup>

The Clementine literature itself gets several hints for its interpretation from Reitzenstein's *Poimandres*.<sup>9</sup> The Hermetic literature is one of the the least, as Reitzenstein suggests, on the linguistic side and for New Testament lexicography, its study is essential and has been too much neglected. subjects which are bound to have a revival as soon as the accumulating mass of developed material regarding Hellenism became usable. To say The difficulty of getting any meaning at all out of the "Hellenistic Mysti-

<sup>7</sup> Lietzmann, Hans. *Kleine Texte für theologische Vorlesungen und Übungen*. (5) *Liturgische Texte* I, (8) *Apocrypha* II: *Evangelien*; herausgegeben von Erich Klostermann. Bonn, Marcus u. Weber, 1903, 1904. 16 pages and 18 pages 161.

<sup>8</sup> *Materials for the use of Theological Lecturers and Students, selected by Hans Lietzmann*. Parts 1–5, 8–13. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1904, 1905. 6d, a Part. See further on p. 582.

<sup>9</sup> *Poimandres: Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur*. Von R. Reitzenstein. Leipzig: Teubner, 1904. 8 + 382 pages.

cism" is undoubtedly the secret of its neglect. A brave effort is here made to put matters in line, and certainly with enough measure of success to encourage others to attack the difficult task of attempting to understand the mass of magical, gnostic, cabalistic, New-Platonic, mystical material. The *Poimandres*, says Reitzenstein, had its origin in Egypt, and in its original form dates from before the beginning of the second century, and therefore any attempt to find Christian ideas in it is vain. In brief, the results of the author's study are that *Poimandres'* worship was founded within a hundred years before or after the birth of Christ by an Egyptian priest who developed the gnostic system; the cult spread and had a footing in Rome at the very beginning of the second century; in the course of time the mystic Egyptian element increased, and its prophetic tendency drew it close again to the numerous *Hermes societies*, in which it was absorbed during the third century, after which the Jewish influence grew, and in the fourth century the sect as a sect escapes our view.

Three works of Hippolytus are, by this German translation by Bonwetsch<sup>10</sup> from a Russian version of the Georgian text, which itself is a translation of an extant Armenian version from the lost original, for the first time made accessible to scholars. Whatever regret there may be that the chain of translations does not add still another (English) link, or did not link the German directly to the Armenian rather than give it via two other languages, it is a matter of congratulation to the average American scholar that it is a translation, not a Georgian or Armenian text, and thus puts the substance (together with an admirable apparatus demonstrating the genuineness of the works) of these three new genuine works of Hippolytus at the disposition of historical students.

Lack of elaborateness in method is the last thing which could be charged to von Soden's preliminary study on the Cyprianic Letters.<sup>11</sup> Its chief aim is to show that a new edition of Cyprian is necessary and practicable. It discusses the origin and transmission of the collection of letters with reference both to the contents and to the text. In the matter of manuscripts the author relies chiefly on printed catalogues and friendly memoranda from librarians, rather than on personal examination and collation; but he has diligently collected his material, and has displayed a most varied and ingenious method in searching out all aspects of the matter, so that his

<sup>10</sup> *Drei georgisch erhaltene Schriften von Hippolytus; Der Segen Jakobs, der Segen Moses, die Erzählung von David und Goliath.* Von G. Nath. Bonwetsch. [—"Texte und Untersuchung," N. F., Vol. XI, No. 1 a.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. 4+98 pages.

<sup>11</sup> *Die cyprianische Briefsammlung: Geschichte ihrer Entstehung und Überlieferung.* Von Hans von Soden. [—"Texte und Untersuchung," N. F., Vol. X, No. 3.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. 6+268 pages. M. 10.50.

work cannot fail to be of use to future workers in this field. The same may also be said of the author's various chronological and literary discussions, and especially of the elaborate genealogical discussion of the contents of the collection.

ERNEST CUSHING RICHARDSON.

PRINCETON, N. J.

The authenticity of the Ignatian epistles has in Hilgenfeld an enemy of long standing. The so-called Longer Greek recension and the Syriac recension are well recognized as the one an amplification and the other a reduction of the Eusebian seven epistles, which most modern critics are prepared to recognize in the so-called Shorter Greek recension. With the genuinely Ignatian character of these seven epistles goes the authenticity of the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, which with the later Martyrdom of Polycarp concludes the authentic Ignatius-Polycarp literature, as generally understood. More than fifty years ago Hilgenfeld expressed his doubts as to the genuineness of these monuments, and the labors of Lightfoot, Harnack, and Zahn have not sufficed to lead him substantially to alter his view. As a preliminary to further discussion, however, he publishes what may be described as an Ignatian apparatus.<sup>12</sup> Here are all the documents belonging to the Ignatius-Polycarp literature, spurious and genuine, excerpted and interpolated, included in a single volume, for the convenience of students of the Ignatian problem who desire to survey the whole field and interrogate all the witnesses. There are brief introductions, and copious notes. The importance of the Ignatian epistles is so great, and the difficulties attending any solution of the problem so many and so serious, that help of every sort is to be welcomed. There is little material here, however, that had not been already assembled by Lightfoot, and made available in his still unsurpassed edition, in a form more attractive and even more original, since he gives the Syriac recension in Syriac, not in a mere translation. It would seem that Hilgenfeld might have given a clearer and more systematic statement of his present position on the Ignatian question, in connection with all this apparatus; but it is at least clear that the Ignatian allusions in the Epistle of Polycarp (chaps. 9, 13) ring false to his critical ear, and the foundation thus being removed, the fate of the superstructure cannot be in doubt. Of especial interest is Hilgenfeld's effort to distinguish different hands in the interpolated and pseudo-Ignatian letters.

<sup>12</sup> *Ignatii Antiocheni et Polycarpi Smyrnaei Epistulae et Martyria*. Edidit et adnotationibus instruxit Adolfus Hilgenfeld. Berlin: Schwetschke, 1902. xxiv + 384 pages. M.12.80.

Of Rauschen's *Florilegium Patristicum*<sup>13</sup> three parts have appeared. The first fasciculus is devoted to the apostolic fathers. Greek texts of the Didache, accompanied by the Latin version of chaps. 1-6, The Martyrdom of Polycarp, and selections from Ignatius, Clement, Barnabas, and others are given, with brief introductions and notes. To our minds, students who are ready for the study of these monuments require not so much selections from them as introduction to the complete documents, for which no excerpts are a sufficient substitute. This is an unpromising interpretation of the "patristic christomathy," as the editor describes his undertaking. It seems calculated to make the patristic learning of those who use it, too much a thing of shreds and patches. A better plan would be to select certain documents indeed, but to present them in their entirety.

A second part contains extracts from Justin Martyr's *Apologies*, and does not escape the prevailing mania for text-improvement, albeit in a somewhat arbitrary and eclectic method.

The third fasciculus, like the first and second, is intended for class use, presenting cheaply and conveniently texts of representative second-century documents of literary and historical interest. Such are the Muratorian Fragment, the Epitaph of Aberius, the Oxyrhynchus Logia, old and new, the Akhmim fragment of the Gospel of Peter, selections from the Protevangelium of James, the Acts of Apollonius, and certain other ancient martyrdoms. There are brief introductions, Latin translations of the Greek texts, and notes. In printing only excerpts from the Protevangelium a mistake has been made. To be of any real value, these documents must be presented in full, without reduction or modification—a thing wholly feasible in dealing with these relatively short texts. Any utility the *Florilegium* might have for consultation or reference is largely reduced, and may even be excluded, if this method is to be pursued; and its usefulness in class work is equally impaired. The use of parenthesis ( ) instead of the usual brackets [ ] to inclose restorations is certain to produce misunderstanding and confusion, since it leaves no way of distinguishing such sheer restorations from expansions of ordinary abbreviations. On the whole, however, this effort to put students directly in touch with historical sources is of interest and promise.

The first volume of the Prussian Academy's edition of Eusebius<sup>14</sup> begins

<sup>13</sup> *Florilegium Patristicum digessit vertit adnotavit.* G. Rauschen. Fasc. I, II, III. Bonn: Hanstein, 1904-5. M. 1.20; M. 1.50; M. 1.50.

<sup>14</sup> *Eusebius Werke*, Erster Band: "Ueber das Leben Constantins. Constantins Rede an die Heilige Versammlung. Tricennatsrede an Constantin." Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-Commission der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Von Ivar A. Heikel [= "Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte"]. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. cvii + 558 pages. M. 14.50.

with what is probably the latest of his works, the *Life of Constantine*. Professor Heikel, of Helsingfors, is the editor, and he has included with the *Life* two other minor Eusebian writings, Constantine's *Oration to the Council* and the *Panegyric upon Constantine*. The comparatively few manuscripts of these works and the principal published editions of them are described and characterized. Among the manuscripts of the *Life* and the *Oration*, Heikel attaches most weight to Vaticanus 149, of the eleventh century, which had never been collated until he detected its excellence and made use of it for the present edition of the text. In general, use has been made of new collations of the manuscripts, provided through the diligence of the editor and other scholars, so that the published texts, with their apparatus of readings, mark a real advance upon former editions.

The so-called *Life of Constantine* is rather, as Photius called it, an encomium upon him, and follows in general the lines laid down by Greek rhetoricians for such compositions (λόγος βασιλικός). The *Oration* is mentioned in the latter part of the *Life* (IV, 32), to which Eusebius promises to append it, and thus seems to form a natural sequel to it. A close scrutiny, however, shows that the *Oration* is not the work of Eusebius, still less of Constantine, but of some writer of a later age, well versed in the writings of Eusebius. The *Panegyric*, like the *Oration*, is alluded to in the *Life* (IV, 46). It falls into two parts: chap. 1-10, "a religious glorification of Constantine's reign of thirty years," pronounced in the palace at Constantinople; and chaps. 11-18, written probably at Jerusalem, and conceived in a different manner suggestive of Eusebius' *De Theophania*. The introductory essays, while not exhaustive, are pertinent and valuable, and the printed texts clear and handsome. A series of indices concludes this important volume.

A theological study of the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians presents peculiar elements of interest when undertaken from the Roman Catholic point of view. Scherer's work on that epistle<sup>15</sup> possesses this peculiar interest, since it concerns itself chiefly, not with the literary or historical problems of Clement of Rome, but with his doctrines—of God, sin, the Trinity, Christ, salvation, the church. We are not surprised to find the author, with much learning and no inconsiderable skill, maintaining the threefold ministry, the monarchical episcopate, and the primacy of the Roman church in the time of Clement; all of which, we are convinced,

<sup>15</sup> *Der erste Clemensbrief an die Corinthier, nach seiner Bedeutung für die Glaubenslehre der Katholischen Kirche am Ausgang des ersten christlichen Jahrhunderts untersucht.* Von W. Scherer. Regensburg: Pustet, 1902. xv + 315 pages.

are rather projected into the epistle from the author's mind, than disclosed in it by an impartial scrutiny. One would find one's way more easily about the book if the headlines carried chapter titles instead of chapter numbers.

Von Gebhardt's collection of ancient martyrdoms<sup>16</sup> will prove a convenient one for students of early church history and Christian literature. The Greek and Latin texts are in part those of earlier editors, in part of the editor's own construction. They are printed without introductions, translations, or notes, except for a few textual variants, but there is an index of proper names and Scripture texts. The twenty-two documents included in the collection fairly cover the two centuries preceding Constantine. Here are the Martyrdom of Polycarp, the Passion of Perpetua, the Letter of the churches of Lyons and Vienne, the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the Arykanda Inscription, the *libelli libellatici* at Berlin and Vienna, to which must now be added the Oxyrhynchus *libellus* of the same period (250 A. D.). Pliny's letter and Trajan's rescript come to one's mind in connection with all this material for the history of the early persecutions; but they fall beyond the limits the editor has set himself. This little volume should help many to a first-hand knowledge of the spirit and conflict of the ancient church.

The editor of the New Testament *Zeitschrift* comes forward with an essay upon two well-known Gnostic hymns. Originally intended for publication in the *Zeitschrift*, the essay soon outgrew the limits of an article, and now appears as an independent work.<sup>17</sup> Preuschen undertakes the translation and interpretation of these hymns, which have been connected with the name of the Gnostic Bardesanes. The Syriac, Greek, and Armenian texts presented are accompanied with German translations and textual notes. Of the first, the Bridal Song of Sophia, Preuschen prints the Greek text of Bonnet and the Syriac of Hoffmann, besides an Armenian fragment. For the second, the Song of Redemption, the Syriac alone appears. Both hymns were originally composed in Syriac, possibly by Bardesanes, and were wrought into the Acts of Thomas, in which they have been preserved. Preuschen finds in them evidence that for the Gnostic Christian the great question was not the philosophical one of the source of evil, but the religio-ethical one of the escape from it. This he found answered in

<sup>16</sup> *Ausgewählte Märtyreracten und andere Urkunden aus der Verfolgungszeit der christlichen Kirche.* (Acta Martyrum Selecta). Herausgegeben von Oscar von Gebhardt. Berlin: Duncker, 1902. x+259 pages.

<sup>17</sup> *Zwei gnostische Hymnen ausgelegt.* Von Erwin Preuschen. Mit Text und Uebersetzung. Giessen: Ricker, 1905. 80 pages.



the aeon Christ, who freed his soul from matter. His redemption was thus not a mere creation of the imagination, but a real experience. The study is an interesting example of the effort too rarely made in antiquity, to pierce beneath the surface of Gnosticism, and really understand its religious spirit.

With the help of certain notes left by Dr. Hort, Professor Mayor has edited and annotated the seventh book of the *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria.<sup>18</sup> The *Stromateis* are surprisingly full of interest, and the convenience and attractiveness of this edition makes us wish it were not confined to the seventh book. The Greek text, constructed from fresh collations of the single manuscript witness (Laurentianus, XI saec.), occupies the left-hand page, while on the right appears the English translation. Essays and introductions precede the text, and valuable notes follow it. It is in these that Dr. Hort's contribution to the volume is included, his notes being distinguished by an initial. Much as anything of his will be prized, far the larger share in the present edition clearly belongs to Professor Mayor. The volume has an added interest as a monument of the life-long friendships of these Cambridge men.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Nine years ago Licentiate Berendts, who is a *Privatdocent* in the University of Jurjew or Dorpat, published at Deichert's in Leipzig *Studien über Zacharias-Apokryphen und Zacharias-Legenden*, and edited an apocryphal fragment that up to that time was known only in an Old Slavic print, and that in an inaccessible volume issued by the imperial archaeological commission in St. Petersburg in 1868. He then called attention to three other Slavic texts of the same kind and to a Greek text at Paris. Since that time he has diligently pursued the matter in the scant leisure at his disposal, and has also received help from friends, and in particular from Professor von Dobschütz, now of Strassburg, who gave him numerous notes touching manuscripts scattered over Europe, and who collated or copied more than one manuscript for him. In the pamphlet now before us<sup>19</sup> Berendts gives an account of the material that he has been able to

<sup>18</sup> *Clement of Alexandria: Miscellanies Book VII.* The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Dissertations and Indices. By the late F. J. A. Hort and J. B. Mayor. London: Macmillan, 1902. cxi+455 pages. \$5, net.

<sup>19</sup> *Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der Zacharias- und Johannes-Apokryphen: Ueber die Bibliotheken der Meteorischen und Ossa-Olympischen Kloster.* Von A. Berendts. [—"Texte und Untersuchungen," N. F., XI, Band, 3. Heft.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. 84 pages. M. 2.70.

discover, and of the interconnections of the books and texts in question. It is to be hoped that he will pursue these researches and edit the texts which he has now come to know so well.

In Greek three recensions exist. The first is found in MS. 1007 of the National Library at Athens, of which manuscript, with its twenty-eight different items, Berendts gives a full description. The second is found in a number of manuscripts, and is alleged to be by Eurippos, a disciple of John. The third is found in the MS. Coislin 296 in the National Library at Paris. There are, moreover, a number of "developed accounts" of these legends. And finally Berendts describes a narrative of the life and death of John that has nothing to do with the above legends, and that purports to proceed from John's disciple, Mark; of this seven sources are named.

After thus treating of the tradition in Greek, Berendts turns to the Slavic texts. A number of manuscripts contain a text similar to that of the first Greek recension (of the first part of it), but of independent value. The discussion of these manuscripts contains numerous details of much interest. In like manner Slavic sources give, and that in full, the second or Eurippos form of the legend, but again in independent texts, the Slavic text looking somewhat like a free paraphrase of the Greek text, and the Greek text showing signs of an arbitrary abbreviation. In consequence, Berendts thinks that this second form of the legend must have been worked over by one man with an abbreviating, by another with a paraphrasing, design, and that both were found in Greek. As the shorter form can be traced back to the ninth century, the original legend must be much older. The third Greek recension does not appear to have been translated into Slavic, but the "developed legends" were translated. The careful comparison of the Greek and Slavic forms shows the acquaintance of the author with the manuscripts and with the subject.

Berendts adds at the close of the above discussion a reference to Porfiri Uspenski's account of the libraries in the Meteora and in the Ossa-Olympian monasteries. His words are largely conative, inciting, and interrogative, for it is not at all clear what has now become of the manuscripts which Porfiri saw. Some may have been carried to the National Library at Athens, some were probably stolen by the Turks when they occupied Thessaly in 1897-98, and some are perhaps still in the monasteries. It may be added that the monasteries may well have received further manuscripts from private owners since Porfiri's time. Berendts points especially to a manuscript that contains writings of Hippolytus, to another with a nameless chronicle which he is inclined to suppose to be by Julius Africanus,

and to two manuscripts of parts of the Septuagint. Perhaps Berendts will himself go out and clear up the doubts attached to these books. In the meantime, scholars must thank him for the valuable information he has imparted in this booklet.

CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG.

The great Berlin edition of the Greek Fathers of the first three centuries issued under the auspices of the Prussian Academy<sup>20</sup> is making steady progress.<sup>21</sup> Within less than a year after publication of Vol. X appeared Vol. XI, containing the third volume of the works of Eusebius.<sup>22</sup> It falls into two halves, the one giving the well-known *Onomasticon*, the other the less known *Theophany*.<sup>23</sup> Dr. Erich Klostermann, to whom students of early Christian literature are indebted for so excellent work on Vol. III of the works of Origen, has presented an edition of the *Onomasticon* which may be considered an advance upon its immediate predecessor,<sup>24</sup> notwithstanding the stringent criticism and severe condemnation heaped upon it on the part of some reviewers.<sup>25</sup>

In his three introductory chapters Klostermann discusses (1) the work of Eusebius, (2) the tradition, and (3) the editions. These chapters are, in the main, a verbatim repetition of the editor's remarks printed in his pamphlet, *Eusebius Schrift περὶ τῶν τοπικῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ*,<sup>26</sup> with some additional notes on the materials and results published by P. Thomsen in his dissertation for the doctorate.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>20</sup> See this *Journal*, Vol. IX, pp. 178-84 (January, 1905).

<sup>21</sup> See Ad. Harnack's report printed in the *Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1905, No. IV, pp. 143, 144.

<sup>22</sup> For review of Vol. I of Eusebius, see above, p. 569; Vol. II, of which Part I appeared in 1903 (see Vol. VIII of this *Journal*, p. 582), and Part II is announced for publication within the year 1905, will be reviewed on completion of the volume. —EDITORS.

<sup>23</sup> *Eusebius Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen*. Herausgegeben . . . von Erich Klostermann. Mit einer Karte von Palästina. xxxvi + 207 pages. M. 8.—*Eusebius Theophanie: Die griechischen Bruchstücke, und Uebersetzung der Syrischen Ueberlieferung*. Herausgegeben . . . von Hugo Gressmann. xxx + 272 pages. M. 9.50. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. Vol. III, bound, M. 20.

<sup>24</sup> *Onomastica Sacra*. Edidit Paulus de Lagarde. Gottingae, 1870. Alterum ed. Gottingae, 1887. Klostermann pays due credit to the edition of this great Orientalist.

<sup>25</sup> Notably Nestle in the *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1904, No. 37.

<sup>26</sup> "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur," Neue Folge, Band VIII, Heft 2 b. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 28 pages.

<sup>27</sup> *Palästina nach dem Onomasticon des Eusebius*. Tübingen, 1903. Also printed in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina Vereins*, Vol. XXVI (1903), Heft 3, 4, pp. 97-141.

observations on the variant readings of the versions. This Latin rendering, known as the *liber locorum* or *liber nominum*, became in the future the guide for visitors to the Holy Land, such as Eucherius and Arculf, the venerable Bede and Rabanus Maurus. This Latin translation was copied innumerable times. Klostermann uses for his edition four Latin manuscripts, of which three belonged to the eighth and ninth centuries.

The *editio princeps*, containing both the Latin translation and the Greek text, is published by the learned Jesuit father, J. Bonfrère, Paris, 1631. Of importance are also the editions of D. Villarsi, 1735 (2d ed., 1767), who discovered the codex Vaticanus gr. 1456; and of Paul de Lagarde, who, especially in his second edition, emphasized the fact that all extant Greek manuscripts are copies, directly or indirectly, of the Vaticanus, which alone he printed, ignoring the others completely even in cases where with their help manifest corruptions and palpable mistakes of the Greek text could have been corrected.

Pp. 2-177 contain, printed on opposite pages, the Greek text and the Latin translation. Footnotes give the scriptural references and allusions, parallels from Procopius of Gaza<sup>32</sup> and other authors, and also the spellings of the map of Medaba. Wendland and Wilamowitz-Möllendorf materially assisted the editor in the establishment of the Greek text, and their names are met with on almost every page.

In some cases Jerome added explanatory glosses of his own to the text as translated by him. These the editor has generally printed in *italics*.<sup>33</sup> In all these cases the question arises naturally: Which one of the two texts contains the more original, the more correct reading? How far are such divergencies due merely to carelessness of the translator; and how far and to what extent do they indicate corruptions of the Greek text?<sup>34</sup> The editor would have laid his readers under the greatest obligation, and would have assisted materially toward a better understanding and truer appreciation, of both the original and its translation had he, on the basis of a thorough, critical study of text and translation arrived at some general principle which would have served as a guide in deciding

<sup>32</sup> For which cod. Monacensis Gr. 358 has been used.

<sup>33</sup> But not always. Compare, e. g., on p. 71 the articles "Geennon" and "Gaba-thon;" p. 73, "Gedud" and "Ger;" p. 125, "Moab," last sentence should be italicized. Also see the Greek and Latin articles 'Apoorep and "Aruir," pp. 32, ll. 9, 10 and 33, ll. 10, 11; φασγδ and "Fasga," pp. 168, ll. 28-30 and 169, ll. 22, 24.

<sup>34</sup> Compare p. 97, ll. 11, 12, "Enan" with p. 96, ll. 14, 15, 'Hδδ; or, the end of article "Thalcha," p. 97, ll. 27, 28 with p. 96, l. 27; and, again, p. 35, l. 19, with p. 34, l. 22.

The *Demonstrationes* preceded the *Theophany*; the latter, again, antedating the *Laus Constantini*, whose second part, the *Βασιλικός* (chaps. 11-18), is a miniature Theophany, appended to the *Τριακονταετηρικός* (chaps. 1-10).

The *Theophany* is a work of great interest. It contains, especially in Book II, very strange instructions directed against the philosophers and paganism, against superstitions and pagan morality, human sacrifices, temples and oracles.

The polemic method of Eusebius presents many features in common with stoic philosophy, as found in Philo's *De Providentia*. All the characteristic sayings found in both authors were common property of all the educated classes, both pagan and Christian.<sup>41</sup> There are also some passages in common with the apologetic literature of early Christianity. These explain the relation of the *Theophany* to the *Contra Celsum* of Origen.

In conclusion, we can truly say that Gressman has assisted all students of Eusebius materially toward a better understanding and truer appreciation of the classical and philosophical learning of the great church father.

Pp. 3-35 contain seventeen fragments of the Greek text,<sup>42</sup> preserved in the catenæ of Nicetas of Heraclea on the gospel of Luke and the epistle to the Hebrews, extant in four different manuscripts.<sup>43</sup> Concerning these fragments the editor says: "Die griechischen Bruchstücke sind kein Abdruck der handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung, das heisst des von Niketas beschnittenen und redigierten Eusebiustextes, sondern wollen die betreffenden Partien dieser Schrift möglichst so wiederherstellen, wie sie im ursprünglichen Original gelautet haben" (Pref., p. xxvii). On pp. 39-258 is printed the German translation of the Syriac rendering of this treatise on the Nature of God and the Logos, and the function of the latter in the salvation of mankind. P. 258 has a list of errata. As in the case of its predecessors, this volume is embellished by not less than five most carefully wrought indexes. Very interesting is a comparison of pp. 260-65—index of quotations from the Old and the New Testaments, cross-references to the

<sup>41</sup> "Eusebius hat den Ursprung der von ihm vorgetragenen stoischen Gedanken nicht immer gewusst, er hat nicht direkt aus den Schriften jener Schule geschöpft; vielmehr wird man annehmen müssen, dass stoische Vorstellungen, Bilder und Termini längst Allgemeingut nicht nur der gebildeten Heiden, sondern auch der gebildeten Christen geworden waren" (Pref., p. xxv).

<sup>42</sup> Fragment 1 belongs to Book I; Fragments 2 and 3, to Book III; 4-15, to Book IV; and 16 and 17, to Book V.

<sup>43</sup> Codd. Vat. 1611 (saec. XII); Paris, 238 (saec. XIII); Vindob. theol. Nesse 71 (saec. XII-XIII); Paris, Coisl. 201 (saec. XIV-XV).

textual notes and emendations mostly due to Schmidt. The Greek text of the letters in this account has been preserved and was published in Vol. IV of Mansi's *Collect. Conc.* It is here printed side by side with the German translation of the letters—a most convenient help. Mansi has also the Greek text of the names of the bishops and other members of the Council, which, printed alongside the Coptic readings, are most interesting for the sake of comparison. It is evident that these Coptic documents were not a mere translation of the Greek and Latin reports of the acts of this council, but rather an account differing in some essential points from these reports. How much of historical truth is contained in these documents the editor sets out to show in a series of four critical discussions, (pp. 132–202) taking up (1) the Council of Ephesus according to the Coptic documents, which differ from all other accounts in that they make Apa Victor, the archimandrite of Pbav, the central figure, all other accounts not mentioning him at all. Who then (2) was Apa Victor? The documents state that he was a man thoroughly devoted to Cyril, the archbishop of Alexandria, and, at the same time, highly esteemed by Emperor Theodosius, with whom he is said to have had great influence. On behalf of Cyril he went to Constantinople to win over the emperor, who favored Nestorius, for Cyril and his party. As he did not succeed, the partisans of Cyril accused him of using his influence against, rather than in favor of, Cyril. Hastening back to Ephesus, he cleared himself of this suspicion, and soon returned to Constantinople bringing the first news of the condemnation of Nestorius.<sup>47</sup> The great prominence given by these documents to Apa Victor as well as to Bishop Cyril proves that they were written shortly after the time of the Council, during the fifth century. (3) The Coptic author was in general faithful and correct whenever he translated from the Greek account of the proceedings of the Council. Wherever mistakes occur, they are due to his incomplete mastery of the Greek language. Only occasionally he introduced, from his partisan point of view, more or less arbitrary changes. There are, in these documents, also five Coptic letters for which no Greek equivalent exists. Of these only one appears to be a forgery. (4) The attitude of John, bishop of Antiochia, toward Nestorius and his followers. This bishop arrived late at the Council, and his vanity was hurt by the fact that his brother-bishops

<sup>47</sup> Kraatz finds indirect support for his views in the excellent dissertation of Johannes Leipoldt, *Schenute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national ägyptischen Christentums* (= "Texte und Untersuchungen," Neue Folge, Vol. X, 1), to which Crum, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1903, pp. 129–33; Lejay, *Revue critique*, 1903, No. 32; and Krüger, *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 763, 764, pay the highest tribute.

discusses the teaching, concerning the body and the passion of our Lord, of some Armenian fathers, from the seventh to the thirteenth century, whose views had not been spoken of in the preceding chapters. He compares with the general teachings of the Armenian Fathers that of the well-known Julianist Monophysite, Philoxenus of Mabbûg (pp. 136-51).

An appendix of eighteen pages contains five documents and letters—in German translation—corroborating various statements made by the author. The first four are letters between the Syrians and Armenians. The fifth document is an extract from the writings of Chosrowik, of the eighth century, showing for the first time, that Julian of Halicarnassus condemned Eutyches as a heretic, without ever mentioning his name. Pp. 170-97 contain, in Syriac and with German translation, the genuine acts of the Armenian-Syrian synod at Manazkert, 726 A. D., which, while clearing away some few obstacles, did not succeed in bringing about the wished-for union of the two churches. On pp. 198 and 199 we find a welcome list of the sources consulted by the author, on pp. 199 and 200 a good bibliography, and on pp. 201-12 a very complete and carefully executed index.

Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte* are finding favor also in England and in this country, nearly the whole series, thus far published in Germany, having appeared in England. The low price and the attractive appearance may assist in the large circulation of these texts, which are carefully edited and well printed. A recent addition is Clemen's publication of the fragment of a Latin translation of the *Assumptio Mosis*,<sup>49</sup> based on a single manuscript, the Ambrosian Palimpsest C 73 inf. s. VII. Characters which the editors could not read with certainty are printed in italics. At the bottom of the page Clemen has given his own conjectures and those of others, explanations of the Latin forms and exegetical notes, and, at the end, the *testimonia* which refer to the *Assumptio Mosis*.

<sup>49</sup> *The Assumptio Mosis*. Edited by Carl Clemen [= "Materials for use of Theological Lecturers and Students," selected by Hans Lietzmann, No. 10]. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1904. 16 pages. 6d. net.—The other materials thus far published are: (1) *The Muratorian Fragment, and the Monarchian Prologues to the Gospels*, by Hans Lietzmann; (2) *The Oldest Martyrologies*, by Hans Lietzmann; (3) *Apocrypha*, I, by E. Klostermann; (4) *Selected Sermons*, I, by Klostermann; (5) *Liturgical Texts*, I, "On the History of the Oriental Baptismal and Eucharistic Rite in the Second and Fourth Centuries," by Lietzmann; (6) *Apocrypha*, II, by E. Klostermann; (7) *The Letter of Ptolemaeus to Flora*, by A. Harnack; (8) *Apocrypha*, III, by Klostermann; (9) *Apocrypha*, IV, by Harnack; (10) *Selected Sermons*, II, by Lietzmann.

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## ROSMINI INTERPRETED AND DEFENDED

Taking occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Antonio Rosmini,<sup>1</sup> Professor Giuseppe Morando has fulfilled the office of a grateful and ardent disciple by devoting an ample volume<sup>2</sup> to the defense of his master in philosophy. In discharging in such elaborate fashion his apologetic task, the professor was evidently moved, not merely by his sense of the injustice of the original condemnation of the Rosminian philosophy, but also by his resentment against a persistent attempt, especially by means of hostile references in textbooks, to discredit that philosophy and to load the name of its author with opprobrium.

The defense of teachings condemned by the Inquisition with the concurrence of the pope might seem to imply an ignoring of the claims of ecclesiastical authority. But our author writes as one who confesses obligation to respect every clearly established item of the Roman Catholic system. For the justification of his apparent challenging of ecclesiastical authority he brings forward three main considerations. In the first place, he notices that those charged with the oversight of the faith have made a divided record in relation to Rosmini. Gregory XVI, who knew him personally, described him in 1839 in terms of high eulogy as "virum excellenti ac præstanti ingenio præditum, egregiisque animi dotibus ornatum, rerum divinarum atque humanarum scientia summopere illustrem." Soon after this date the Jesuits, who were largely instrumental in bringing about the ultimate censure of Rosmini's teaching, began their attack. Their efforts, however, were unsuccessful throughout the entire pontificate of Pius IX. Two books of Rosmini were, indeed, placed in the list of prohibited writings (1849); but these books were in the practical order, and the censure of them, dictated more by the political relations of the papacy than by anything else, had no serious bearing on the merits of the philosophical or theological system of their author. That system, in fact, was distinctly pronounced to be undeserving of censure, in 1854, by the Congregation of the Index, at a session presided over by Pius IX, himself. Accordingly, the condemnation of Rosmini's teaching in the pontificate of Leo XIII presents a clear case of pope and congregation

<sup>1</sup> Antonio Rosmini-Serbati was born in Rovereto, Tyrol, in 1797; he founded a new religious order called the Institute of Charity, whose members were known as Rosminians; he died in 1855; his philosophy was condemned by the Congregation of the Index in 1887. An English translation of his books, by Davidson, was published in London in 1882.

<sup>2</sup> *Esame Critico delle XL Proposizioni Condannate dalla S. R. U. Inquisizione.* Milano, 1905. cxxxvii + 993 pages.



being at variance with pope and congregation. To be sure, it was alleged that works of the philosopher published after 1854 afforded new ground for censure. But this plea, as our author contends, was without substantial foundation, some of the forty condemned propositions not being found in the later writings, and full equivalents for the rest being contained for the most part in writings that were published before 1854.

A second reason for not rendering much deference to the censure pronounced by the Inquisition, with the concurrence of Leo XIII, is found by Morando in the historical demonstration that the Roman congregations are capable of making great blunders, and that popes, though infallible in *ex cathedra* dogmatic determinations, are capable of seconding such blunders. In this relation he cites the case of Galileo, and makes bold to affirm that the illustrious scientist was not only superior to the inquisitors and the pope in his science, but was actually much the better exegete as regards the scriptural passages bearing on the question at issue. As Galileo has come to his rights, in like manner, he believes, will Rosmini be justified. "Over against an Inquisition which has committed the two greatest possible errors in the field of physical science and in that of metaphysics, in condemning Galileo and Rosmini, the rebels of today are the truest Catholics of tomorrow."

The third reason for not acquiescing in the condemnatory sentence is the one to which Professor Morando gives expression in the whole body of his work, namely, the conviction that the teaching of Rosmini offends against no genuine Catholic premise. Taken in the sense of their author, he maintains, each of the forty condemned propositions can be justified as being in harmony with sound philosophy and theology, and agreeable to Catholic standards. As to the success of his apology there will be most likely some differences in judgment. Those who rate the *Civiltà Cattolica* as a "fifth Gospel" will of course be unconvinced by aught that can be said in behalf of the censured teaching. Our own conviction is that Morando adequately refutes the charge of pantheism, which evidently was uppermost in the minds of the censors, and makes it plain that on most of the points embraced in the passages selected for reprobation Rosmini was not guilty of any serious divergence from Catholic dogma. We are left, however, with the impression that on a few points the teaching of Rosmini, while perhaps not distinctly contravening any doctrinal formulas put forth by ecumenical authority, appears to be of a singular cast when judged by the general consensus of Catholic opinion. This remark applies in particular to his interpretation of the element of the finite will in Christ, to his exposition of transubstantiation, and to

his suggestion as to the way in which an immaculate character was secured to the conception of the Virgin. Evidently matters so deeply hidden from human scrutiny as these can afford but scanty ground for attacks where zeal for the faith is not mixed with partisan animosity.

As is well known, a distinguishing feature of the philosophy of Rosmini is its profound stress upon the function of one basal idea. The simplest operation, it is argued, which we can predicate of the mind, implies the existence of a general idea. The conclusion follows that some general idea, instead of being the product of the mind's intelligence, must rather be constitutive of intelligence. Such an idea is that of *being* perfectly simple and indeterminate. As related to God, it is a logical entity corresponding to the infinite real entity. Communicated from its divine source, it becomes in the human mind the initial idea which provides for rational experience. To this fundamental tenet of Rosmini our author renders a most hearty approval. In his view it is adapted to overcome the Kantian subjectivism and to bring to a successful issue the struggle of philosophy to bridge the gap between the subjective and the objective. Probably Professor Morando will not induce many to accept his estimate of the merits of the Rosminian system. Nevertheless, by his able and learned treatise he has made a valuable contribution to the history of philosophy, as well as paid a debt of gratitude to a revered master.

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#### SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

The *Bibliotheca Reformatoria*<sup>1</sup> is of great value to those who are able to read Dutch and desire to understand the Reformation in the Netherlands. Secular and ecclesiastical authorities destroyed much of the literature favoring the Reformation, and of some of these writings not a trace can be found. Of some of the writings only a single specimen is extant. The editors of the *Bibliotheca Reformatoria* aim to republish some of the rarest and most important specimens of this literature in order to preserve them, to furnish sources for historical investigators, and also to serve persons who value devotional literature suitable for edifying and for reviving spiritual life. Two volumes have been published. Vol. I

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica. Geschriften uit den Tijd der Hervorming in de Nederlanden opnieuw uitgegeven en van Inleidingen en Aanteekeningen voorzien.* Door S. Cramer en F. Pijper. 'S-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1903, 1904. 2 vols. ix + 678 and xii + 683 pages.

contains "Refutacie vant Salue Regina," "Vanden olden en nieuwen God gelooue ende leere," "Articulen van Baltasar Friberger," "Een schoon Expositie wten LXVII Psalm," "Een Troost ende Spiegel der Siecken," "Vanden Propheet Baruch," "Spel van Sinnen op Dwerck der Apostolen," "Een Tafelspel," "Den Val der Roomscher Kercken," "Van het Nachtmaels Christi endè van de Misse;" and "Rvardi Tappart Apotheosis." Vol. II contains: "Het Offer des Heeren," and "Een Lietboecxken tracterende van den Offer des Heeren."

"The Refutacie vant Salue Regina" is, as the title indicates, a refutation of the *Salve Regina*. Internal evidence indicates that it was written about the year 1524, and that it is of Dutch origin. The author is unknown. While he condemns the *Salve Regina*, he approves the *Ave Maria*.

"Vanden olden en nieuwen, God gelooue ende leere" treats of the faith and doctrine concerning the old and the new god. Beginning with creation, the writer describes how the true God has been supplanted by false gods. In his treatment of the Church of Rome he tells how the bishop of Rome became the primate of the church, how he acquired secular power, what a struggle took place between popes and emperors, how the pope assumed the right of appointing kings and emperors, and what sort of oaths he required. This treatise is attributed to Thomas Münzer or one of his followers. It was probably written by Münzer himself before he fell into the extravagances for which he is notorious. The treatment discloses a greater historical knowledge than is usually attributed to Münzer, but Dr. Pijper thinks that he possessed such knowledge. The oldest edition dates back to 1521, and was written in the German spoken in certain sections of Switzerland or Ober Schwaben. Only one copy of the Dutch translation is in existence.

"Articulen van Baltasar Friberger" is a Dutch translation of eighteen syllogisms defended by Balthasar Hubmaier at Waldshut. This selection, which is dated 1524, contains a remarkable program of reformation, but no indication of the Anabaptist position afterward assumed by Hubmaier.

"Een schoon Expositie wten LXVII Psalm" is a translation of part of a sermon by Martin Luther on Psalm 67. The exposition deals with the financial abuses of Rome, and tells how the rascality, covetousness, and ambition of ecclesiastics have caused gifts to be diverted from the purpose designated by David.

"Een Troost ende Spiegel der Siecken" is "A Consolation and Mirror for the Sick." The author is William Gnapheus, a renowned humanist, who died in 1568. Already in 1550 this work appeared in the "Index"

again appear, the third act takes place. This represents the trial of Peter and John. Everybody would recognize this trial as a heresy trial. The author of the play may have been Wm. van Haecht, but this cannot be certainly established. It was already in existence in 1539.

"Een Tafelspel" is "A Table Play." In the Middle Ages traveling poets often provided entertainment during meals. This play was used for such purpose. It is a dialogue between "Origin of Sins" and "Manifold Deceit." Origin of Sins offers to sell Manifold Deceit certain wares, among which are indulgence, usury, pride, self-interest, and hypocrisy. The inmates of monasteries are designated as the buyers of these wares. Pilgrimages are discussed in an ironical way. The author disapproves of salaried clergy, and opposes clergy who have studied at universities and form a separate class. He was doubtless an Anabaptist, and probably wrote his play about 1539.

"Den Val der Roomscher Kercken," "The Fall of the Romish Churches," strongly condemns the mass, and especially the worship of the consecrated wafer, while the Reformed view of the Lord's Supper is upheld. The author indulges in ridicule, irony, sneers, and cutting sarcasm. He sins against good taste as well as justice. His tone can be understood, though it cannot be justified, when we think of the terrible persecutions to which the followers of the Reformation were subject. Dr. Pijper traces the book to England. From certain expressions it is supposed to be a translation. It has been inferred from one edition that it first appeared at Norwich in the year 1550. In the library of the Dutch church in London there is a specimen printed in 1553.

"Van het Nachtsmaels Christi ende van de Misse" is a treatise of Micronius concerning the Lord's Supper and the mass. It was published in 1552, while Micronius was a pastor in London. He was led to publish it by the persecutions suffered by the people of the Netherlands, who rejected the mass because they considered it idolatry. Micronius exposes the errors connected with the mass and sets forth the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper. He treats of sacraments in general as well as the Lord's Supper. Anabaptists and Lutherans are opposed as well as the Church of Rome.

"The Apotheosis of Rvard Tappart" is in Latin. The text is taken from the edition of 1656. It is a dialogue between Rvard Tappart, Genius, and Peter. According to the editor, it is not to be used for discovering facts so much as for indicating the impression events made in certain circles. The writer appears to have been a humanist, and either lived at the court of Charles V and Philip II or was closely related to persons

who had access to the highest circles. He is remarkably well acquainted with the most important events that have occurred in western Europe, and has a deep insight into political conditions. Religious leaders are more largely responsible for persecutions than secular rulers. Had Charles V not been misinformed, he would not have persecuted as he did. The author is very sarcastic in his representations of the Church of Rome and favors the Reformation.

"Het Offer des Heeren," "The Lord's Sacrifice," is the oldest collection of letters written by Dutch Baptist martyrs in existence. It also includes messages concerning their imprisonment written by cotemporaries and coreligionists, and hymns composed about the martyrs. The collection was published in the days of persecution, and was eagerly read by the persecuted for whom it was a great source of comfort. It was sold at Utrecht before 1562.

"Een Lietboecxken," "A Little Hymn Book," was first published in 1563 and was designed to be an accompaniment to "The Lord's Sacrifice." This consists of hymns about the martyrs.

The collection not only enables the reader to discover conditions that led to the Reformation in the Netherlands and existed during the Reformation, but also to enter into the spirit of those who did so much to bring it to pass.

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### THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE.

In his delightfully imaginative book on the world-view of the future,<sup>1</sup> Heim pictures the thinker of today, in the present systems of scientific doctrine, as surrounded by fearful precipices from which there is but one escape, namely, in the acceptance of a mathematical formula, as not only the expression but the very substance of all reality. All reality consists of fundamental relations and exchangeable relations, or of distinctions and members of a distinction, and this reality comes into existence through decisions. His motto is taken from one of the Upanishads and reads in rude English: "This universe is nothing but soul."

First, as becomes a modern philosopher, Heim considers the theory of knowledge itself, the traditional system in which there is an ego or subject which, by means of certain physical organs, obtains a knowledge, or what

<sup>1</sup> *Das Weltbild der Zukunft: Eine Auseinandersetzung zwischen Philosophie, Naturwissenschaft und Theologie.* Von Dr. Karl Heim. Berlin: Schwetschke, 1904. v+299 pages. M. 4.

passes for knowledge, of the objective world without. Here arises the old problem as to how far, if in any degree, this so-called knowledge agrees with the objective world itself, which is supposed to be known. Dr. Heim cuts this Gordian knot by denying the distinction between subject and object, knower and known. But he should remember that cutting a knot in a rope also cuts the rope, and denying the existence of a problem may be simply confessing one's inability to find an answer. According to Heim, relations and things related make up the universe, and the things related are themselves in turn nothing more or less than relations. Space and time are merely relations, and indeed exchangeable relations. There is no absolute location in space, nor any absolute distance or size. There is no absolute length of time, neither does the future differ in any essential respect from the past. Knowledge of the future is as simple a matter as memory of the past. We have lost our belief in matter. The atomic theory is a myth of the past. There is no such thing as matter. What we call matter is merely relations, fundamental or exchangeable. Thinking is not activity of the brain, nor indeed of the mind of a person. It is merely a state of indecision preceding a decision or volition. All reality consists of relations which have come into being through decisions or volitions. Therefore there is a will behind the universe of reality, which is like a human will in that its decisions cannot be foretold. Thus it is a personal will, which we call God. Now comes the question as to whether God's character corresponds to the Christian view that is held of him, or to some other. There are no theoretical grounds on which we may decide this. Christian theologians maintain that Christianity is the highest religion the world has ever seen, and will be the final religion. Students of history, and particularly of comparative religion, say that this cannot be proved, that it is a mere dogmatic assumption. How shall this question be decided? It cannot be decided; the existence of both positions, that is, of this "exchangeable relation" (*Umtauschverhältniss*) is necessary to the existence of either, for neither could exist alone. So, after all, although it is certain that there is a God, there is no possibility of certainty as to what sort of a being he is. Every man must decide for himself what God is, what he means by the term "good," and what his religion shall be.

But what shall we say about this system in which the world is to become a mere series of relations? In the first place, this position is not proved, but assumed. The *petitio principii* is covered with a great multitude of illustrations, but it is there. We are speaking of the laws of thought under which we live, and according to them the future is not exchangeable with the past, and there is absolute location in space, however impossible

it might be to establish a fixed point in it. The mental processes are related directly to the physical processes in our bodies, and the food we eat and the chairs we sit on are something different from relations, whether fundamental or exchangeable. And there is such a thing in experience as natural law, so that we can, to an appreciable extent, foretell the future. And finally, "certainty" even of the existence of God, is *not* an essential of religion. So far as theologians speak intelligently of religious "knowledge" or "certainty," they mean by it a *faith* which is sufficiently strong to determine action, as knowledge or certainty does, where that is possible. Heim's system as a whole has nothing in it which satisfies the reason, for a relation is inconceivable without something other than a relation to be related, and an infinite series of relations with nothing but themselves to be related is about as empty a conception as can be imagined. As a presentation of philosophical and theological problems, and a criticism of modern German theological works, Dr. Heim's book might be of much value. As a solution of these problems it is certainly a failure.

A refreshing little pamphlet by Dr. Schnedermann,<sup>2</sup> a lecture on the lasting significance of Kant, will be of more positive value, although it contains nothing particularly new. Kant, he says, taught the popular philosophers of his time (and it would be well if many teachers of today would learn the lesson):

It is not true that you, mankind as a whole, or you, individual, have in your reason a source of knowledge. It is not true that soul, universe, and God exist because you must necessarily think them, i. e., because you necessarily have these ideas.

True, in order to have any experience, you must have the categories of causality and substance, in which to arrange the data of sense; but you cannot therefore conclude that these categories are valid outside of or beyond the world of experience in which you live. But this is not the only phase of Kant's teaching, and it is deeply to be regretted that in our time Kant is generally understood as opposing all transcendence of thought. Kant was not a positivist. He recognized an experience quite different from that of sense-perception, i. e., the *moral* experience. Listen to the voice in yourself which says you *ought* to do this and that. There you have a revelation which cannot be called knowledge, but faith. The content of this faith is:

It must be that you are free, are not a slave to the severe law of causality which rules in the world of phenomena. If it is true that you carry within yourself the command of an unconditional *ought*, then it must be that you *can*.

<sup>2</sup> *Die bleibende Bedeutung Immanuel Kants in einigen Hauptpunkten gezeichnet.* By F. Schnedermann. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. 19 pages. M. o.50.

denotes personal being and nature; in other words, metaphysical unity with God the Father. His sonship did not come to be, nor can we trace a development of his consciousness of it. In it he stands with God and over against us. This is confirmed by his demands of faith, love, and fear from us, by his miracles which exhibit omnipotence and omniscience (as resident potencies whose activity is limited only by his own will), and by his love, and holiness. His human life is his own act. His conditionedness is simply the human form of his manifestation. From this point of view, the miracles of his birth and resurrection become, not only credible, but necessary, and here too we have the only explanation of his ineffable character. "With the deity of Christ stands or falls the absoluteness of Christianity."

From the standpoint of a sympathizer with the belief in Christ's deity, the author's treatment of the question is open to criticism. What is meant by the "absoluteness" of Christianity? Christianity is not a complete objective fact; it is a gradually unfolding life subjectively experienced, and human experience is never absolute. Also, to define the deity of Christ by falling back on the ancient metaphysical distinctions between a divine essence and a human essence is to make it an indefinable, unknowable something, instead of describing it in terms of the conscience and the heart; it is to contradict the Christian consciousness of unity with God, and to make of the incarnation a mechanical or unnatural union.

It is true that the ultimate ground of our belief in the deity of Christ is to be found in his consciousness, but *his consciousness as we find it interpreted by the faith of believers*; for we know his mind only as it is mediated to us by the New Testament writers. It is singular, too, that the attempt to prove that Jesus was conscious of possessing a divine essence distinct from a human essence, by reference to the expressions "Son of God" and "my Father," should overlook the fact that, in the synoptists at least, the correlative of "my Father" is "the Son of man" (Matt. 25:31, 34). The way to the faith in Christ as God is through the unity of his human consciousness with our own.

In Dr. Hastie's book<sup>2</sup> we have a bold and spirited survey of the Reformed faith by a master of its literature. Ecclesiastical conditions in Scotland have affected in a peculiar manner the author's form of statement. He frankly upholds the Establishment as normal to Scottish civil and religious life, and he regards the existence of a body like the United Free Church as an anomaly and the growth of voluntarism as an error—the

<sup>2</sup> *The Theology of the Reformed Church in its Fundamental Principles.* By the late William Hastie. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1904. 283 pages. \$2.



result of an unfortunate lapse of the Kirk of Scotland from the spirit and standards of its early days.

Our interest in the work, however, does not lie in its relation to Scottish domestic affairs, but in its attempt at a restatement and vindication of the Reformed doctrine. Dr. Hastie holds Ritschlian, Anglican, and (Ana-) Baptist thinkers in no very high regard, and deprecates the influence of their ideas in Scotland. Ritschlianism is represented as founded upon antagonism to reason, as a "falling back on the old Socinian standpoint," as a denial of the natural religious capacity of man, as having a dualistic and mechanical view of the universe and of revelation, as possessed of "an almost ludicrously overdriven hatred of metaphysics and philosophy," and as "resolving religion generally into a form of mere subjective utilitarianism." The Church of England, with all "its proud pretensions and claims to catholicity," has been, "in the view of the historian, the narrowest, the most exclusive, and the most schismatic church in western Christendom." Its patristic learning is, "at the best, but poor schoolboy translation void of judgment." As for the Baptist influence, now so evident in Scotland in voluntarism and the pressure toward disestablishment, it appears in the "clamor and pretensions of quasi-religious fanaticisms," dangerous to peace, and traceable to the "Anabaptists and the fanatical weavers and insurrectionary prophets of Zwickau." After a series of such contemptuous references to rival schools, we need not be surprised at finding nearly all that is of value in modern Christendom credited to the Reformed theology and the Reformed church.

The Reformed system is powerfully presented: This Reformed church arose within the historical development of the Christian church—hence the author does not seem to regard it as essentially alien to the Roman Catholic church, from which the reformers did not separate themselves, but were driven out—on the basis of a church-reforming principle which asserted itself in a protest against paganism in the Christian church. Accordingly, we have the doctrine of the true church as a visible existence "essentially grounded in an invisible church which had existed in the world from the beginning of all true religion and was coextensive with all true religion." This invisible church, the true kingdom of God, became historically visible in varying and developing forms of organized life, and of these the Reformed is the most catholic and divine, reposing upon a divinely renewed and enlightened self-consciousness. We may just remark, in passing, that this doctrine of the church seems to deny to Jesus Christ a creative place in relation to it.

Applied *ecclesiastically*, this principle produces an organization on the

broad lines advocated by such men as Zwingli, Cranmer, Bucer, and Knox, neither extreme ritualist nor anti-ritualist, having co-ordinate jurisdiction with the state, regarding the state as Christian, and as obligated to enforce Christian ideas. It were better to re-endow the Roman church than to fall back on free-churchism and secularization of the state. We may remark again that, if this be the reactionary position of reformed theology, then God be thanked that the spirit and love of personal liberty are steadily undermining state-churchism not only in Scotland, but even in Russia!

The Protestant (Reformed) principle on its *theological* side implies the "innate and inalienable knowledge of God." The Reformed theology has, therefore, as its basis "natural theology and rational theism," and its ruling conception is the sovereignty of God. This corresponds with the scientific conception of the universality of law, and, in truth, it is the same thing theologically expressed. Consequently, the Reformed world-view is "that the world, in all its parts and processes and stages and forms of life, is the outcarrying in time of one divine plan, conceived in the eternal reason of the Godhead, and realized by creative power and wisdom and love."

Hence the application of the principle on the *anthropological* side is seen in the religious development of the race. Dr. Hastie thinks that the federal theology, properly expounded, falls into line with this view, and that all that is of permanent value in Hegel's philosophy of religion is owing to his appropriation of the historical principle of the Reformed theology. The whole history of religion is comprised under the principle of absolute predestination—election and reprobation. But even Dr. Hastie, notwithstanding his denial that the universal love of God is the supreme truth in theology, has nevertheless come so far under the influence of this idea that he shrinks from the hard conclusion of the early reformers that reprobation involves an eternal and hopeless hell; for he concludes his work with this word of eternal hope as the latest message of the Reformed theology:

A deepened belief in the endless development of all created souls, till the absolute purpose of God shall be realized in an endlessly diversified spirit-world, reconciled, perfected, and unified in eternal harmony through spiritual communion with Christ around the throne of God.

This may be the modern theology of the Reformed church, but if we except the verbal harmony and the intolerance of dissent, it is far from the mind of the man to whom, above all others, this church owes its spirit and its form—John Calvin. Calvin, indeed, held to a natural knowledge of God apart from sin, but made use of it only as a scaffold for the erection

of a revealed theology as the supreme tribunal of thought, to which even natural theology was made subject. The system of religious certainty which Calvin aimed to build up, in opposition to the everlasting uncertainty in which the Roman church kept its votaries, rested upon an absolute revelation of the absolute will of an absolute God, and he distrusted subjective religion as a basis of doctrinal statement because of its defective and variable character. Dr. Hastie thinks to reinterpret Calvin through Schleiermacher, but his point of view differs from either. Calvin rested upon a definite communication of truth; Schleiermacher analyzed personal religious experience; but Dr. Hastie presents, as a framework on which to spin the web of theology, a speculative view of the universe which may be deduced from the principle of causality united with that of unity in multiplicity. Calvinism produced the offshoots of Socinianism, Unitarianism, and Deism. Dr. Hastie's theology is akin to pantheism. It is true, he prefers the term "panentheism;" but if the physical and moral worlds are but a unitary evolution of divine energy, and if theology be a theory of the place of religion in this evolution, then whatever there may be in God which is over and above the active potencies of the universe, it remains unknown to us, and must be ignored in theology; so that pantheism and panentheism become indistinguishable.

I confess there is something entrancing and awe-inspiring in the system under criticism, but, in my opinion, it denies to Jesus Christ his place at the heart of Christianity; it substitutes for him the Logos conception to which it gives his name; it fails to give a self-consistent account of our consciousness of sin; and it stands opposed to the priceless principle of individual worth and freedom.

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The author of this work<sup>3</sup> would substitute the philosophical, including the psychological, determination of the nature of Christianity for the merely historical. Consciousness of self, the *Ich*, is an immediate awareness, not a syllogistic conclusion, and as such is a "worth-feeling," and so moral. In fact, self-consciousness and conscience are the same. Freedom of the will he defines as freedom of choice, not absolute, but limited.

In his firm grasp of society as a whole, and distinction between religion and morality, which latter is brought to expression in no small degree by environment, the author is especially good, as also in his emphasis upon the

<sup>3</sup> *Selbstbewusstsein und Willensfreiheit*. Von Georg Graue. Berlin: Schwetschke, 1904. 189 pages. M. 3.20.

moral ideal ever hovering before the individual and beckoning him on, while God is his fellow-worker aiding to realize that ideal. He does not, however, use the conception of the universe as thoroughly intelligible. It is rather from the unknown that he gets warrant both for the *Ich* as a new creation outside the chain of cause and effect, and freedom of choice from the possibility of chance in the world.

On the whole, one can hardly avoid the conclusion that the author, not over-partisan, has made an honest attempt to harmonize the scientific and Christian views of the world. Though he recognizes this as a Sisyphus task, nevertheless he insists upon its worth, just as the struggling to realize the moral ideal has worth, though one be foredoomed not to succeed perfectly.

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### SERMONS AND ADDRESSES, ANCIENT AND MODERN

Either the reading public has a larger appetite for books of sermons than one would naturally expect, or someone is losing money in the publishing business. When the fact is taken into consideration that ministers, as a rule, do not read sermons except those of two or three of their favorite preachers, the regularity and abundance which characterize the output of published sermons are not a little surprising.

Dr. Pattison's *History of Preaching*<sup>1</sup> covers all the Christian centuries and roots itself in the Jewish synagogue service. Beginning with Jesus and his apostles, he gives a pen-picture of all those who have most profoundly influenced the men of their times, religiously, by means of the spoken word. Such a task, accomplished in a single volume, must have its clearly defined limits, and there is ample evidence that the author has proceeded according to a carefully considered plan. Little space is given to biography, and no attempt has been made at detailed analysis. Seizing upon the more important qualities in each character studied, he presents these, and only these, as aids in the interpretation of the power and achievements of the lives under consideration. The result is a work, not only of value, but of compelling interest. It will be read by those whom the author evidently sought to reach and help, viz., preachers. It should be said that Dr. Pattison's charming style, evidenced not only by his books, but by his preaching, gives to this work a value which would have been lacking in

<sup>1</sup> *The History of Preaching*. By T. Harwood Pattison. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1904. 20 portraits. 406 pages. \$1.65, postpaid.

the contribution of one less gifted. Our enjoyment of this volume accentuates the sorrow felt over the departure of the brilliant preacher and inspiring teacher who gave it to the world.

Dr. Dargan's *History of Preaching*<sup>2</sup> is planned on a larger scale than the preceding. It is to be in three volumes, the first of which has just appeared. Dr. Dargan gives us a careful view of the historic settings and abundant biographical details. He has gone to the sources for much of his materials. The entire work, when completed, will be a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the subject.

Canon Henson had a distinctly avowed purpose in publishing *The Value of the Bible, and Other Sermons*.<sup>3</sup> In his open letter to the lord bishop of London, forming the preface, he says that he puts forth these sermons as the only answer he can consent to make to the numerous attacks made upon his teaching and his character. With this in view, it is hardly probable that the sermons thus brought together are representative of his ordinary pulpit work, and the reader must bear this in mind if he wishes to do Canon Henson justice. Many preachers have a strong conviction that the pulpit is not the proper place in which to discuss problems of biblical criticism, and so would be tempted to condemn their brother-preacher for his failure to use the pulpit for the highest ends. From such a sermon as that entitled "A Serviceable Life" we are justified in assuming that the canon of Westminster is something more than a controversialist; that he gives to his people real food for moral and spiritual growth. It is not necessary to speak of the author's position upon questions of criticism, for they are well known. However much the reader may differ from Canon Henson concerning questions at issue, no one can fail to appreciate the charm and force with which he puts his case.

Posthumous publication of sermons is more often a tribute of affection than a response to ardent demand. Outside the circle of personal friends and admirers of Canon Ainger, it is doubtful if *The Gospel and Human Life*<sup>4</sup> will have a wide reading; and yet these sermons are distinctly better than the average. The one feature which makes them vital and compelling is the preacher's passion for Jesus Christ. One may find him lacking in power of keen argumentation, may discover a seeming unwillingness to

<sup>2</sup> *A History of Preaching*. By Edward Charles Dargan. New York: Armstrong. 577 pages. \$1.75. This volume will receive fuller attention in the pages of this *Journal* when the work is completed.—EDITORS.

<sup>3</sup> *The Value of the Bible and Other Sermons*; with a letter to the Lord Bishop of London. By H. Hensley Henson. London: Macmillan, 1904. 333 pages. \$1.75.

<sup>4</sup> *The Gospel and Human Life*. By Alfred Ainger. London: Macmillan. 349 pages. \$2.

accept the results of modern research, but that this man knew his Lord as a personal friend cannot be doubted. Honor, love, and devotion speak in every word. The closing sermon, that on "Preaching," sets forth clearly the preacher's own estimate of his work. He is to be more than a herald who declares a message and says: "Take it or leave it; I care not." He is an ambassador. He pleads, he persuades, he puts his heart into the work of reconciling men to God. This conception explains, in considerable measure, Canon Ainger's undoubted power as a preacher.

Any young preacher who is tempted to think that profound and exact scholarship is a hindrance rather than a help to success as a preacher should read, carefully *Waiting upon God*.<sup>5</sup> The late Dr. Davidson, professor of Hebrew in New College, Edinburgh, made for himself a most enviable reputation in the world of scholarship. His interpretations of Job, Psalms, Isaiah, and Hebrews have given him a secure place among sane and scholarly commentators. His sermons show what enormous advantage the preacher has who is also a scholar. Here is exegesis that grows out of accurate knowledge, instead of imagination or the exigencies of theological discussion. Here is made evident that passion for truth which is the fundamental quality of the scholar, as it should be of the preacher. Nor are these sermons any "dry-as-dust" affairs, valuable chiefly for promoting somnolency. This teacher has demonstrated the possibility of allying scholarship with vital interest in the common life of man. He walked through life in close relations with his fellows. He saw and understood the teaching of nature, and was wonderfully apt in the use of illustrations taken from everyday life.

Judged by the intention of the author, *The Glory of the Cross*<sup>6</sup> is a reverent and careful study of the passion of our Lord. The cross is presented in successive sermons as a revelation, an argument, an altar, a pulpit, and a throne. The spirit is admirable and the theology safe; and yet it is not a compelling book. One explanation of its failure to lay hold is found in its monotony. It has no deep valleys of inferiority, neither has it any hills of real power. From the homiletical point of view, the sermons are markedly defective in progress. One might begin in the middle and read either way without losing anything in continuity.

Professors Anderson and Goodspeed have performed a real service in translating and publishing five sermons by Asterius, a fourth-century

<sup>5</sup> *Waiting upon God*. By A. B. Davidson. New York: Scribner, 1904. 378 pages. \$2.50, net.

<sup>6</sup> *The Glory of the Cross*. By John Wakeford. London: Longmans, Green Co., 1903. 120 pages. 2s. 3d. net.

bishop and preacher. When we, of the twentieth century, are tempted to fancy that the art of preaching was unknown until we discovered it, a little communion with *Ancient Sermons for Modern Times*<sup>7</sup> will speedily correct our mistake. Here are sermons delivered sixteen hundred years ago which for clarity of thought, elegance of diction, pungency, and force compare favorably with the best work of the modern pulpit. The preacher reveals a keen insight into human nature, clear understanding of the sins and foibles of his hearers, a high ethical standard, and rare ability to put the truth in the way best calculated to stir the conscience.

*The Stars and the Book*<sup>8</sup> takes its name from the initial sermon. This opening sermon forms an interesting homiletical study as revealing a somewhat unique sermonic method. The text is stated as follows: "The heavens . . . the law of the Lord" (Ps. 19). The opening sentence affirms that "in this psalm the noble truth is most forcibly expressed that God's word is as wonderful as the heavens." In what words the Psalmist lodges this declaration is not shown. Certainly it is not found in "the heavens . . . the law of the Lord," even when these words are wrenched out of their proper places and violently joined together. The preacher's style is somewhat ebullient, not to say dramatic, as is revealed in this extract from the sermon on "Paul and Nero:" "Listen! I hear a wailing and weeping and gnashing of teeth. Death, death, death! Listen! I hear singing and shouting and the voice of praise like the voice of many waters. Life, life, life!"

Dr. Washington Gladden has so identified himself with social reforms that many never think of him save as an exponent of Christian movements for the amelioration of hard conditions. He has so interested himself in questions concerning the Bible that not a few know him only as a champion of fearless historical criticism. Those who are fortunate enough to read *Where does the Sky Begin?*<sup>9</sup> will be convinced that he is a preacher of marked spirituality. The word "spiritual" is hackneyed and degraded. It is identified with a certain terminology and with specific methods. As a rule, it smacks of cant and self-satisfaction. But the truly spiritual man is such, not because he uses certain phrases, but because of his valuations.

<sup>7</sup> *Ancient Sermons for Modern Times*. By Asterius Bishop of Amasia. Translated by Galusha Anderson and Edgar J. Goodspeed. New York, Boston, Chicago: Pilgrim Press, 1904. 157 pages. \$0.60, net.

<sup>8</sup> *The Stars and the Book*. By Camden M. Coburn. Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham; New York: Eaton & Mains, 1904. 136 pages. \$0.50, net.

<sup>9</sup> *Where Does the Sky Begin?* By Washington Gladden. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904. 335 pages. \$1.25.

*Sunday*, we have studies for each Sunday of the year. Here we have brief and, in a way, inadequate treatment. But when we come to study the matter presented, the contrast is marked. Bishop Moule goes pleasantly on, never offending good taste, never saying anything that arouses opposition, and never, unfortunately, stimulating the mind. Dr. Morrison is incisive, vigorous, suggestive. He is an expositor of a high order. In the freshness and pertinence of his analysis he reminds one of the great Birmingham preacher. We may differ from him in some matters of interpretation, but he compels our admiration for the sanity and clarity of his thinking. There are few expositors better worth careful study by the young preacher than Dr. Morrison.

The teacher who can put moral and religious truth in such a way that it shall catch and hold the attention of the young may be sure, not only of a hearing, but of large usefulness. One would not naturally select the book of Proverbs as furnishing material of special attractiveness to one who seeks to win the attention of children, but this is the book chosen by the author of *The Way of Life*.<sup>13</sup> By apt illustration and a clear way of putting things he gives the teaching of the book attractiveness and grip.

The idea of discussing our Lord's interrogative teaching certainly has much to commend it. *The Master's Questions*<sup>14</sup> promises a genuine treat to those interested in the teaching of Jesus, but the performance hardly equals the promise. For those who have an insatiable appetite for works of devotion this volume may have value, but it will fail to satisfy those who look for freshness and stimulus in attempted interpretations of the words of the great Teacher.

Many who find little help in such a book as that just mentioned will derive large satisfaction and profit from George Matheson's *Leaves for Quiet Hours*.<sup>15</sup> The author stands almost alone among the prophets of the present generation in power to realize God and to declare his vision to others. He speaks to the heart because he speaks out of the heart. The present volume is made up of brief interpretations of passages of Scripture. In the preface the author declares his purpose to be to furnish, in each discussion, a thought and to accompany it with the expression of

<sup>13</sup> *The Way of Life: Illustrations of the Book of Proverbs for the Young*. By James Jeffrey. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1904. 298 pages. 3s. 6d., net.

<sup>14</sup> *The Master's Questions to His Disciples*. By C. H. Knight. New York: Armstrong, 1904. 367 pages. \$1.50.

<sup>15</sup> *Leaves for Quiet Hours*. By George Matheson. New York: Armstrong, 1904. 288 pages. \$1.25.



a feeling. To say that the purpose has been realized is faint praise for a book that is not only one of the best of its class, but one of rare value from every point of view.

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All students who have been helped in their religious thinking by President Harper—and their name is legion—will welcome this small volume<sup>1</sup> of collected addresses. All teachers and preachers, even if not as yet personally indebted to the author, will be glad of the opportunity to study his method of approach to minds immature and perplexed. The religious faith here set forth is marked by utmost simplicity. While there is no scorn of creedal forms, yet there is no attempt at a philosophical or historical exposition of Christianity. There are no specially novel insights or attitudes. But there is throughout the twelve addresses a simple, sturdy faith in the Christianity of the four gospels as the solution of the deepest problems of thought and action.

The sympathy with young life is unmistakable. What the writer says in the most important of these papers—that on “Bible Study and the Religious Life”—is true of all:

The positions suggested are those which I have tested in my own personal experience. . . . God knows how many men in trouble and misery it has been my lot to meet and in some small way perhaps to help.

The altruistic spirit breathes through every address; as, for example:

How can one best fit himself beforehand for the disappointments of life, and for all its suffering? . . . *Begin at once to suffer*, if you have not already begun. Try to find a disappointment. Not of course your own, but some one's else. Enter into his situation; put yourself by his side.

The treatment of religious difficulties is robust and sensible.

Some of us in our Bible study are troubled with the so-called difficulties. I am afraid that the number of such persons is too small. To be thus troubled indicates two things: that one has actually been engaged in study . . . also that the man is honest. . . . Do not, for the sake of all that you hold sacred, allow the existence of intellectual difficulties to interfere with the progress of your practical religious life.

The subjects of the addresses vary all the way from one on “The Trials of Life” to one on “America as a Missionary Field.” The intense interest of President Harper in these themes is contagious. He frankly affirms that colleges and universities are not today discharging their duty

<sup>1</sup> *Religion and the Higher Life: Talks to Students*. William Rainey Harper. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1904. 184 pages. \$1.

in offering help to students whose faith is perplexed by the results of the classroom and the laboratory. "In any case," he writes in the preface, "I have discharged in a measure a responsibility which has weighed upon me more heavily than any other connected with the office which I have been called to administer."

This volume,<sup>2</sup> published at the request of the faculty of the Union Theological Seminary, consists of addresses delivered on various occasions while Dr. Hastings was president of the seminary. It begins with his inaugural address, delivered in 1881, and closes with a series of "Short Talks at Morning Prayers." It clearly reveals the diligence, the moral enthusiasm, and the strong personality of the author. It holds much the same conception of the preacher's office as that expounded by Professor Phelps, of Andover. It has about it something of the stateliness, the high-bred courtesy, the wide reading of a former time, and shows no touch of the sociological and civic interests which are so prominent in the life of our younger ministers today. But the thought is always robust, the style clear, and the "short talks" are condensed sermons that are full of stimulus. To the graduates of the seminary especially the volume will be helpful and encouraging.

<sup>2</sup> *Union Seminary Addresses*. By Thomas S. Hastings. New York: Scribner, 1904. 266 pages. \$1.50.

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## ANTICLERICALISM IN FRANCE

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Paris, France

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The present anticlerical movement in France attracts the attention of all peoples. An inquiry into its causes and its real nature may be expedient for scholars and other students of religious matters.

Let us observe, first, that anticlericalism, although seldom so intense as now, is not a new thing in that country. France is a Catholic country, but was never for a long time clerical. A glance at its religious history in modern times will throw some light upon its religious temper.

Protestantism, supported by a part of the nobility and of the bourgeoisie, was definitively mastered in France only in the seventeenth century after long wars and odious persecutions. The French kings identified national unity with religious unity; while opposing Protestantism, they upheld very strongly, against the claims of the Roman court, the rights of the Gallican church, that is, a national Catholic church agreeing with the universal Catholic church represented by Rome in religious faith and ecclesiastical organization, but not less united to the French royalty, which appointed the ecclesiastical dignitaries and did not allow the directions of the popes to be published and carried out in France without the special authorization of the government. The civil power maintained firmly its own

overlordship and independence with regard to Rome in all that concerned the ecclesiastical administration. The church was considered as one of the organs of the national life; the clergy formed with the nobility and the third estate the three classes of the nation. Such was the ancient French tradition by which Protestantism was crushed.

During the eighteenth century the Gallican church, deprived of any religious competition, bribed by a worldly spirit, lost all spiritual energy. The philosophy of the age, either rationalist or sensualist, but always adverse to any Catholic faith, swallowed the higher classes of the nation, and when the great Revolution of 1789 broke out, the power of the church among the leading bodies had quite faded away. Most even of the high prelates, quite like the nobles, had been overtaken by the spirit of the age. In an admirable impulse of social idealism, the two classes of the clergy and the nobility gave up spontaneously their privileges on the historic night of August 4, 1789. The clergymen ever since have been citizens like all others.

One knows how rapidly the great drama of the Revolution evolved. In a few years the whole of the ancient political and social organization of France was swept away. On April 9, 1790, the estates of the church were seized by the nation, as a consequence of the suppression of the privileged class of the clergy. The nation, on the other hand, took charge of providing for public worship and the support of the priests. The high prelates lost very much by that new régime; but the humble country vicars had no reason to complain. We observe that the Revolution, by establishing a budget of public worship, confirmed and strengthened the traditional French principle of a church subordinated to the civil power. Somewhat later (July, 1790), this was carried farther when a civil constitution of the priesthood was introduced, and it was enacted that bishops and priests must be elected by popular vote, and still farther when it was enacted that all priests must take the oath of fidelity to the national institutions (December, 1790).

The Gallican spirit, however, was too weak among the priesthood to sustain so radical a reform. The majority of the priests, following the pope, protested against those new conditions, and the leaders of the Revolution soon experienced another truth, which also prevails in all this history, that in the Catholic church it is impossible to do

anything without the episcopal power, which itself in the last resort depends on a foreign authority, the pope. In that time of revolutionary exasperation the result was not long in coming. The budget of public worship and the civil constitution of the priesthood were suppressed, and a first attempt to separate the church and state was made. But it did not last long. In July, 1801, Napoleon Bonaparte, first consul of the French Republic, signed with Pope Pius VII a *concordat*, which has ruled the relations between church and state in France till now.

Bonaparte, spurning the civil constitution of the priesthood, took up again the tradition of ancient French royalty by subordinating the church government to the sovereignty of the state. The head of the state retains the right of appointing the bishops, who have to obtain for themselves from the pope their canonical institution. The bishop appoints the curates and vicars, but has to obtain in each case the consent of the head of the state. No other church or Catholic institution will be admitted into France than that which is authorized by the government. The state grants endowments for the bishops, the curates, and a definite number of vicars, and leaves the churches to provide for as many more as may be wanted. The pope, on the other hand, renounced his claim to the former estates of the French clergy, which had been seized by the nation in 1790 and sold to individuals privately.

Bonaparte's purpose in restoring the union between the state and the churches (somewhat later he granted a similar régime to the Protestant churches) was merely political. He could not manage a church whose bishops and priests were chosen by popular vote; he wanted a strongly disciplined church, "marching like a regiment." He wanted to appoint the bishops himself; through the medium of the bishops he would control the priests; and, if the pope dared to resist his will, he knew how to constrain him. Hence the lower priesthood was wholly betrayed to the irresponsible power of the bishop; the security of the canonical jurisdiction of the ancient Gallican church was not maintained. The duty of training the future clergymen was left to the bishops alone; no university degrees were required; and so the Concordat bred a priesthood without any spiritual independence, without any higher modern culture, fated to clericalism and Roman servitude.

The Concordat, however, was generally welcomed by the nation. After the passionate struggles of the Revolution there was a great desire for religious peace, and the authority of Bonaparte was just then fascinating. When the old royalty was restored in France after Waterloo, the pope indeed tried to extort from Louis XVIII another concordat, more favorable to the church; but the old tradition of the French monarchy prevailed over the clerical and reacting tendencies of the restoration. The bourgeoisie was still Voltairian and anticlerical. And when in 1829 and 1830 the government attempted to carry some bills which were too much on the side of the church, a new revolution broke out, and the monarchy of Louis Philippe of Orleans was substituted for that of the Bourbons. But the Concordat was kept up; nobody thought of repeating the experience of the great revolution. The new government, however, pursued a less clerical policy.

The republic of 1848, which came after the monarchy of Louis Philippe, although not guided by Catholic principles, was not hostile to the priesthood. There was then blowing across the Roman church a wind of liberalism, which seemed to be the harbinger of a new age. The French republic sent an army to Rome for restoring the temporal power of the pope, and in France the priests were consecrating the trees of liberty, which the villagers planted in the parishes. This ingenuous confidence in the liberalism of the Roman church was not rewarded. Three years later they were singing the *Te Deum* in all the churches in honor of Napoleon III, who had destroyed the republic for his own benefit, breaking the oath of fidelity to the constitution which he had sworn. And during those three years the politicians of the clerical party had time enough to carry a bill (called the "Falloux law"), which, under pretense of securing the freedom of education, granted to the Catholic church easier means than ever before for strengthening its influence in the public schools.

Such an experience was peremptory for the few strong-minded men who remained faithful to the republican ideal. Ever since then they have known that a liberal democracy cannot rely on the Catholic church. Anticlericalism became one of the essential clauses of their program. Napoleon III was obliged by the fatality of his unlawful accession to have a regard for the clergy, but, according to his usual seesaw policy, he withdrew often on one side what he was granting

follow his advice. They were afraid to disaffect the bourgeoisie and the nobility, that is, those who paid much money. We must notice, indeed, that the same rich bourgeoisie, whom we saw still being Voltairian in the time of Louis Philippe, had become clerical under Napoleon III, partly by the influence of the education regulated by the above-named Falloux law, partly because those wealthy gentlemen were frightened by what might come out of the democracy in an economic respect. Now, the clerical church more than ever wanted money to uphold the struggle against the democracy, and the pope, bereft of his states, wanted more than ever the immense subsidies which French Catholics contribute to the Peter's pence. In time, however, the pope was listened to. In the last years the clerical party reconciled itself to the republican form of government, but it repels still with all its power most of the reforms of the republican program, without which the republic would be but an empty name.

The most important of those reforms concerns popular education. After the war of 1870 the enlightened patriots acknowledged that two things were essential for raising up the nation again: the reorganization of the army and the creation of a complete popular training. Another watchword of the time was: "The real vanquisher at Sadowa and at Sedan was the Prussian schoolmaster." And, with an admirable energy after such a heavy defeat, the French nation made military service obligatory for all citizens, and primary instruction free of cost and obligatory for all children. But as that instruction was obligatory, it ought also to be unconfessional, and the numerous public schools whose masters were friars or nuns of monastic congregations especially devoted to teaching, ought to be provided with lay teachers. And, as the Catholics, at least where they are the majority, do not permit a religious education other than Catholic to be given in the school, the only solution was to hand over religious instruction to the different churches, and to take up in the school moral training and some elementary philosophical notions about God and about physical and moral laws.

This is what the clericals denounce as "schools without God." In order to lessen the influence of these national public schools, they have created throughout the whole country thousands of free schools, generally committed to friars and sisters, and all possible local influ-

ences were used to compel peasants and laborers to send their children to the Catholic schools. In many parishes the children of the lay public school were denied admittance to the holy sacrament; the landlord gave alms only to poor people whose children frequented the Catholic school, or dealt only with shopkeepers who granted a subsidy to that school. Elsewhere rich manufacturers established clerical schools and used all their power to withdraw the children of their workmen from the public school.

People should realize how much resentment and disgust such practices inspire, to be able to understand the passionate hostility of so many patriots against clericalism. Not only in the elections for Parliament, for the departmental councils, and for the common councils, but even in social life and family life, the Catholic church is constantly using its religious authority against the democratic tendencies of the majority in the nation. The result is that the national public school becomes more and more the seat of opposition to the church, and that, in some places, it is even becoming a seat of unbelief; for most of the schoolmasters do not know any other religion than Catholicism.

This antagonism between school and church, or between the lay and the clerical school, seems very alarming to all thoughtful republicans in France. There are really two opposite nations trained against each other. Do not forget that the present clerical Catholicism is no more the Gallican religion of Bossuet and of the great prelates of the seventeenth century. It is a religion deformed by the influence of the Jesuits, the Catholicism of the Syllabus, of papal infallibility, of the worship of the Sacred Heart, of pilgrimages to Lourdes, and of offerings to St. Anthony of Padua in order to recover lost articles. It is saturated with all kinds of superstitions which overwhelm the religious highmindedness which an unbiased historian cannot but acknowledge in the Catholic church of the seventeenth century. It is really not possible to teach such a religion in a modern school. But, excited by the opposition of this adulterated religion, the public school allows itself to be more and more influenced by the spirit of the positivist philosophy, so productive in scientific matters, but so insufficient for the moral training of youth and to assume an antireligious character. And as men want a moral ideal,



we may observe that this school without religion and hostile to the church is more and more open to the spirit of socialism, where there is at least an ideal of human solidarity.

The clerical party, while striving since 1870 by its primary schools to conquer the mass of the people, endeavors by its colleges and higher schools, with much more success, to form a social staff of clerical military officers, magistrates, and engineers. The army has been especially cared for. We could measure the result of this special training in the Dreyfus case. Antisemitism, one of the finest products of the clerical spirit, was so prevalent in some garrisons, that Jewish officers were left in social isolation by their colleagues, and that even Protestant officers were not liked. In order to secure promotion, officers had to go to mass. A pupil of a clerical college, when leaving the military school, was carefully watched over in his career; the clergy insured him powerful protectors; they helped him to a rich marriage. He was enlisted in the sacred cohort of the defenders of the good cause, who supported each other to the exclusion of everyone else.

The sinews of this war are supplied by the rich middle-class business men, and the spiritual forces by the monastic congregations. The extension of those congregations since 1870 is one of the most curious features of the time. Never have friars and nuns been so numerous in France, and never was their estate so important. Even the secular priesthood suffered from this overflowing of the monastic clergy: they founded and managed schools, charity works, orphans' institutes, refuges, hospitals, newspapers for the Catholic propaganda, and everywhere, with that peculiar double character which is so notorious in all clerical enterprises, being on one side inspired by a human and really Christian ideal, and on the other side managing all things much more for the benefit of the church than for the proper good of the unfortunates themselves. So, for instance, a great number of young girls are taken by them in orphans' institutes, and for the poor children this seems to be a great blessing; but they are compelled to work beyond all measure; very little care is taken of their instruction; they are taught only some special kind of sewing, and do not receive a complete preparation. This is not for the good of the girls, but it is profitable for the institute to have at work several

specialized needlewomen, who rapidly become very clever in their business and supplement one another in a common work. The linen articles and the embroidery, which are sold so cheap in the large shops of Paris, are often sewed in these institutes. The working-men and working-women complain bitterly that their salaries are depreciated by such competition. Other congregations produce liquors, remedies, and preserves.

These are the religious, moral, political, social, and economic causes of anticlericalism in France. The most important of them is the antagonism between the public school and the church. This state of things has seemed dangerous enough to induce steady-minded men like Waldeck-Rousseau to move some measures for preventing France from being put under the guardianship of the Roman church. Most of the congregations which were at work in the schools or elsewhere were deprived of legal rights. The Concordat does not mention monastic orders. According to the traditional principles of the French law, no monastic congregation has a legal existence before being authorized by the government. At present there are but very few legally authorized congregations.

Waldeck-Rousseau, intending to gratify at last the French democracy with a liberal law on the right of association, understood that in an almost entirely Catholic country like France such a law was possible only if it applied special regulations to the monastic congregations. An association whose members give up once for all their individual liberty, all kinds of family life, all ownership of property—an association which constitutes a real militia whose leader is generally a foreigner—such an institution is not, indeed, an association of the same kind as the other ones, and requires special regulations. In the bill which was voted by Parliament a distinction was made between three kinds of congregations: those devoted to teaching, to works of charity, and to the contemplative life. The purpose was to enable the government to dissolve the teaching congregations which might seem dangerous, and to leave the others standing.

The clerical party objected strenuously to that law. At the following general elections the priests and the monks had recourse

more than ever to all means against its promoters. They were unsuccessful. In the present Parliament there is a radical majority. No wonder that its members are ill-disposed toward those who have withstood them so desperately. From the very outset the late prime minister, Combes, proclaimed that he was determined to refuse to all teaching monastic congregations the legal authorization required by the new law. So the Catholics are still entitled to support their own private schools, but they are obliged to appoint masters who do not belong to any congregation.

Neither M. Combes nor the majority in Parliament thought at first of breaking off the secular bonds between state and church. But it happened that Leo XIII died, and that his successor, Pius X, politically not so well gifted, allowed his secretary of the state, the Spanish cardinal Merry del Val, a fervent clerical prelate, to commit several diplomatic blunders. The Roman court used wrongly the word *nominavit*, instead of *nobis nominavit*, in the briefs of canonical institution of the new French bishops, so as to change the right of nomination granted to the French government by the Concordat into a mere right of presentation,<sup>1</sup> and when the government protested, the papal secretary declined a long time to restore the right term. The pope refused to approve the bishops chosen by the government, because they seemed to be too liberal. The Roman court wrote a sharp protest, which seemed offensive to the French nation, when M. Loubet, president of the republic, returned the visit of the king of Italy without calling upon the pope, although he could not do otherwise, because the pope does not allow the head of a Catholic nation to pay him a visit in Rome, if he does not call upon him before seeing the king; this is to prove that the highest authority in Rome is the pope, and not the king. If M. Loubet had done so, the king of Italy would not have received his visit, and the relations between France and Italy would have been imperiled.

In another time those occurrences would not have brought about serious consequences. But in such a frame of mind as reigned in France they were like sparks, and set all in a blaze. The most

<sup>1</sup> This is a fine example of the cunning papal diplomacy. The little word *nobis* seems harmless. But *nobis nominavit* means, "has named to us," i. e., has mentioned to us the name, while *nominavit* means, "has named," i. e., has appointed.

passionate members of Parliament lost no time and introduced a bill to make once for all an end to all the contests with the Roman power by repealing the Concordat, suppressing the budget of public worship, and separating completely the church and the state. This provision, indeed, had been for a long time on the political program of the Radical party, but it seemed impracticable, because inconsistent with the peculiar traditions of the French people, and even its promoters adjourned its realization to a future time. By the pressure of the above-mentioned events, an overwhelming tide of public opinion was formed in favor of the separation. The bill, modified in a more liberal spirit by the committee and by the new ministry of M. Rouvier, has been brilliantly debated in Parliament, and passed with a majority of more than a hundred votes.

At first sight there seems to be much levity and inconsiderate passion in such overhastiness. But for those who take care to inquire into the history of France since the Revolution, the actual anticlerical movement appears as the final act of a long evolution. They must acknowledge that the present anticlericalism has deep and ancient roots in the country, and that the events of last year have but hastened a crisis in which the struggle between school and church, between the republican democracy and the reactionary priesthood is ending.

Now the bill has to be debated in the Senate. There is no doubt, however, but that the Senate will confirm the vote of the Chamber of Deputies. Another question is whether the reform will be welcomed by the people; it is much to be feared that the countless contests to be caused by the enforcement of it will provoke a reaction. Only one thing is sure; that is, that the conflict between clericalism and the radical or socialist democracy will not be settled by the separation.

It is not easy to realize these matters in another country, where the churches have ever had an existence independent of the state, and where such a separation is in keeping with the habits of the people. But it is quite different in a country like France, where church and state have always been united. We have shown what the tradition in France is; the old Gallican spirit still prevails among part of the people, if not among the priesthood. The great bulk of the nation does not support the Roman power in its meddling with French affairs; the

people require the priest to remain in the church, to bow down to the civil law, and not to interfere with politics. They do not conceive that there may be a great variety of Christian churches, or different denominations; hence they do not easily understand Protestantism. From their age-long Catholic education they have preserved the conviction that there is but one real Christian church, and that there cannot be another one. When they leave the Catholic church, they go straight to free thought and do not stop at the middle station of Protestantism. This is what happens among a part of the industrial workmen, who are generally inclined to socialism, and also among a part of the intellectual class. But everywhere else, among the peasants, who still form the largest class in France, and among the middle classes, the ceremonies and practices of the Catholic church are still required, even when there is not much real faith. All the children are christened, catechized, and admitted to the holy communion, even those who have no intention at all of taking the sacrament after their confirmation. Although the only legal marriage is the civil one, they want to be married in the church also, and when they are dying they want at their death a burial service in the church. All these ceremonies are, if I may so say, a part of the traditional life-scenery.

But though they are enamored of all these ceremonies, they do not at all like to pay for them more than before. Till now, except during a few years of the Revolution, the state has always provided them with a priest. They had, indeed, to pay for the ceremonies, but not for the priest. Now they will have to pay for both. In many parishes there will be no sufficient resources: it is not certain that the Catholic church, which condemns the system of the separation, will give to the poor parishes the surplus of the rich ones, instead of leaving them for a time without church service, in order to provoke a reaction against the promoters of the separation bill. It seems very probable that there will be for that reason a falling off among the radical constituents.

Another kind of difficulty will be the assignation of the church properties. The Catholic church maintains that the budget of public worship is not a gratuity from the state, but a debt, the annuity of the church property, which was secularized in 1790. This claim seems

not to be founded in fact. The Concordat, which governs the re-establishment of the union between church and state, allows of nothing like this; the pope leaves it wholly to the generosity of the first consul, Napoleon Bonaparte, to provide for the appointment of the priests. The republican doctrine since 1789, together with the Gallican tradition, maintains that the estates of the clergy before 1790 belonged to one of the three orders of the nation, and that they were to return to the nation itself when the orders of the nation were suppressed. As the state still considered religious worship as a public service, it had to provide for it. But there will no longer be any duty of this kind for the state, when the religious worship ceases to be considered as a public service and becomes an object of private care. It is easy to understand how bitter will be the quarrel about these questions, as they will be raised in nearly every parish.

To whom belong the churches themselves, the buildings devoted to public worship? According to the traditional Gallican principles, they are public buildings devoted by the state to a public service, and thus belonging to the state. But since the Concordat a great many churches have been built by the subsidies of the local congregations for the use of public worship. Do they also belong to the state? Till now this has been the official doctrine. When the state, the department, the city, or the village has paid but one little subsidy, it is considered the legal owner, but for a definite use. Such are the principles; but there are no elaborated laws on the matter, because the question did not practically arise as long as religious service was a public charge. The state could be considered as legal owner, because the service of the church was an office of the state.

The bill which has been voted by the Chamber of Deputies is inspired by a liberal spirit. The church buildings are considered as the property of the state or the commune, but they are left for use without any rent, to the congregations which will be formed after the separation. But the bishop's palaces and the vicarages will be left gratuitously to their occupants only for a few years; afterward the state or the commune may make use of them as it likes.

The bill establishes rules for the forming of associations of private worship (*associations cultuelles*). They ought to be formed according to the general principles of organization of the denomination to

which they belong; i. e., the Catholic associations will have to be established with the consent of the bishop of the diocese; who is himself obliged to follow the instructions of the pope. But what will happen if the majority of a parish association, in agreement with its priest, decides to go its own way and refuses obedience to the bishop?

There will be over the whole country, even in the smallest parishes, quarrels of all kinds about the enforcement of the law; for it is not possible to change totally an organization as old as France itself without causing great trouble. Will not a great many voters conclude that things were better before?

The essential claim of the French people is, that the priests must not interfere in politics and must confine themselves to their holy service. Now, after the separation, the priesthood, being released from any bond toward the state, and governed by bishops depending on the pope only, will be more clerical than ever and take part, still more than before, in electioneering intrigues and political struggles. The partisans of the separation think that the priests, being bereft of the influence which procures them their official appointment, will have much less authority. That is the question. The priesthood owes its power to the fact that the mass of the people cannot do without its services. After the separation the priests will be paid chiefly by rich people, that is, by the enemies of democratic reforms. Instead of diminishing the conflict between clericalism and anticlericalism, the separation of church and state will probably make it fiercer and more general. Will the influence of the public schools be strong enough to secure liberal democracy against renewed assaults? Thoughtful men cannot be otherwise than anxious about this problem; they judge that it would have been wiser to put off such a reform to later times, and to be content for the moment with diminishing the power of the monastic congregations.

Also for the Protestants<sup>\*</sup> the separation will be a source of trouble. Many little congregations will, at least for a time, be unable to provide for their maintenance. But though it will occasion much individual suffering among the ministers, the majority of the Protes-

<sup>\*</sup> There are about 650,000 Protestants in France, against 37,500,000 Catholics. But their influence is much greater than that of the Catholics in proportion to their number.

tants do not fear the separation. What they fear is that the state, being obliged to shield itself against a power so enormous as that of the centralized Roman church, may have recourse to oppressive measures, which would be applied also to the Protestants, as it does not seem possible to confer on them any special privilege. They know also, how sudden and how passionate are the changes of universal suffrage in this country, and they are afraid that, if a clerical reaction occurs, they may be its first victims. So they are obliged to make common cause with anticlericalism, even when the anticlericals assume an antireligious spirit which is repugnant to them, because the greatest danger for them is the clerical power, which suppresses Protestantism wherever it has the ability to do so.

Protestants, however, hope that the separation, by emphasizing and making manifest the clerical type of the French Catholic church, will induce a greater number of their liberal countrymen to come over to Protestant congregations. And it may be so, if the Protestants themselves become more free from a dogmatic faith, leave off quarreling about theological symbols, and devote themselves boldly to moral and social teaching and to living according to the gospel. The French people do not like sectarian organizations. If the national Reformed Presbyterian church divides itself into a lot of little congregations, it will lose all influence in France. The Protestants ought to understand that those men who are free-minded enough to leave the church of their forefathers, and also religious enough to feel a repugnance to simple free thought, do not throw off the clerical yoke to bear the dogmatic one of a little congregation.

Some persons hope that after the separation a liberal Catholic church, separated from Rome, will arise. Among the priesthood there are perhaps some distinguished men who would not dislike such a reform. But it is very doubtful whether they would find many followers among the people. They would be a staff without soldiers. The Catholics who are free-minded enough to leave their church will not stay in a liberal Catholic church. They will go straight on to free thought.

From all these considerations it appears that the weak part of anticlericalism in France is its religious insufficiency; it degenerates too easily into opposition to any religion. And even this is a result



of clerical education, which teaches constantly that there is no real religion but in Roman Catholicism. When the pupils of such an education give up their Catholic faith, they do not doubt that they have no longer any religion at all. But history teaches us that the only way to destroy a religion is to substitute another one. So we may observe that the mightiest agent of the present anticlericalism in France is the socialistic one, professing a humanitarian ideal which is much like a religion of humanity, that is, a religion practicing the second part of the golden rule, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," but rejecting the first, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart."

dogmatics. But there are a good many unfortunates, in these days of transition, who are unable to feel entirely secure in this hiding-place. If it is permissible to speculate in the interest of dogmatics, it is permissible to speculate also in the interest of historical criticism. The prophecy before us, in which the data are at once so interesting in their suggestiveness and yet so scanty, tempts to such speculation.

Isa. 22:15-25 falls, for purposes of discussion, into three sections: vss. 15-18, vss. 19-23, and vss. 24, 25.

I. There is a consensus of opinion as to the general meaning of the first of these sections. Isaiah is instructed to go to a certain high official and rebuke him for hewing out his tomb among the tombs of the Jewish nobility. This officer has no family claim or any other claim ("What hast thou here? or, *Whom* hast thou here") which would entitle him to such a privilege. Instead, therefore, of being permitted to be buried in this choice locality, the threat of banishment and death in a distant land is pronounced against this presuming official. Several things are to be noted in regard to this passage. The official addressed is in all probability a parvenu who had arrogated to himself rights belonging to the Jewish aristocracy. He may even have been a foreigner.<sup>3</sup> The form of his name would possibly imply this. The circumstances attending this prophecy are assumed to be well known, for they are not explained. (a) For example, בֵּית would naturally, though not necessarily, imply that the official was within some house or inclosure, possibly the burying-ground. (b) יְהוֹדָה would also suggest that the personality of the official was well known. (c) The immediate occasion of the rebuke in vss. 16 and 17 can only be inferred from the casual allusions in vss. 15 and 16. There is no word of explanation given. (d) Even the title of the official, סֵבִי, seems to be a general title, and does not allow us to determine what particular office he filled. Thus this part of the prophecy, vss. 15-18, while undoubtedly quite intelligible to a contemporary of Isaiah, is a riddle whose meaning *must be guessed at*. Time, place, occasion, personality, and position of the official addressed, all are left to inference. Fortunately, the riddle is in this case fairly easy to read, especially as someone has kindly furnished a key.

<sup>3</sup> Already suggested by Calvin, and held by most commentators.

Vs. 15*b* is rightly taken as a later explanatory addition, very possibly the misplaced title of the prophecy, explaining who "this official" was.<sup>4</sup> That it is not an original part of the prophecy seems tolerably clear (*a*) from the fact that, as we have just seen, the prophecy does not explain anything about the historical occasion which gave rise to it. The רָאָה is quite in keeping with the generally allusive character of the prophecy.<sup>5</sup> It assumes that the personality of the סֵיִן is known. Hence the definition of the סֵיִן immediately following is unexpected. (*b*) The change of אֵל to עַל also makes in favor of the secondary character of vs. 15*b*. It thus has every appearance of being added on to explain who the סֵיִן was, and what was his office. He was major-domo. The prophet himself may reasonably be supposed to have known these facts already.

We are still in the dark, however, as to the real cause of Isaiah's indignation. It seems scarcely probable that the prophet would make such a bitter attack upon Shebna solely on the ground of certain personal traits of character. The language of the threat implies intense excitement, and can be adequately accounted for only on the supposition that something lies back of this scene which is not visible on its surface. This view is corroborated by vs. 18*b*. In the prophet's opinion, Shebna had brought shame upon the house of his master, presumably the king. We may easily suppose that Shebna had gained a position of great influence in Jerusalem, and was using this influence to further designs which the prophet did not approve. These designs may have been adopted with the intention of advancing his own selfish interests, but they also involved the king. Shebna exerted a bad influence in the community. But along what lines, political or religious, we *can only guess*.<sup>6</sup>

II. There is agreement, again, as to the general meaning of vss. 19-23. *In their present connection* they can be naturally interpreted only of a promise that Eliakim would supplant Shebna in the office of major domo. In vs. 19 Shebna is to be pulled down from his

<sup>4</sup> So Cheyne, Duhm, and Marti.

<sup>5</sup> Of course, it might be held that רָאָה was spoken only in contempt (Calvin, Delitzsch, Dillmann); but this view is opposed by the allusive character of the passage as a whole.

<sup>6</sup> It is usually supposed that Shebna was a member of the pro-Egyptian party (Delitzsch, Dillmann).

office, and in vss. 20-23 Eliakim is to be installed in it. The key of the house of David would also naturally suggest the office of the major-domo which Eliakim is to occupy. Yet, in spite of this apparently close connection in subject between vss. 15-18 and vss. 19-23, there is a distinct break between these sections. In vss. 15-18 the prophet speaks of Jehovah in the third person ("Behold! Jehovah is casting thee out," etc.). In vss. 20-23 the first person is used ("I will call *my* servant," etc.). In coming to vss. 20-23 from vss. 15-18, we would naturally suppose Isaiah to be the speaker in the former verses. Yet this is not the case. Eliakim could scarcely be spoken of as Isaiah's servant. Undoubtedly, God is intended to be regarded as the speaker in vss. 20-23. But there is nothing to explain this sudden change of persons. We would at least expect, "*and Jehovah said, In that day will I call.*" If we turn to vs. 19, we find no explanation there of this change, but instead a new difficulty. While the first person, "I shall thrust thee," in vs. 19*a*, agrees with the first person in vss. 20-23, the third person, "he shall pull thee down," in vs. 19*b*, agrees with the third person in vss. 15-18. This change of persons in the same verse is most unnatural. The same person should be read with both verbs. But which verb should be conformed to the other? This will depend upon the connection of the verse. Is it to be taken with vss. 15-18, or with vss. 20-23? Vs. 19 is better taken with vss. 20-23, and for the following reason: Vss. 15-18 are complete in themselves. In these verses the worst is threatened—exile and death. This, of course, includes Shebna's deposition from office. Vs. 19 begins the subject anew. Shebna is to be deposed from his office, and Eliakim is to take it. Vs. 19 is thus the basis of vss. 20-23 rather than the conclusion of vss. 15-18. Vs. 19 extracts the implication of vss. 15-18 in order to explain vss. 20-23. In other words, vs. 19 is *the connecting link* between vss. 15-18 and vss. 20-23, but its logical connection is with the latter verses. This being the case, the last verb should be emended to the first person. This emendation may be the more confidently adopted because of the frequency of the confusion between *th* and *I*.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly, the abrupt change of person must be regarded as beginning

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dillmann, Duhm, and Marti.

<sup>8</sup> So Duhm and Marti.

at vs. 19 rather than at vs. 20, and a distinct break is thus seen to exist between vss. 15-18 and vss. 19-23. The possible significance of this will be considered later.

III. In the exegesis of vss. 24 and 25 we meet with our first serious divergence among the commentators. In vs. 23 the prophet promises that Eliakim would be fastened as a nail in a sure place. In vs. 25 it is stated that the nail in the sure place will give way and be cut down, together with all that hangs on it. Here is a flat contradiction—a contradiction that would utterly defeat the intended effect of the preceding prophecy. If, in the same breath in which Shebna was told that Eliakim was to occupy his office, it was also stated that Eliakim would likewise be disgracefully deposed, the sting of the threat against Shebna would be largely drawn. Hence the embarrassment of the commentators. Delitzsch, feeling the incongruity of vss. 24 and 25 in a prophecy directed against Shebna, suggests that Isaiah "wrote down at one time what had been revealed to him on *two different occasions*, and what had afterward come to pass." Bredenkamp and G. A. Smith also regard vss. 24 and 25 as a later addition by Isaiah himself. This would avoid the difficulty of supposing vss. 24 and 25 to be spoken to Shebna. But these verses are equally inconsistent with the attitude of the prophet toward Eliakim in vss. 19-23. What is the cause of this sudden change of attitude? Why should the prophet in one moment make the most generous and unconditional promises to Eliakim—promises of which he himself evidently heartily approves—and in the next moment predict Eliakim's disgraceful downfall? Surely we have the right to expect of a writer who wishes to be understood some word of explanation for so remarkable a transition. Bredenkamp infers from vs. 24 that Eliakim's administration had gradually become corrupted with nepotism, and that Isaiah prophesies Eliakim's ruin in consequence. This view, of course, hangs with the theory that vss. 24 and 25 were a later addition to vss. 19-23, written after the evil tendencies of Eliakim's administration had begun to manifest themselves. But would these changed conditions, supposed to be implied in vss. 24 and 25, be left to inference, while the verses are attached to what precedes, as if part of a prophecy to Eliakim, spoken at an earlier date? Orelli and G. A. Smith interpret vss. 24 and 25 conditionally,

as a warning to Eliakim: "Great honor is to be yours, Eliakim, but if you indulge in the nepotism of Shebna, you, too, will fall"(!). But it is noticeable that neither critic ventures to translate vss. 24 and 25 as a conditional sentence. Their paraphrases and their translations significantly differ in this respect.<sup>9</sup> It is grammatically most unnatural, if not quite impossible, to treat vss. 24 and 25 as a conditional sentence. Such a warning, furthermore, would be quite out of place after vs. 23<sup>b</sup>, in which Eliakim is told by the prophet himself that he will bring honor to his father's house.

The favorite method of harmonizing vss. 24 and 25 with the context has been to suppose that at vs. 25 the subject returns to Shebna.<sup>10</sup> Shebna is the nail in the sure place that is to give way. To my mind, this solution of the difficulty is absolutely impossible. On any sound principle of exegesis, the nail in vs. 25 must refer to the same person as the nail in vs. 23. It is simply astonishing to read in Kamphausen that

the reference of vs. 25 to Eliakim is only *apparently* applicable, if we go back *mechanically* to vs. 22. Here, at any rate, Eliakim is denoted נִיֵּלְקִים or nail, so that from a *superficial* . . . consideration one may believe himself justified in viewing נִיֵּלְקִים in vs. 25 as so referring back to vs. 23 that the announcement of Eliakim's fall is thereby intended. But an *unprejudiced* exegesis which has its glance directed to the whole of the section can only agree with Rosenmüller in accepting the view of Rashi and Kimchi . . . which regards vs. 25 as announcing the fall of Shebna, who was at that time still in the possession of the highest office under the king.<sup>11</sup>

"Apparently"(!), "mechanically"(!), "superficial"(!), "unprejudiced"(!). The reader may be safely left to decide for himself as to the "unprejudiced" character of the first three words. Is it

<sup>9</sup> Smith translates, for example: "They shall hang upon him all the weight of his father's house, the scions and the offspring (terms contrasted as degrees of worth) all the little vessels, from vessels of cups to all the vessels of flagons. In that day, saith Jehovah of Hosts, shall the peg give way." The paraphrase reads: "Catching at the figure with which his designation of Eliakim closed, that Eliakim would be a peg in a solid wall, a throne on which the glory of his father's house might settle, Isaiah reminds the much-encumbered statesman that the firmest peg would give way if you hang too much on it; the strongest man may be pulled down by his dependent and indolent family."

<sup>10</sup> So Calvin, Alexander, Dillmann, Kamphausen.

<sup>11</sup> Kamphausen, p. 55.

really "mechanical" to go back to vs. 23 from 25? It may be so, if by "mechanical" we mean *automatic*. Why Kamphausen urges attention to "the whole of the section" is clear from what he says farther on: ". . . vs. 25, regarded as a threat against Eliakim, would be entirely motiveless, and can therefore be understood only of Shebna;"<sup>12</sup> which, being interpreted, means that vs. 25 *can only be brought into harmony with its context by an impossible exegesis*. Now, the fact is that all those who refer vs. 25 to Shebna feel the necessity of interpolating some qualifying word or phrase which would distinguish the nail in vs. 25 from the nail in vs. 23. Calvin refers to the nail that was fastened in a sure place "by way of concession;" i. e., in men's eyes it seemed to be fastened in a sure place. Dillmann inserts the word "hitherto" (*bisher*)—"the nail that was *hitherto* inserted in a sure place." Kamphausen inserts the word "*now*." One wonders why Isaiah himself, who was such a master of literary form, did not insert some such word to avoid being misunderstood. Is it really because he supposed these *subaudita* were axiomatic? This can hardly be maintained. Since the evident intention is to identify the nail in vs. 25 with the nail in vs. 23, only one conclusion is permissible. Exegesis is helpless to account for the contradiction. Resort must be made to criticism. The same person could not have written vss. 20-23 and vs. 25.

This conclusion is confirmed when we consider vs. 24. May I be pardoned for citing the notes which I made upon vs. 24 before any authorities upon the passage had been consulted?

Vs. 24a. The glory of his future line will date from Eliakim. Can vs. a refer to the fact that a new dynasty will date from Eliakim? Vs. 24b. There is no parallel to this in the LXX. The figure of the nail underlies it, and upon this nail *kitchen* utensils are to be hung. But this certainly cannot be thought of as adding dignity to the figure of the nail, but rather as turning the figure into contempt. This would seem to agree with vs. 25. The nail fastened in a sure place will be broken, and all that hung upon it [the kitchen utensils?] will be cut off.

Since this note was written I have found that I have been anticipated in this view of the passage by many writers since the days of Hitzig. Duhm uses the very word "kitchen" which had occurred to me in this connection. Is not this view of vs. 24 the normal view? It will hardly do to urge in this connection the difference between oriental

<sup>12</sup> Kamphausen, p. 71.

and occidental taste, and to maintain that vs. 24 would make a different impression upon an oriental from that which it would make upon an occidental. The oriental writers, especially a writer of such imaginative power as Isaiah, may be credited with the ability to distinguish between worthy and ignoble figures, and would scarcely use basins and jugs hanging on a nail as symbols of the dignity accruing to the family of Eliakim from Eliakim's position.<sup>13</sup> Vs. 24*b* may therefore be unhesitatingly regarded as expressing contempt. I was wrong, however, in thinking that vs. 24*a* still agreed with vss. 20-23. It is much better, with Duhm and Marti, following Hitzig, to regard vs. 24*a* as also expressing contempt. It is not impossible that the כְּבוֹד in vs. 24 is, as these writers suggest, an intentional play on the כְּבוֹד of vs. 23. The "glory" is a "burden."

The choice of words in vs. 24*a* also agrees very well with the ironical interpretation of the verse proposed. צַפְסֻת is a word found only here, but in connection with צִנְצֻנִים may best be translated "suckers," and with the same shade of contempt implied in it as in the English word. Is it, further, only a chance coincidence that צַפְסֻת is almost exactly like צִפְסֻת ("dung"), and that צִנְצֻנִים reminds of צִנְדָּה (Isa. 28:8); or have we here an *intentional* play on words, as in the well-known case of Baalzebul for Baalzebub?<sup>14</sup> In any case, we may feel assured that in vss. 24 and 25 we have an expression of the greatest contempt for Eliakim and his family—an expression which can be attributed only to an opponent of Eliakim, and hence to a different person from the writer of vss. 19-23. Who was this enemy of Eliakim? What called out such bitter hostility *Again we can only guess*. It would seem, from the relationship of our three sections to one another, as if Shebna and Eliakim were rivals. Prophecy evidently favors Eliakim and opposes Shebna. These two men may

<sup>13</sup> I would really rather trust the taste of Isaiah than the taste of some of his occidental commentators. When Delitzsch and Kamphausen, for example, seek to harmonize the somewhat incompatible figures of the tent-pin and the throne in vs. 23 by suggesting that Eliakim's family can sit on the tent-pin as on a throne, one wonders what the oriental Isaiah would have said to that.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. also Kittel's remarks on the name Jezebel (*Königs-Bücher*, p. 135), and the evidences of the contempt in which Jeroboam was held by later generations, as seen in the names applied to his mother, e. g., "leprous" (Zeruiah), 1 Kings 11:26, and זֶרְוָה (in the LXX addition to 1 Kings 12:24 ff.).



in such a restricted sense, and it is as inappropriate in Isa. 22:21, as the English word "dominion" would be, if it is really the office of major-domo into which Eliakim was to be installed. Again, Eliakim is to be "a father to Jerusalem and to the house of Judah." This would suggest the paternal care of a king for his subjects, rather than the authority of a major-domo. The word אַבְנֵטָה is also a curious word to use in this connection. Elsewhere it is found only in the Priests' Code, and is used of the girdle of the priests. Such a term is more applicable to the office of a king, who seems at times to have exercised priestly functions, than to the office of major-domo. The key of the house of David might, indeed, suggest the latter office, but it is equally compatible with the royal office, and vs. 22b forcibly suggests that the power symbolized by the keys was the *supreme* power. The master of Shebna was not lost sight of (vs. 18b), but where is there room after vss. 20-23 for one higher than Eliakim? It is true that the office of major-domo was probably the highest office in the state next to that of the king. It was sometimes administered by the heir to the throne himself.<sup>17</sup> We are also reminded that Joseph in Egypt was called father to Pharaoh, and lord of all his house, and ruler (רֹאשׁ) over all the land of Egypt, though he was not king.<sup>18</sup> But, in spite of these scattered analogies, I cannot escape the impression that the combined force of the characterizations in vss. 20-23 suggests one who is to be absolutely supreme in the state. If this is true, Eliakim is not promised the office of Shebna, but the office of the king himself. It follows that the suffixes of the second person in vss. 20-23 would refer, not to Shebna, but to the reigning king. In that case the breach already constituted between vss. 15-18 and vss. 20-23 is seriously widened. In fact, all connection between the two sections is lost.

But what then of vs. 19? This verse undoubtedly is intended to suggest that Eliakim is to succeed to the office vacated by Shebna. We have seen that it is the link which connects vss. 15-18 and vss. 20-23 together. We will therefore be obliged either to abandon the interpretation of vss. 20-23 just proposed, in view of the unquestionable meaning of vs. 19, or to hold that vs. 19 is a gloss written by

<sup>17</sup> 2 Kings 15:5.

<sup>18</sup> Gen. 45:8; cf. 1 Macc. 11:32.

one who *misunderstood* vss. 20-23 and incorrectly saw in these verses the complement to vss. 15-18. If the data already reviewed were all the data available, it would no doubt be the part of prudence to acquiesce in the former alternative; but before this is done there is one important item yet to be considered.

IV. We must examine the relationship of Isa. 22:15-25 to Isa., chaps. 36 and 37. In chaps. 36 and 37 we again meet with Shebna and Eliakim. It is the crisis of Sennacherib's campaign. A fearful danger is threatening Jerusalem. The officers of the Assyrian king, headed by the arrogant Rabshak, are before the walls of the city demanding surrender. Hezekiah sends a committee to negotiate with the Rabshak (36:3). This committee is composed of Eliakim, son of Hilkiah, the major-domo, Shebna, the scribe, and Joah, son of Asaph, the recorder. Later, when the full import of the Assyrian demands is made known, the king in despair sends the two men first mentioned to Isaiah (37:2). Here the positions of Shebna and Eliakim seem to be the reverse of what they were in Isa. 22. According to the title in 22:15b, Shebna was the major-domo, and, according to the usual interpretation of vss. 19-23, Eliakim is promised his place. In chap. 36 Eliakim is the major-domo. What more natural combination than to see in the position of Eliakim in 36:3 the fulfilment of the prophecy in Isa. 22! Eliakim now occupies the office of major-domo formerly occupied by Shebna.<sup>19</sup> Thus Isa., chap. 36, is supposed to follow in point of time chap. 22. But on nearer inspection this apparently obvious combination is attended with considerable difficulty. According to chap. 36, Shebna is still in power. He does not fill the office of major-domo, it is true, but the office of scribe was also one of great importance. Not only does Shebna occupy an office of great dignity, but he is also appointed with Eliakim, who is supposed to have supplanted him, on a mission of the greatest responsibility, viz., to treat with the Assyrians. Above all, he is later actually asked to intercede with Isaiah in behalf of the king. How is this possible? Here is a person against whom Isaiah had pronounced the most terrible curse of banishment and death, still holding a position of great power and influence, and appointed by Hezekiah to intercede with the prophet who had opposed him.

<sup>19</sup> The usual view.

Hezekiah wished to gain the support of Isaiah. Would he have sent one who was evidently *persona non grata* to the prophet?<sup>20</sup>

Thus, while at first sight Isa., chaps. 36 and 37 seem to correspond very nicely with 22:19, 20-23, these chapters are incompatible with 22:15-18, if, as is usually held, they chronologically follow 22:15-18. This difficulty has been felt by all commentators and apologists. Two methods have been adopted to avoid it: (a) Vitringa, followed by Bredekamp, supposes that there were two Shebnas. But this method of harmonization may safely be ignored. The name Shebna meets us nowhere else in the Bible except in these two scenes, both in the lifetime of Isaiah. The presumption is overwhelmingly in favor of the identity of person. This presumption is confirmed by a curious and significant coincidence between chaps. 36 and 22. We have seen reason to conclude from the data in chap. 22 that Shebna was a parvenu, and possibly a foreigner, a man of low origin, without pedigree. In beautiful accord with this is the fact that in chap. 36, while the names of the fathers of Eliakim and Joah are given, the name of Shebna's father is omitted. This coincidence can hardly be due to chance. (b) The favorite method of harmonists is to see in chap. 36 a hint of the beginning of Shebna's degradation. He is supposed to have been *degraded* from the office of major-domo to that of scribe, the complete fulfilment of the prophecy in the banishment and death of Shebna *conjecturally* taking place at a later date.<sup>21</sup> But, after what has been said as to the dignified and responsible position of Shebna, and especially as to his relationship to Isaiah in chaps. 36 and 37, this method seems highly precarious.

If, on the other hand, we compare the positions of Shebna and Eliakim in Isa., chaps. 36 and 37, with the implications of 22:15-18, *instead of with vss. 19, 20-23*, an entirely different combination is at once suggested. The position of Shebna in chaps. 36 and 37, as compared with his position in 22:15-18, does not suggest a waning influence, "the beginning of his degradation," but rather the beginning of his ascendancy in the national life. He is not to be thought of as stepping down from the position of major-domo to the position

<sup>20</sup> Strongly urged by Vitringa, cited in Kamphausen, p. 52.

<sup>21</sup> So Alexander, Delitzsch, Dillmann. Cf. also Cheyne: "(Shebna) simply fell from one office to another."

of scribe, but rather as climbing up from the position of scribe to the highest office in the land. How natural on this view is the indignation of Isaiah in 22:15-18! Shebna, the upstart and foreigner, has supplanted Eliakim, a native Jew, very possibly of noble birth, and presumably a man favored by the prophetic party (cf. 22:20-23), and is now occupying the highest and most influential office in the gift of the nation. How natural is Isa. 22:15-18 if placed *after* chaps. 36 and 37! How unnatural are chaps. 36 and 37 if placed *after* 22:15-18.<sup>22</sup> Thus the relationship of chaps. 36 and 37 to 22:15-18, on the one hand, and to 22:19, 20-23, on the other, would seem to be very different. Chaps. 36 and 37 are most naturally interpreted as preceding 22:15-18, but as following 22:19, 20-23. This is suspicious.

The course of the argument thus far has led to the following tentative results: (1) The passage, Isa. 22:15-25, is not homogeneous. Vss. 24 and 25 at least are absolutely inconsistent with vss. 15-18 and 19:20-23. (2) Not only are vss. 24 and 25 critically doubtful but the original connection of vss. 20-23 with vss. 15-18 has also fallen under suspicion. There is a distinct break between these two sections, indicated by the change of person. The contents of vss. 20-23, when considered by themselves, suggest that Eliakim is promised a royal office rather than Shebna's office of major-domo. But if this is so, then vs. 19, which is the connecting link between vss. 15-18 and vss. 20-23, must be regarded as a gloss due to a misapprehension of the real meaning of vss. 20-23. Can so important a conclusion be corroborated by any independent lines of argument? (3) At this point the relationship of chap. 22 to chaps. 36 and 37 was considered, and a singular fact was discovered. Chaps. 36 and 37 appeared to be related to the two sections, 22:15-18 and 22:19, 20-23, in different ways. On the one hand, if compared with 22:19, 20-23 by themselves, chaps. 36 and 37 are naturally interpreted as the fulfilment of these verses, thus following them in point of time. On this view, chaps. 36 and 37 would come into direct collision with 22:15-18. On the other hand, if chaps. 36 and 37 are compared

<sup>22</sup> This combination was long ago proposed by Calvin. It is strange that subsequent writers have not considered it more worthy of attention than they seem to have done.

with 22:15-18 by themselves, the relationship between the two passages can be most satisfactorily explained on the supposition that chaps. 36 and 37 precede 22:15-18 in point of time. But on this view the section 22:19, 20-23 loses all intelligible connection with chaps. 36 and 37. For if Eliakim was major-domo in chaps. 36 and 37, and was afterward supplanted by Shebna in 22:15-18, how is it that he is promised Shebna's office in 22:19, 20-23? Of course, it might be conjectured that 22:19-23 is a promise of *restoration* to an office formerly occupied by Eliakim,<sup>23</sup> but there is no hint in these verses that Eliakim had ever previously occupied this office. Thus, if we examine 22:15-18 and 19, 20-23 in the light of chaps. 36 and 37, what may be called the spectrum analysis of these two sections is seen to be very different. The suspicion raised as to their original unity is greatly increased, and consequently the suspicion that vs. 19, which connects these two incompatibles, is a gloss, receives strong corroboration.

But if vss. 15-18 and vss. 20-23 originally had nothing to do with each other, how did the glossator and author of vs. 19 come to make his mistake? Can the origin of this gloss be naturally explained? If it can, this will be a further confirmation of the correctness of the critical process which has been followed. The author of vs. 19 may be easily supposed to have made the following combination: He knew of Eliakim's position as major-domo from chaps. 36 and 37. He knew of Shebna's position from the title in 22:15*b*. He misunderstood the reference to the key of David's house in 22:22, supposing it to symbolize the office of major-domo. He then conjectured that chaps. 36 and 37 followed chap. 22, and therefore inferred that 22:20-23 was the complement of vss. 15-18, in which Eliakim was promised Shebna's office; and in this he has been followed by most of the critics who came after him. This process of reasoning, assumed for the author of vs. 19, involves two things: (*a*) that the title in vs. 15*b* is genuine, or at least thought to be genuine by the compiler of these prophecies, the author of vs. 19; and (*b*) that the author of vs. 19 is *not* the author of vss. 20-23. The author of vs. 19 makes his combination on the basis of the *extant data* furnished by the title, vs. 15*b*, the prophecy, vss. 20-23 and chaps. 36 and 37.

<sup>23</sup> This conjecture is actually made by Calvin.

later writers, it is one of those general terms which are too characterless to furnish sure chronological data. The latter term rather makes in favor of a pre-exilic origin. In the Priests' Code it is regularly used of the priestly girdle. In Isa. 22:21 it is a part of the insignia of a secular office. If vss. 20-23 really refer to the royal office, the **אֲבִיבִי** would suggest a priestly function connected with it, which is decidedly a pre-exilic conception. But this late date of vss. 19-23 and 24-25, so lamely supported on linguistic grounds, is very unsatisfactory on historical grounds. Why should post-exilic writers be such loyal supporters or bitter opponents of a man who lived two hundred years before? Are we dealing here with Macaulays or Froudes, who fight over again the battles of their heroes with all the ardor of contemporaries? Marti, indeed, seeks to restrict the hostility to the family of Eliakim rather than to Eliakim himself, later opponents of the family seeking to discredit its ancestor. But this will not explain the enthusiasm for Eliakim manifested in vss. 20-23. Or can this, too, be interpreted of the pride of a descendant of Eliakim living two centuries later? This is certainly unnatural. Surely, the intense feeling of loyalty on the one hand, and hostility on the other, to the person of Eliakim, expressed in vss. 20-23 and 24-25, are most satisfactorily explained on the supposition that these passages are due, not to any antiquarian interest in this man, or to jealousy for the honor of a remote ancestor, but to an immediate personal interest in the living issues which gathered about him. Marti seems to feel this when he says that

the ridicule and jealousy which the writer [of vss. 24, 25] expends, shows how willingly he makes this addition, and that he was no friend to Eliakim's family. . . . It is not outside the range of possibility that this addition is a hint at the death of the godless high-priest Alkimus (*ὁ καὶ Ἰάκκιμος κληθεὶς*, Josephus, *Antiq.*, XII, 9, 7—**אֶלְיָקִים**) in 160 B. C., and the deposition of his family from the high priestly dignity.

Here is found, indeed, a burning political crisis which would excite party passions, and would in a measure account for the temper of vss. 20-25. But why is this Maccabean Alkimus brought into such close connection with the Shebna of Isaiah's day? The combination is altogether unnatural. If the critical analysis and interpretation suggested above be adopted, according to which vs. 19 is a gloss

incorrectly uniting a prophecy of threats against Shebna with a promise to Eliakim of the throne, may not a situation in Isaiah's own day be discovered which would meet every condition of our problem and throw an interesting light on an obscure chapter in Isaiah's career, without our being compelled to resort to Maccabean political conditions?

The authenticity of vss. 15-18 may be accepted without discussion. The style marks the master's hand, and there is nothing in the passage to raise suspicion against it. But what is the date of this scene? We have found that in all probability it followed the events described in Isa., chaps. 36 and 37, at the time of the invasion of Sennacherib, i. e., late in Isaiah's lifetime. But if the Shebna prophecy is once placed subsequent to the campaign of Sennacherib, its approximate date can be fixed with considerable accuracy.

It is to the period immediately subsequent to the failure of Sennacherib to take Jerusalem that the reforms of Hezekiah described in 2 Kings 18:4 ff. are most probably to be referred.<sup>26</sup> The prestige gained by Isaiah, the great preacher of reform, through the signal fulfilment of his prophecies in the overthrow of the Assyrians and the deliverance of the Jewish capital, seems to have afforded the reform party which existed in Jerusalem just the opportunity they needed to come into power. This power they evidently managed to retain during the remainder of Hezekiah's reign;<sup>27</sup> for it is not until Manasseh's reign that we read of an anti-prophetic reaction.

Now, Eliakim was evidently favored by prophecy. He may well have been the secular or political leader of the reform party. Shebna, on the other hand, is as evidently obnoxious to prophecy, and there is every reason to suppose that he was the leader of the opposition. We have seen that the intensity of Isaiah's hostility to Shebna must have had a deeper cause than lay on the surface. But as the head

<sup>26</sup> R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, pp. 356 ff.; *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 352; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 25; Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 273; H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, p. 254.

<sup>27</sup> If the campaign of Sennacherib described in Isa., chaps. 36 and 37, and 2 Kings 18:17 ff. refers to a second campaign, subsequent to 701 and toward the close of Isaiah's reign, as I am strongly inclined to believe, then the ascendancy of the reform party must have been very brief.

of the opposition party there was no opportunity for Shebna to come to the front or oust Eliakim from office in these closing years of Hezekiah's reign. The reform party was in control, as we have just seen, during this period. *Accordingly, if the Shebna prophecy is once dated subsequent to the campaign of Sennacherib, there is no suitable place for it until we come down to the accession of Manasseh.* On the other hand, it must be placed very early in Manasseh's reign, in order to have it brought within the limits of Isaiah's lifetime. Isaiah could scarcely have survived the accession of Manasseh many years. He must already have reached an advanced age at the death of Hezekiah.<sup>28</sup> Thus the Shebna prophecy must be ascribed to the period of Manasseh's accession. But this date, to which we are thus logically driven, is intrinsically a most fitting date for the prophecy. Manasseh was a child when he came to the throne. On the other hand, Isaiah was an old man. We know that there was a powerful anti-prophetic party in Jerusalem. For a large part of his life Isaiah had been in a hopeless minority. The reforms of Hezekiah do not seem to have sprung from the people spontaneously. They were quite probably forced upon them from above. The masses themselves were wedded to the half-idolatrous nature-worship of Jehovah which characterized so much of the religion of the royal period. The stern morality and spiritual theology of the prophets were too high for them. They could not attain unto this standard. A violent reaction set in during Manasseh's reign. What is more natural than to suppose that the scheming Shebna took advantage of this state of affairs—the youth of Manasseh, the age of Isaiah, the lusts of the people—to put himself at the head of the reactionary movement, accomplish the downfall of Eliakim to whose office he succeeded, and practically seize the reigns of government during Manasseh's minority?

Such a situation would amply explain the burning indignation of Isaiah as expressed in our prophecy. It seemed to the aged prophet

<sup>28</sup> Isaiah received his inaugural vision in the death-year of Uzziah, *ca.* 740 B. C. Manasseh did not come to the throne much before 680 B. C. This would allow a prophetic career of about sixty years to Isaiah, and an age of upward of eighty years, if we assume that he was at least twenty years old at the time of his vision. This would be a long, though not unnaturally long, career. But it is evident that his career must not be prolonged unduly into Manasseh's reign.



to Eliakim, this prophecy aims at revolution. In the political situation of Manasseh's reign, is there anything to suggest so serious a political disturbance? Undoubtedly. 2 Kings 21:16 tells us that "Manasseh shed innocent blood till he had filled Jerusalem from end to end." Was this a mere wanton outbreak on the part of Manasseh, due simply to lust of blood? Scarcely. There was something back of all this. It is significant that the redactor of Kings, who was a strong sympathizer with the reform movements in Judah, refers to the blood shed by Manasseh as "*innocent*." Here, too, the conjecture is not at all hazardous that this innocent blood is the blood of the reform party which had attempted to overthrow Manasseh. It was innocent from the redactor's point of view. Reform movements did not stickle at such violent measures. Elisha anointed Jehu to do his bloody work upon the Baal-worshipping house of Ahab, and the redactor of Kings praises him for its successful performance.<sup>32</sup> The deuteronomic law, under the influence of which Kings was written, places idolators under the terrible "ban."<sup>33</sup> Thus moral scruples would scarcely stand in the way of a reforming revolution. In Amon's day there is express reference to a revolution, which is probably to be attributed to the reforming party.<sup>34</sup> Hence we may very easily infer from the massacres of Manasseh (or were they really instigated by Shebna?) that a conspiracy had been formed against him by the prophetic party, which proposed to place Eliakim on the throne. It may be objected that Eliakim was not of the line of David, and that in Judah the rights of David's line to the throne were undisputed by anyone. But, for all we know, Eliakim may have been of royal birth,<sup>35</sup> though of a subordinate line. The very fact that he occupied the highest office in the land, which the heir to the throne himself at times administered, and that the occupancy of the position by Shebna, the "nobody," stirred the indignation of Isaiah so profoundly, suggests that only those of noble birth were regularly eligible to this office.<sup>36</sup> The arguments drawn from vss.

<sup>32</sup> 2 Kings, chaps. 9 and 10, especially 10:30.

<sup>33</sup> Deut., chaps. 13 and 17.

<sup>34</sup> Kittel, *Geschichte der Hebräer*, Vol. II, p. 320.

<sup>35</sup> So Calvin, though his exegetical argument in support of this view is unsound.

<sup>36</sup> Can the "churl" (better "intriguer") of Isa. 32:5 ff. be a veiled reference to Shebna?

24 and 25 that Eliakim's family was ignoble are hardly fair, for these verses express the opinions of his opponents. Neither does vs. 23 necessitate such an inference. The promise is that Eliakim should bring glory to his family, but on our interpretation of vss. 20-23 this only expresses the hope that his presumably subordinate line would become the line of succession.

But now the interesting question arises: Did Isaiah promise the crown to Eliakim, and did he, therefore, urge him on to revolution, as Elisha urged Jehu? The possibility that Isaiah not only opposed Shebna, but espoused the cause of the former major-domo, and actually sought to place Eliakim on the throne, cannot be disputed if the proposed historical combinations are adopted. In that case Eliakim must unquestionably have been of the royal line, for Isaiah's hopes seem to have centered in that line, and it can scarcely be imagined that he planned to dethrone the Davidic dynasty. However, it is doubtful if he would have gone so far as even to attempt the deposition of the reigning king. The career of Isaiah, so far as we can understand it, does not lead us to think that he would resort to such violent measures. In the days of Ahaz, bad as that king was, Isaiah respected the king's position. His conduct is everywhere marked by the daring courage of the reformer, but not by the revolutionary spirit. The character of Isaiah makes it, therefore, questionable whether he was the author of vss. 20-23. The rather unfortunate confusion of the two figures of nail (or tent-pin) and throne in vs. 23<sup>37</sup> may also be urged against the authorship of the master-stylist of the Old Testament, though this argument by itself would have little weight in my mind. We know, however, that there were other prophets at work in Manasseh's day. The redactor of Kings seems to preserve a reminiscence of their activities.<sup>38</sup> It is quite possible that the prophetic party, encouraged by Isaiah's attitude toward Shebna, went a step farther than their great leader would have approved. Luther was unable to check his peasants when they once took the bit between their teeth. Isaiah attacked

<sup>37</sup> Cf. n. 13, *supra*.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. 2 Kings 21:10-16. The striking figure in vs. 13 suggests some original source. Cf. also Winckler's interesting views as to the date of Isa., chap. 21 (*Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, pp. 120-25).

Shebna. The prophetic party, under the leadership of Eliakim, attacks the king. The consequences were tragic in the extreme. Eliakim probably perished, and vss. 24 and 25 express the contemptuous exultation of the anti-prophetic party over the fall of "the man who would be king." Isaiah also probably fell an innocent victim to the fanaticism of his own party, and died in the massacre with which the ill-timed conspiracy was crushed. The book of Kings gives but one brief verse to this massacre; yet it seems to have left an indelible impression upon subsequent generations. It is to this terrible deed that the Babylonian exile is attributed both by Jeremiah and the redactor of Kings.<sup>39</sup> Is not the profound impression made by Manasseh's deeds, the horror with which they were remembered by later writers, best explained if Isaiah, the prince of the prophets, was one of the apostate king's victims?<sup>40</sup> The Jewish legend of the martyrdom of Isaiah under Manasseh, preserved in the Mishna and in the apochryphal book of the Martyrdom of Isaiah, and probably alluded to in Heb. 11:37, will thus have a basis in fact. Isaiah died a martyr.

<sup>39</sup> 2 Kings 23:26; 24:3, 4; Jer. 15:4.

<sup>40</sup> Winckler, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 275, brings this massacre into suggestive connection with the political upheavals at the time of the great revolt of Shamash-shum-ukin. If this combination is correct, Isaiah's death cannot be brought into connection with these events, since he could scarcely have lived to so late a period. The considerations advanced in this article, however, seem to me strongly to favor a date for these massacres early in Manasseh's reign. The prophetic party may, of course, have been again active at the time of the great revolt.

## THE SOJOURN OF THE APOSTLE JOHN AT EPHESUS

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Until about thirty years ago it was not doubted, except in restricted circles, that the apostle John had spent the closing years of his life at Ephesus. To be sure, Vogel, Reuterdahl, and Lützelberger had, some time before this, expressed their doubts, but had found no support even from the Tübingen school. Keim's objections were the first to make an impression upon others, such as Wittichen and Ströhlin; and, after H. J. Holtzmann and Scholten had declared themselves as agreeing with him fully, the traditional view more and more lost supporters. Hausrath, Schenkel, Weiffenbach, Loman, O. Holtzmann, Pfeleiderer, Erbes, Delff, Bousset, Harnack, Kreyenbühl, Réville, and Schwartz, renounced it; while, on the other hand, even such critics as Overbeck, Weizsäcker, Hilgenfeld, and Jülicher adhered to it.<sup>1</sup> And though this controversy has, up to the present, been carried on principally in Germany, England and America have, of late, been drawn into it. Schmiedel attacks the sojourn of John the apostle in Ephesus in the *Encyclopedia Biblica* (II, 2505 ff.), and likewise Professor Bacon, in the *Hibbert Journal* (1904, 323 ff.). But especially noteworthy are the contributions by Rev. W. P. Badham to this *Journal* (*American Journal of Theology*, 1899, pp. 729 ff. and 1903, pp. 539 ff.), the latter containing, to some extent, new material. It is altogether suitable, therefore, that the pages of this *Journal* should contain also a statement of that which can be said in favor of the tradition.

I begin with that which is most important, viz., the evidence in favor of a different fate of the apostle John from that which the traditional view assumes; then consider in the second place, the objections to the theory of maintaining a sojourn of John in Ephesus, and

<sup>1</sup> For literature up to 1892 see Holtzmann, *Einleitung*, 3d ed., p. 464; the other discussions, as far as they are necessary, will be cited below.

finally, examine the evidence in its favor. In treating the first-mentioned evidence, I begin with the later and proceed gradually to the earlier.

## I

Badham appeals first of all to the Syrian Martyrology, according to which the apostles John and Paul were put to death in Jerusalem. But this evidence is surely too late to deserve credence. Still more is this true of the other calendars, which name both apostles in the same day. Even the testimony of Aphraates, which lately Bousset has quoted (*Theologische Rundschau*, 1905, p. 295), dates only from the year 343-4.

Nor should the passage from Clemens Alexandrinus have been quoted:

ἡ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κυρίου κατὰ τὴν παρουσίαν διδασκαλία ἀπὸ Αἰγίουστου καί-  
σαρος ἀρξαμένη μεσοῦντων τῶν Τιβερίου χρόνων τελειοῦται, ἥδὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων  
αὐτοῦ μέχρι γε τῆς Παύλου λειτουργίας ἐπὶ Νέρωνος τελειοῦται κ.τ.λ. (*Sitom.*,  
VII, 17, 10).

For even if John could not have been at Ephesus, if he died in the time of Nero, such a presumption can hardly be attributed to Clement. The purpose of the very phrase *μέχρι τῆς Παύλου λειτουργίας* is possibly rather to indicate that, in this instance, it is a question of the teaching of the apostles in a restricted sense. But even if this were not the case, so summary a statement cannot possibly be given the preference over the other more detailed accounts according to which John lived in Ephesus even "after the death of the tyrant" (*Quis Dives Salv.*, 42 = Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, 23, 5 ff.).

The Canon Muratori has John write his gospel in response to a request from his fellow-disciples and prior to the Pauline letters. But this theory is manifestly so untenable that one can attach no value even to its fundamental hypothesis that it happened in Jerusalem. And even if this were to be accepted, for reasons which I shall presently consider, it would not necessarily follow that John did not come to Ephesus later.

Further, against the Ephesian residence of John, Badham quotes the third of the fragments of the Ebionitic gospel, which has been preserved for us by Epiphanius, *Haer.*, 30, 13, in which John and James are designated as the first to receive the call to discipleship,

assuming that this gospel originated in Palestine, or at least not in Asia Minor, and, concluding from this that, if John was especially important here, it is not possible that he could later have lived in Ephesus. But, in the first place, such a presupposition as to the place where the gospel originated has in no way been proved. Hilgenfeld (*Novum Testamentum extra Canonem Receptum*, IV, 1866, 35), concluded from the precedence of John rather the very opposite, namely, that the gospel had originated in Asia Minor. And, even if the presupposition in question were sure, the remark concerning John and James is most easily cleared up by the fact that in the gospel of John, 1:35 ff., as we shall also see later, John and Andrew are designated as the first disciples of Jesus, who also led their brothers to Jesus; but if the brothers were to be grouped together, John and James also might easily be placed at the head of the list without any special reason. That a peculiar importance is attached to the first named is not a necessary inference from this order; but if it were, how does this exclude the possibility that in the opinion of even the writer of this Ebionitic gospel he was at Ephesus later?

On the other hand, from the statement of Herakleon, preserved for us also in Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.*, IV, 9, 73, that Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi, and many others, did not belong to those who made their explicit confession and then departed this life as martyrs, one might, at the very most, conclude only that John died the martyr's death; but certainly not that John never reached Ephesus, the question with which we are primarily concerned. And even the former conclusion is not proved; for may he not be included among the many others? Did he *have* to be mentioned, when, as a matter of fact, Herakleon and his teacher Valentinus had no particular relations with Asia Minor, where later we shall find the apostle John is presumed to be? That no one will venture to claim.

Now, however, Papias is said to have testified directly, that John was put to death by the Jews, and therefore, doubtless not in Ephesus. This in the first place, is asserted in the Codex Coislinianus, 305 of the chronicle of Georgios Hamartolos, a manuscript belonging to the tenth or eleventh century, of a document a hundred or two hundred years older. For while all other manuscripts of it read (III, 134, Migne, 110, 521):

μετὰ δὲ τὸν Δομετιανὸν ἐβασίλευσε Νέρουας ἔτος ἓν, ὃς ἀνακαλεσάμενος Ἰωάννην ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἀπέλυσεν οἰκεῖν ἐν Ἑφέσῳ. μόνος τότε περιὼν τῷ βίῳ ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα μαθητῶν καὶ συγγραψάμενος τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀνεπαύσατο

and verify it by several patristic testimonies, the above-named codex contains instead of ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀνεπαύσατο the words: μαρτυρίου κατηξίωται and then continues:

Παπίας γὰρ ὁ Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος αὐτόπτης τοῦτου γενόμενος, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων φάσκει, ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθη, πληρώσας δηλαδὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν πρόρρησιν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὁμολογίαν περὶ τοῦτου καὶ συγκατάθεσιν. εἰπὼν γὰρ ὁ κύριος πρὸς αὐτοὺς· Δύνασθε πιεῖν τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω; καὶ κατανευσάντων προθύμως καὶ συνθεμένων· Τὸ ποτήριόν μου, φήσιν, πίεσθε καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήσεσθε. καὶ εἰκότως· ἀδύνατον γὰρ θεὸν ψεύσασθαι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ πολυμαθὴς Ὠριγένης ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἐρμηνείᾳ διαβεβαιούται, ὡς ὅτι μεμαρτύρηκεν Ἰωάννης ἐκ τῶν διαδόχων τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑποσημαϊνάμενος τοῦτο μεμαθηκέναι.

Since the same patristic testimonies follow as in the other manuscripts, there arises indeed a contradiction on which account many critics consider the Codex Coislinianus interpolated. But even then it remains a fact that if Georgios himself did not, someone else a little later did, assert what Papias tells with reference to John: ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθη. And if this statement unsupported might still appear to be of doubtful value, de Boor has discovered in a Codex Baroccianus some fragments of an epitome which date from between 600 and 800, and is probably based upon the church history of Philippus Sidetes (430) in which fragments there is a very similar reading:

Παππίας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει, ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθησαν.

To be sure, whether this statement has independent value when placed beside that of Georgios may be doubted: since earlier even in the Codex Baroccianus the work of Papias is given the unusual title *λόγια κυριακά* without *ἐξηγήσεις*, Georgios appears not to have drawn directly from it but rather to be dependent on the epitome, or as the case may be, Philippus Sidetes.<sup>2</sup> But even then we now know that

<sup>2</sup> The points adduced by Zahn, *Forschungen*, VI, 148, 1, against this view are of no importance.

an author who lived in the seventh or eighth, if not in the fifth, century had read of such things already in Papias; it is, therefore, to be assumed, until the contrary has been proved, that his writings actually contained such a statement.

To be sure, it cannot have been worded as formulated in the epitome, or, as the case may be, by Philippus Sidetes. For, even if as early as the beginning of the third century, as we are reminded by Schwartz,<sup>3</sup> we hear about psalms which τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ [τὸν Χριστὸν] ὑμνοῦσιν θεολογοῦντες (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 28, 5); ὁ θεολόγος as an epithet of John can scarcely be shown to exist before the end of the fourth century. I see, however, no reason why the passage concerning James should not have been found in as early an author as Papias; for whether Georgios was dependent directly upon him or upon the epitome or, as the case may be, Philippus Sidetes, he might in any case disregard the passage as unimportant to him. We thus assume, indeed, that Papias has related a similar thing about John, the son of Zebedee—and it is just this which seems entirely impossible to most people. As a rule, to be sure, they argue at the same time against the historicity of that statement. This, however, is not the question here under discussion; just at present we are asking only whether Papias could have said such a thing. But even that is disputed.

How can it be believed, says Harnack (*Chronologie*, I, 665 f.), that such information could be contained in a document which has been read by Irenæus, Eusebius, and many others? And Zahn, particularly adds to this: "Above all, how could Eusebius have left this weapon unused in his fight against the apostolic character of the apocalypht and the teacher of Papias, if Papias himself furnished him this weapon?" I am of the opinion, however, that if one admits at all that Eusebius (and even Irenæus) was able to classify this passage with the παράδοξα and μυθικώτερα which he found elsewhere in Papias (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, 39, 8, 11), it cannot be expected of him that he ought to have used it as an argument against the apostolic origin of the apocalypse. And still less can it be said that he need not, in that case, have given himself the trouble of proving

<sup>3</sup> "Ueber den Tod der Söhne Zebedæi," *Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Neue Folge, VII, 5, 7.



from the prooemium of Papias that the latter was no pupil of the apostle John, but might have referred to his own statement. For that could not at all be derived from it, no matter how it was worded.

By this, however, it is of course not yet proved that Papias actually wrote in this way; on the contrary, it would have to be disputed, if one could succeed in making it probable that in his case, in reality, something else was to be read. And this indeed has been tried in a variety of ways.

Luthardt (*Der Johanneische Ursprung*, 105) was of the opinion that Papias was speaking only of James, but that Georgios Hamartolos or the author of the Codex Coislinianus had, by mistake, taken the latter for John. This explanation has become impossible since the Codex Baroccianus was discovered, in which both John and James are spoken of; for that the mention of his name is an addition first made by the epitomist or Philippus Sidetes we perceived above to be impossible of proof. And even if we wished to assume it, we could hardly consider it possible that one of the authors just named could have quoted from Papias—if he said only what was already known; namely, that James was put to death by the Jews.

Lightfoot (*Essays on Supernatural Religion*, 211 f.) was rather of the opinion, therefore, that in the source of Georgios originally the following stood: Πάπιας . . . φάσκει, ὅτι Ἰωάννης μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως καταδικάσθη εἰς Πάτμον, Ἰάκωβος δὲ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῆρέθη, but that the words beginning with Ἰωάννης and ending with δὲ had through some circumstances or other been omitted. Harnack modified this hypothesis so that he conjectured that Georgios himself had written as quoted; these particular words, however, had been omitted from one copy of his work and were missing, therefore, in the Codex Coislinianus (in which Harnack thus finds a later recension of the text of the chronicle of Georgios). Still another, he believes, had rightly recognized the gap in the preceding from the fact that in the text, as he found it, the following was then said of John: πληρώσας δηλαδὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν πρόρρησιν κ.τ.λ.; but he filled this gap most disastrously by gratuitously adding the words: καὶ ὁ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ. Harnack himself adds: "In what way this addition has come down to the Codex Baroccianus cannot, indeed, be stated, and this opinion is

and in the older ecclesiastical literature, an explanation for this can be found in the fact that, in the context, he did not need to be named more fully. But if Papias spoke simply of John without distinctive epithet, in connection with James, which we have seen to be most probable, he really had the apostle in mind. Even if the name of James had been added first by Philippus Sidetes or by the epitomist, it would still be the less probable view that a passage, which these applied to the son of Zebedee, should really refer to John the Baptist. We are reminded by Zahn to be sure (*Einleitung*, 2nd ed., Vol. II, 468) that Polycarp, whom an older Armenian, Ananias Sharkuni, had called a pupil of the evangelist John, had been made a pupil of John the Baptist by an Armenian of the twelfth century, Vardan Vardapet, on the authority of the former. But surely of more importance than the statement of this Armenian is the testimony of Sidetes (in spite of the bad character given him by ancient as well as modern historians) and the epitomist, and, if these latter are independent of the former, Georgios Hamartolos or the writer of the Codex Coislinianus. If they, or at least one of them, understood the passage of Papias as referring to John the apostle, it is most likely that he meant it that way.<sup>5</sup>

And this now is decisive, at the same time, against the theory of Schlatter (*Die Kirche Jerusalems vom Jahre 70-130*, 50 f.) that by the John of Papias was originally to be understood the bishop of Jerusalem. No other writer, moreover, mentions that this John was murdered by the Jews. It is still the most natural thing, therefore, to apply the passage of Papias to John the apostle.

Likewise the attempt has been made, on the other hand, to interpret *ἰνὰ Ἰουδαίων ἀνιπέρθη* or *ἀνιπέρθησαν* as used in the sense of Papias in a different way from that followed apparently by those later on. Is that possible?

Godet (*Commentary on St. John*, Eng. transl., Vol. I, p. 64) is of the opinion that he had spoken of an injury to the apostle, for which the Jews were responsible and which had hastened the end of the aged apostle. But aside from the fact that we find nothing about such a fatal accident anywhere else and so the difficulty remains the

<sup>5</sup> Schwartz's polemic, on the other hand, is directed against an opinion not at all championed by Zahn.

same as before, it is evident either that Papias must have written very obscurely or that his successor, or successors, must have thoroughly misunderstood him. And if he had been speaking at the same time of James—as was probably the case—he would have distinguished his fate from that of his brother. If he did not do this, he certainly conceived of their experiences as alike.

This now does away, likewise, with the theory of Gutjahr (*Die Glaubwürdigkeit des irenäischen Zeugnisses über die Abfassung des vierten kanonischen Evangeliums*, 111) that Papias has understood ἀντρέθη, the word actually used by him, to mean the exile of John to Patmos caused by the Jews. But even if he had not as yet spoken of James, Philippus Sidetes, or the epitomist as well as, possibly, Georgios Hamartolos (i. e. if he himself read Papias) or the writer of the Codex Coislinianus, must thoroughly have misunderstood him.<sup>6</sup> This Gutjahr actually assumes; but as yet we have found no compelling reason for this view. We are rather forced to consider it as not only possible but also as most probable that Papias relates that the apostle John was put to death by the Jews.

But in so doing the historicity of this statement is by no means proved, nor is that of all those other items of information about which no one doubts that they were found in Papias. Nay, the contrary could, even at this stage, be made to appear the more likely if it could be shown how this view of Papias might have arisen. And this, in fact, appears to me to be possible.

Many of the later fathers claim that the words Mark 10:39 and parallels: τὸ μὲν ποτήριον, ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω, πῖσθε· καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα, ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθήσεσθε were fulfilled in the case of both sons of Zebedee by their martyrdom. I might, therefore, have spoken earlier of this interpretation of these words of Christ; but I have postponed it, up to the present, because in Papias we have the oldest passage on which they might have had an influence. This both of the scholars just named have supposed. Perhaps it will be permitted to add still further in favor of it that Georgios Hamartolos or, at least, the recension of his chronicle preserved to us in the Codex

<sup>6</sup> If Gutjahr says, in this connection, that also Georgios, or his interpolator probably understood ἀντρέθη as referring to the exile to Patmos, this is moreover, in contradiction to what he himself states correctly on p. 107.

Coislinianus actually refers to these words. For it is quite possible even after what has been said above, that the one or the other used Papias himself, and with this presupposition it can, furthermore, be assumed that they had read the above reference already in his work. Or is this unthinkable in case of such an ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ (Irenæus, *Adv. Haer.*, V, 33, 4 = Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, 39, 1)? In answer I shall not appeal to the observation on the same words of Christ attributed to Polycarp and preserved by Victor of Capua, according to a catena, in his *Liber Responsorum* (*Patr. ap. opp.*, II, 171):

per huius modi potum significat passionem; et Jacobum quidem novimus (instead of novissimum) martyrio consummandum, fratrem vero eius Joannem transiturum absque martyrio, quamvis et afflictiones plurimas et exilia toleraverit. sed praeparatam martyrio mentem Christus martyrem indicavit. nam apostolus Paulus quotidie, inquit, morior, cum impossibile sit quotidie mori hominem ea morte, qua semel vita haec finitur. sed quoniam pro evangelio ad mortem iugiter erat praeparatus, se mori quotidie sub ea significatione testatus est. legitur et in dolio ferventis olei pro nomine Christi beatus Joannes fuisse demersus.

For even if one did consider with Zahn, the last sentence a later one—for which, however, in my opinion there is no decisive evidence; for John's "oil martyrdom," since, after all, he survived it, could be grouped by the same author among his *afflictiones*—the use of 1 Cor. 15:31 in the mouth of Polycarp would seem altogether too striking. The fragment can, therefore, scarcely belong to him and cannot be adduced in this connection. (Compare also Harnack, *Die Ueberlieferung*, 73.) Likewise the Acts of John, which was first to record the oil martyrdom of John for us, and that, probably, also on the basis of the same utterance of Christ, are of later origin; they cannot, therefore, be quoted to prove that already Papias or the tradition which prepared the way for him could have arrived, by means of that utterance, at their idea of the death of the apostle John. But is such a proof at all needed? For did not Papias, according to Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, 39, 9) also relate of Justus Barsabbas that he emptied a cup of poison without injury—and no doubt only on the strength of Mark 16:18: *κἂν θανάσιμόν τι πίνωσιν, οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάψει*? To be sure, it was a question here, as well as in the case of the oil martyrdom, only of such additions to the tradition as did not contradict it. But it was

an entirely different matter in the case of the passage from the same Papias, preserved by Apolinarius, about the death of Judas which, in any case, does not agree with Matt. 27:5, notwithstanding the assertion to the contrary by him and many others after him. And if Papias did, in this instance, contradict the *βιβλία*, it was possible for him, in spite of a *ζῶσα φωνή* to the contrary (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, 39, 4), which perhaps existed even at that time, nevertheless, to assume, on the strength of Mark 10:39, that John had been put to death by the Jews and, therefore, doubtless, not at Ephesus. Or was this passage actually to be interpreted thus?

This has very recently been claimed by Wellhausen, and particularly by Schwartz. Indeed, while the former, speaking of this passage (*Das Evangelium Marci*, 90), only says: "The prophecy of the martyrdom has reference not only to James but also to John, and if it had remained half unfulfilled it would hardly be found in the gospel," Schwartz designates it a *vaticinium ex eventu* for the reason that both of the sons of Zebedee had departed this life at the same time and together. But this is, in every respect, an entirely unproved and, in fact, impossible assertion.

In the first place, if John is claimed to have been put to death with James shortly before 44, it will of course be necessary for Schwartz to distinguish from the son of Zebedee the John, who according to Gal. 2:9, together with James, the brother of Christ, and Peter, had dealings with Paul at the so-called apostolic council. He, on the contrary, identifies him with John Mark and combats the view that the latter accompanied Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary voyage; for that would hardly be in accord with a later "pillar." But can the above report really be taken as incredible? When Schwartz says that Acts 12:25 is shown to be unhistorical by Gal. 1:17-19; 2:1, this in no wise touches the statement that John Mark went to Antioch; and when, further, he says that the legendary character of the missionary journey to Cyprus is obvious, this again is not applicable to the statement *εἶχον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ὑπηρέτην*. And still less does it follow that the statement in 12:25 ff. is a poor doublet of 15:37 ff., simply because in 12:25 Barnabas and Paul return with John from Jerusalem to Antioch, while in 15:37 John suddenly (?) appears in Antioch after Paul and Barnabas had

been in Jerusalem; and because in 13:4 ff., John joins only in the missionary journey to Cyprus in which Paul appears solely as a performer of miracles (?), while in 15:39 John and Barnabas go to Cyprus. For 12:25 ff. goes back to much too good a source to be interpreted in that way.<sup>7</sup> It is, moreover, unlikely that the conflict which is here narrated had, like that with Peter, Gal. 2:11 ff., to do with doctrinal questions, and had arisen between Paul and John Mark. For even if one might assume that the author of the Acts of the Apostles had passed over this conflict in silence, as well as over the controversy with Peter in general, John Mark, and not Barnabas, would have to appear as Paul's opponent, or at least not Barnabas alone; especially if, as Schwartz also assumes, a report of the journey is here used which was written by a companion of Paul.<sup>8</sup> That this conflict with Barnabas, though it was at first only of a personal nature, could by no means have led to a separation from Paul, if there had not been between the two men an estrangement still remaining from the incident with Peter, and a doctrinal difference has been claimed by others also; but it does not by any means follow from this that John Mark played an entirely different rôle. Moreover, his position as a pillar would be incompatible with the rôle which he plays in Col. 4:10; Phil. 24; 2 Tim. 4:11. On this account Schwartz, following others, distinguishes this Mark from the John Mark of the Acts. But even if this were correct, the description of John Mark in the Acts of the Apostles would, nevertheless, remain such that we should be unable to recognize him in Gal. 2:9. And, moreover, is it at all possible that a disciple who does not belong to the number of the twelve would have been associated with Peter as a pillar? In the case of James, the brother of Christ, this was an entirely different matter.

But how did Schwartz arrive at the conclusion at all that John and James must have been executed together shortly before 44? He is of the opinion that the conversation in Mark 10:35 ff. can be explained only by assuming its non-historicity. Only in case both died together could one have come to the thought that they would sit at Christ's right hand and left hand in his glory, a thought which,

<sup>7</sup> Compare my *Paulus I*, 218 ff.

<sup>8</sup> When he says, besides, that this report is placed in a connection entirely incompatible with the Pauline reports, it is more than I can understand. In any case a proof is lacking.

still possible that it should be fulfilled in John's case also; from the gospel of Mark and Matthew evidence might, therefore, perhaps even be drawn that he was still alive in their own day. But the words of Christ, τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω, πῖσθε, καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι, βαπτισθήσεσθε, do not need at all to be interpreted as a prophecy of the martyrdom, even after the execution of James. The conclusion cannot, therefore, be drawn from them that, at the time of the writing of Mark, John had died a martyr. The whole chain of reasoning must be objected to; Mark 10:35 ff. and parallels do not prove that the apostle John died a martyr and, therefore, did not live in Ephesus during the closing years of his life. The latter view, on the contrary, is, so far as yet appears, quite possible. But perhaps it may now, by a second series of arguments, be shown to be impossible.

## II

It has long been observed and emphasized by several critics that aside perhaps from the Johannine literature, to which we do not as yet refer, of the Christian writings up to the time of Irenæus which refer to, or which are assigned to, Asia Minor, or actually had their origin there, none take John's sojourn in Ephesus for granted. But does this *argumentum e silentio*, in considering which I shall, as before, begin with the oldest evidence, actually prove that he could not have gone there?

For the lifetime of Paul this will, no doubt, have to be considered conclusive evidence. For it cannot be denied that somewhere and somehow mention of this apostle John would have been made if he was in Ephesus, whether it be in the source of the Acts of the Apostles where his visits to Ephesus are spoken of, or by the apostle himself when he writes from Ephesus to Corinth or by way of Ephesus to Timothy (2 Tim. 4:19 ff.), to Colossæ, to Philemon, and again to Timothy (2 Tim. 4:9 ff.; 1:15 ff.).<sup>9</sup> It is indeed possible that the withdrawal of Phygellus and Hermogenes from Paul, which can hardly have been, at the same time, a withdrawal from the gospel, was connected with the arrival of the apostle John in Asia, but this,

<sup>9</sup> Concerning the authenticity of these passages, as well as of the epistle to the Colossians, see my *Paulus*, Vol. I, 122 ff., 159 ff.

of course, and especially in this instance, is only a conjecture which can hardly have any value.

Another matter is the farewell address of Paul to the elders of Ephesus, Acts 20:18 ff., which, in the form here found, cannot be authentic, as the addresses found in the Acts generally cannot be, and which will, therefore, have to be discussed here. But does it not argue against a later sojourn of John at Ephesus that Paul is here only made to prophesy of grievous wolves? I do not explain this by saying that, just as elsewhere, the underlying thought of the discourse elaborated by him might have been handed down to the *autor ad Theophilum* by tradition, so here it might have been handed down to him that Paul, on this occasion, had expressed only a warning; for that would be purely a conjecture. But can it not be considered probable that the *autor ad Theophilum* desired merely to have Paul appear as speaking of the immediate future and especially, as above all, warning, and not pacifying, the Ephesians? In that case, then, John might easily be, or have been, sojourning in Ephesus at the time of the Acts of the Apostles; this would not need to be mentioned therein.

The first epistle of Peter, which, in my opinion, dates from the time of Domitian, it is true, addresses itself to the elect strangers of the dispersion throughout all Asia Minor, but was not, of course, delivered to them all. It must, therefore, have reference only to those Pauline circles for which the apostle John had no particular significance. The fact that there is no mention of him does not, therefore, disprove the possibility that he might nevertheless have been at Ephesus at that time.

It is a matter of greater difficulty to assume this in the case of the epistle to the Ephesians, which I consider to be not of Pauline origin, but still later than the first epistle of Peter.<sup>10</sup> For this epistle is addressed expressly to Ephesus itself. It has been suggested that the *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* of the address is of later origin; but that, in my opinion, cannot be proved. Are we then to suppose that he, too, had in mind only a part of the Ephesian congregation, which had nothing to do with John? That is not impossible; but it would indeed be more natural to suppose that John was not there at that time. However,

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 138 ff.



even that is not necessary, for the epistle to the Ephesians has reference to local conditions to a still smaller degree than the first epistle of Peter. It sends greetings, for instance, to no one in Ephesus, as the latter does not to anyone in Asia Minor. Why then should they mention John if he was in Ephesus at that particular time, or had been there before?

Certainly there existed no reason for mentioning him in the first letter of Clement; and if it be said, if there was an apostle at Ephesus, it was necessary for the church of Rome to relegate the management of Corinthian affairs to him, this is not conclusive, even if we consider the high regard which the church of the metropolis enjoyed soon afterward in Asia Minor also. But, above all, one can quite well assume, at least for the present, that, at that time, John was no longer living; before that, therefore, he could easily have sojourned at Ephesus.

What was said about the first epistle of Peter and the epistle to the Ephesians applies to the epistles of Timothy as well; they may have been addressed to certain, not Johannine, circles. Besides the writers of all four epistles might have avoided alluding to John even indirectly, because that would have been an anachronism. Peter and Paul had died in the year 64; John, however, could have reached Ephesus only later, if at all. But if, finally, one is surprised to find that after this happened, letters written in or for Asia Minor were accredited to other apostles, he will likewise have to deny that the first epistle of Peter was written in Rome or Asia Minor, where, as is well known, Paul had been active a long time.<sup>11</sup>

And thus we come to Ignatius, and in his case with more right than in the case of others mentioned, one might, indeed, expect a mention of John. In speaking to the Romans, if the epistle is genuine, he alludes to the fact that Peter and Paul had taught among them (4, 3)—why does he call the Ephesians only *Παύλου συμμύσται* (12, 2)? Now as regards the first point, Ignatius was not so pedantic as to feel constrained to remind the Ephesians of their apostles simply because, if he was the author, he had done so in case of the Romans. And if he actually does mention Paul, it

<sup>11</sup> Harnack is, indeed, of the opinion (*Chronologie*, I, 455 ff.) that it is not accredited to Peter till later on. But the reasons given for this view are in no way conclusive.

is with quite another and different purpose. Before this he speaks of the Ephesians as *πάροδος τῶν εἰς θεὸν ἀναιρουμένων*, i. e., a place through which those had to pass who were led away to God, and this again means that those Christians who were to die (for their faith) in Rome were, as a rule, here put on board the boat.<sup>12</sup> If in this connection the Ephesians are called *Παύλου συμμύσται*, it is done because he too had journeyed to Rome to his death by way of Ephesus (and at the same time, it is true, also by way of Jerusalem); this, to be sure, was not the case with John, and so no mention could be made of him here. And another instance where his name would *have* to be mentioned, if he had lived in Ephesus, one will be still less able to produce. But it is quite easily possible, if the above supposition holds good, to think of him also when Ignatius says about the Ephesians (II, 2): *καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πάντοτε συνῆσαν ἐν δυνάμει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*; in fact, since, as far as we know, no other apostle besides Paul was in Ephesus and Ignatius does not *need* to generalize, one could here find nothing less than a proof for the sojourn of John at Ephesus.

That the letter of Polycarp makes mention only of Paul (once, however, conjointly with the other apostles) can be explained, of course, on the basis of special relationship existing between him and the church of Philippi which he addresses. For the express mention of John, however, there was no urgent reason; therefore in this case also, nothing can be done with the *argumentum e silentio*. And this is true also—to add this right here—of the martyrdom of Polycarp.

If we pass over Papias for the moment, Hegesippus only remains as one from whom one could really expect a mention of the sojourn of John at Ephesus. But he too seems to have known nothing of it, inasmuch as Eusebius, says Scholten (*Der Apostel Johannes in Kleinasien*, 36), even when actually copying from him a passage bearing upon the persecution of the Christians under Domitian, does not refer to the work of Hegesippus, which lay open before him at that moment, in support of the description, which follows immediately, of the freeing of John from his banishment and his transfer to Ephesus, but rather refers to *ὁ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαίων λόγος* (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, 20, 9). That Hegesippus lay still open before him at this

<sup>12</sup> Compare Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170*, 318 f.

moment can be doubted—he has quoted, in the meantime, from Tertullian's *Apologeticum*—but even if that were the case it would not necessarily have to contain a statement about John, especially in that specific form. From the fact that Hegesippus (according to Eusebius, *op. cit.*, III, 32, 6 ff.) actually says that gnosticism made its appearance only when none of the apostles was any longer living, and that he mentions only Symeon, the son of Clopas, as a witness surviving from the beginning (i. e., of Christianity) up to Trajan, it could rather be inferred that John could not have lived so long and also have had anything to do with the Gnostics, as is related of him elsewhere. But it is possible either that Hegesippus knew nothing definite concerning it or that he attached no such importance to it, or that John really did not live any longer; nothing, therefore, can be found in Hegesippus which would argue against the sojourn of John at Ephesus, if it is attested by others before him. And this now takes us finally to the proofs in favor of this conclusion, among which, as is generally known, that of Irenæus occupies the first position.

### III

Irenæus not only claims repeatedly that the apostle John spent the closing years of his life at Ephesus, but in proof thereof, refers to the testimony of the presbyters, who he claimed had seen him in Asia, especially to that of Polycarp (*Adv. Haer.*, II, 22, 51; III, 3, 4; cf. V, 30, 1; 33, 3, Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 24, 16). But did these, perchance, have in mind another John who might at that time have lived in Asia? This, as stated above, is the opinion of many modern critics, and if these are correct, the belief in the sojourn of the apostle John would not, it is true, fall to the ground, but it would lose one of its chief supports. We shall, therefore, have to examine into the above assertion most carefully and shall ask, in the first place, whether at all there is any reason for imputing such a mistake to Irenæus.

1. There are three points which are advanced in proof of it:

a) It is in all probability true that Irenæus was mistaken with reference to Papias, whom he also makes a hearer of John (*Adv. Haer.*, V, 33, 4). This Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, 39, 2) correctly concludes from the fact that Papias says in the proœmium to his work:

εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους · τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν ἃ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν .

If this is to be accepted as it stands, then Papias must have *inquired of the successors to the presbyters* what, among other things, the apostle John had said; not even the presbyter John, who must in any case be distinguished from him, was the teacher of Papias. But since whatever might be said of the passages of Irenæus' work bearing upon the presbyters, according to Eusebius (*op. cit.*, 8, 14), Papias certainly related traditions of the presbyter John, it is quite easy to believe that Irenæus considered him the teacher of Papias—which was done also by Eusebius—and then identified him with the apostle. That this is done also by Apolinarius, Andreas, Anastasius Sinaita, Maximus Confessor, and Georgios Hamartolos, cannot stand against the exegesis of Eusebius and the direct testimony of Papias; there can be no doubt that here Irenæus was actually mistaken. But by admitting this, nothing at all, of course, is decided with reference to the sojourn of the apostle at Ephesus; for it will be impossible to claim that Papias, who wrote between 140 and 160, must have heard John, if the latter was in Ephesus in his later years; though as Πολυκάρπου ἑταῖρος and ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ he was perhaps not born later than Polycarp, he might have been converted later or have grown up elsewhere than in Hierapolis, in spite of his Phrygian name. Then, too, the fact that in his prologue he mentions John and Matthew *last* among the apostles can be accounted for only on the ground that as writers of the gospels they were less taken into consideration in oral tradition, but not because they had no relations with Asia Minor.

b) Moreover this must be added that even that which Irenæus relates of the traditions of the presbyters who had seen John cannot go back to an apostle. I pass over here the question as to where Irenæus obtained these traditions; it does not seem to me to be decided even by Corssen (*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1901, 202 ff., 290, 1) and Gutjahr. And likewise in order not to prove anything superfluous, I limit myself to those passages in which Irenæus states expressly that the presbyters quoted by him had seen the apostle John in Asia. Of these passages there are altogether three.

a) Irenæus says, in the first place (*Adv. Hæc.*, II, 22, 5):

quia autem triginta annorum aetas prima indolis est iuvenis et extenditur usque ad quadagesimum annum, omnis quilibet confitetur; a quadagesimo et quinquagesimo anno declinat iam in aetatem seniore, quam habens dominus noster docebat, sicut evangelium καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰωάννη τῷ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῇ συμβεβληκότες [αὐτοῖς] παραδεδωκέναι [ταῦτὸ τοῦτο] τὸν Ἰωάννην.

The presbyters testify therefore, that Christ had reached the *aetas senior* which began with the fortieth or fiftieth year.<sup>13</sup> But could the apostle John really have furnished them with this information? Again we need not investigate, in this connection how John 8:57 (εἶπον οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς αὐτόν · πεντήκοντα ἔτη οὐπὼ ἔχεις), to which Irenæus also refers as his authority, is to be explained; for this will doubtless remain an indubitable fact, Von Bebbber notwithstanding (*Zur Chronologie des Lebens Jesu*, 147 f.), that Christ did not reach the age even of forty. But how, then, is it possible for the presbyters to testify to something else?

β) What we find in V, 30, 1 is clearer:

τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἔχόντων, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου κειμένου, καὶ μαρτυροῦντων αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατ' ὄψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἑωρακότων, καὶ τοῦ λόγου διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς ὅτι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ θηρίου κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ψήφον διὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ γραμμάτων [ἑξακοσίους ἔξει καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἕξ, τουτέστι δεκάδας ὁμοίας ταῖς ἑκατοντάσιν καὶ ἑκατοντάδας ὁμοίας ταῖς μονάσιν], οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἐσφαλῆσάν τινες ἐπακολουθήσαντες ἰδιωτισμῷ καὶ τὸν μέσον ἡθέτησαν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος, ν' ψήφισμα ὑφελόντες καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν ἑξ δεκάδων μίαν δεκάδα βουλόμενοι εἶναι.

We are not told here, it is true, that the presbyters had seen John in Asia; but since it is a question about a passage of the apocalypse (13:18) and the latter originated there, it is probably taken for granted here also; but precisely for the reason that it had its origin here, and that, according to the best and oldest manuscripts, as Irenæus says, the passage in question read χξς and not χις, the presbyters could know it without the sojourn of the apostle John at Ephesus. That is to say, with this passage, at least, nothing can be

<sup>13</sup> I find no good reason for omitting *et quinquagesimo* as Corssen does; cf. on the contrary, *Gellius Noctes Atticae*, X, 28.

proved in favor of it. And a third might possibly make it doubtful again.

γ) Irenæus says, V, 33, 3:

quemadmodum presbyteri meminerunt, qui Johannem discipulum domini viderunt, audisse se ab eo, quemadmodum de temporibus illis docebat dominus et dicebat: Venient dies, in quibus vineae nascentur, singulae decem millia palmi-tum habentes, et in uno palmite dena millia brachiorum, et in uno vero palmite dena millia flagellorum, et in unoquoque flagello dena millia botruum, et in unoquoque botro dena millia acinorum, et unumquodque acinum expressum dabit vigintiquinque metretas vini etc.

Here, too, it is not expressly stated that the presbyters had seen John *in Asia*; however, after the two passages first discussed it might possibly be assumed. But is it possible to trace this statement of Christ back to an apostle?

Zahn and Gutjahr have recently claimed that it can be, and certainly, here as well as elsewhere, we must be on our guard not to judge from our own point of view and liking. But the similar descriptions adduced from the prophets are certainly far from coming up to that fantastic elaboration of future fruitfulness, and if one remembers how reserved Christ was in this very respect, it will always remain difficult to believe that even only one of his apostles should have told such a thing of him.

But, again, the sojourn of the apostle at Ephesus is not thereby proved unhistorical; it is possible that the presbyters heard no more than that regarding it and that Irenæus got no more from them.<sup>14</sup> Or can it be possible that, if not consciously, then unconsciously, he took another John, to whom they referred, to be the apostle? In favor of that, finally, the following is adduced:

c) Irenæus lays much stress upon his connection with the apostles, and, therefore, in one instance makes a presbyter, *qui audierat ab his qui apostolos viderant* (IV, 27, 1), after quoting him five times, a *discipulus apostolorum* himself (32, 1). Zahn, indeed, attempts to reconcile that in this way, namely: Irenæus heard that which is contained in chapter 27 from the presbyter in question, to whom, though himself a disciple of the apostles, it had been com-

<sup>14</sup> That this last passage is at least connected with the gospel of John one might infer from the use of the measure here applied, which, in the New Testament, is found only in John 2:6. But that would be a very unsafe procedure.

municated by other apostles. But in that case it appears strange that he should directly quote the presbyter five times and only at the very end call him a disciple of the apostles, although, if we assume the correctness of Zahn's explanation, this was here a matter of no importance. And still more is it impossible, as Gutjahr indicates, to distinguish *this* presbyter from the one mentioned previously. Absolutely nothing points in that direction. We shall, therefore, have to conclude with Harnack, although Zahn looks upon this as frivolous, that Irenæus was too free with the use of the term *apostolorum discipulus*. But, again, in spite of what has been said, this does not prove that in the same way he had unknowingly identified another John with the apostle. That is only possible if he knew nothing else definite about the latter and his sojourn at Ephesus; but is not the contrary, in fact, to be concluded from what we hear of, or are able to infer from, his association with Polycarp? Of that we must now speak.

2. There are, again, three different sources from which we can ascertain the relation of Irenæus to Polycarp; his own utterances, his relation to Polycarp in point of time, and a statement about his martyrdom in the Moscow manuscript. Let us see, therefore, what can be derived from them.

a) Irenæus himself says of Polycarp (*Adv. Haer.*, III, 3, 4): *ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐωράκαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ*; but of what nature this relationship was, he has had no occasion whatever to speak here. One would, therefore, not be permitted to conclude from the passage that it was a casual one, to say nothing of inferring from the *ἐωράκαμεν* that Irenæus had only *seen* Polycarp. This would be refuted at once by the other passage in which Irenæus expresses himself more definitely with reference to it; namely, his letter to Florinus. For in it he writes the latter (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* V, 20, 5 f.):

εἶδον σε παῖς ἔτι ὢν ἐν τῇ κάτω Ἀσίᾳ παρὰ Πολυκάρπου, λαμπρῶς πρᾶσσοντα ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ, καὶ πειρώμενον εὐδοκιμεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ. μᾶλλον γὰρ τὰ τότε διαμνημονεύω τῶν ἐναγχος γινομένων. αἱ γὰρ ἐκ παίδων μαθήσεις συναύξουσαι τῇ ψυχῇ ἐνοῦνται αὐτῇ, ὥστε με δύνασθαι εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος διελέγετο ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος, καὶ τὰς προόδους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους, καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ βίου, καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἰδίαν, καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις ἃς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννου συναναστροφὴν ὡς

ἀπήγγελλε καὶ τὴν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἱερακῶτων τὸν κύριον, καὶ ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευε τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου τίνα ἦν ἂ παρ' ἐκείνων ἀκηκόει, καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ, καὶ περὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας, ὡς παρὰ τῶν αὐτοπτῶν τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ λόγου παρεληφώς ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἀπήγγελλε πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς.

According to this, therefore, Irenæus had learned to know Polycarp very well; but had this not been the case only in his youth? I am of the opinion that *as yet* one need not infer that, *although* Irenæus continues (§ 7),

ταῦτα καὶ τότε διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γεγονὸς σπουδαίως ἤκουον, ὑπομνηματιζόμενος αὐτὰ οὐκ ἐν χάρτῃ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ δεῖ διὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ γησίων αὐτὰ ἀναμνησκῶμαι· καὶ δύναμαι διαμαρτύρασθαι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι εἰ τι τοιοῦτον ἀκηκόει ἐκείνος ὁ μακάριος καὶ ἀποστολικὸς πρεσβύτερος, ἀνακράξας ἂν καὶ ἐμφράξας τὰ ὅσα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ σύνθημα αὐτῷ εἰπὼν 'ὦ καλὲ θεέ, εἰς οἷους με καιροὺς τετήρηκας, ἵνα τούτων ἀνέχωμαι' πεφεύγει ἂν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος ἢ ἐστὼς τῶν τοιούτων ἀκηκόει λόγων.

For that which Irenæus *παῖς ἔτι ὢν* had heard of Polycarp was, even according to section 6, so comprehensive that one could learn from it the entire point of view of the man; and that before this, he had spoken only of these reminiscences of his youth, can quite easily be explained by the supposition that he wanted to refute Florinus by means of what the latter had heard himself. But that Irenæus did not also later associate with Polycarp is not rendered impossible thereby—difficult as it is to prove it from what has been said about the *ἐκ παλίων μαθήσεις*. Only this can still be added, that *ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ* may have a wider meaning than *παῖς ἔτι ὢν*—or does the chronology of the life of Polycarp and Irenæus make it impossible that the latter could have heard the former except as a boy?

b) The death of Polycarp has recently again been put in the year 155 by Harnack and Corssen (*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1902, 61 ff.). The general reasons, however, which the former gives in favor of 155 and against 166, which year, as is well known, still remains at our disposal, are not convincing: that in the latter case, Irenæus could not have been born till about the year 153 and must have become presbyter in Lyon at the age of 24 or 25 is true only if he saw Polycarp in the latter's last years, but while he



himself was still a boy (which must first be proved). That Polycarp himself, if he died in the year 166, must have been born in the year 80 and therefore, could not very well have been taught and made bishop by the apostles, as we are told by Irenæus (*Adv. Hæc.*, III, 3, 4), is correct only if one takes these words very strictly; but even if Polycarp died in the year 155, and had therefore become a Christian in the year 69, he cannot have been taught and made bishop by *several* apostles. Accordingly, of the arguments which Harnack gives in favor of this date, only this one remains, that Statius Quadratus who, according to *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 21, was then proconsul of Asia, could not have become proconsul as late as the year 165, inasmuch as he had been consul, as we know, as early as the year 142. For that would make an interval of twenty-three years, and, during the second century, the longest known interval between consulate and proconsulate was sixteen years only. But if, again, this is not convincing, a suspicion against this chronology must arise from the fact that we are compelled by the chronology of Aristides, as interpreted by Harnack, to assume the presence of a proconsul Quadratus in Asia in the year 165. Now Corssen has attempted to prove from Aristides himself that Quadratus, on the contrary, had reached Asia in the year 154; and even if, in order to do so, he was compelled to change the date of the *subscriptio* of the address on Athene from  $\lambda\epsilon$  to  $\lambda\sigma$ , yet his estimate of the proconsulate of Quadratus seems to me to be preferable to the other. If, then, we indeed put the death of Polycarp in the year 155, then the question arises, to be sure, as to whether Irenæus could have been born early enough to have heard Polycarp later than in childhood.

Against this conclusion Harnack adduces the following:

a) Irenæus says in his letter to Florinus that, when both heard Polycarp, the latter was *λαμπρῶς πρᾶσσων ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ*, while he himself, as we have already seen, was still a boy. Now it is, he thinks, improbable that Florinus could have become a heretic as late as in his eightieth year; and, therefore, he could not have been born before the year 120, and Irenæus, who at that time was still a boy, before the years 130-135. Harnack, therefore, assumes that Irenæus wrote to Florinus when the latter had become completely a heretic, just as at the time of the other letter addressed to the Romish

bishop, Victor (189-198), of which letter there has been preserved to us a fragment in the Syrian translation. This Zahn, Corssen (*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1903, 162 ff.), and Gutjahr have disputed for various reasons. Zahn is of the opinion that, at the time of the last-named letter, Florinus was no longer living, for it addresses itself only against his writings, and even if it contained this, "reproach him who has written this," it would have to be interpreted in the same way as when Marcion and Arius are reproached even long after their death in a personal address by Tertullian or Epiphanius. I cannot consider this explanation sufficient, and I think it just as little probable that Florinus, at the time of the letter addressed to him, was only leaning toward heresy, as is also believed by Corssen and Gutjahr. If both letters deal with the same heresy, they are probably also not very far apart in point of time,<sup>15</sup> and this is likewise supported by the fact that Irenæus does not yet mention Florinus in his chief work, which was written *before* the time of Victor. But in that case it is scarcely probable that Florinus, who at least did not come out publicly with his heretical views earlier than the year 190, could have been born before the year 120; for if in this connection Hosius has been referred to, it must be remembered that in that case the situation is essentially different. Therefore, Irenæus also could not well have been born before the year 130; but still he had ample opportunities to see Polycarp. Or will it be necessary to locate his birthday at an even later date?

β) As we have seen, Irenæus writes that, at the time when he and Florinus heard Polycarp, the latter had been *λαμπρῶς πράσσων ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ*. Usually this is translated: "in splendid position at the court," and, since the visit of Hadrian to Asia in the year 129 would be excluded by what has just been said, Harnack proposes to substitute that of Antoninus in the year 154 and thereby put Irenæus' birthday about the year 142, inasmuch as at the time of the visit he was still a boy. But even the above interpretation of *ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ* is not an undisputed one. Gutjahr wants to do one of two things, either to translate: "in the court of the basilica," on the strength of the Syrian translation of the church history

<sup>15</sup> Neither is this made probable by the *αἰθῆς* in Eusebius, *Hist.*, V, 20, 1, which Corssen interprets more correctly than Zahn.

of Eusebius (in which case the Greek would have had to be: *ἐν τῇ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῇ*) or, retaining the usual wording, in any case think of a building in which Polycarp was accustomed to teach. However, it can easily be seen that there was no occasion for mention of it in this place. It would have been necessary for those words to appear earlier, say after *ἐν τῇ κάτω Ἀσίᾳ*. There is a greater probability that the expression is to be understood similarly to the phrase applied by Epiphanius to Ambrosius, the friend of Origenes, *τις τῶν διαφανῶν ἐν αὐλαῖς βασιλικαῖς* (*Haer.*, 64, 3). But above all, we know, even in spite of Corssen, nothing definite of a visit of Antoninus to Asia in the year 154; it evidently will not do, therefore, to refer this disputed event to just this year. Irenæus may, therefore, have been born earlier than 142, unless again against this view, too, other reasons should be found.

γ) Harnack refers, besides, to the letter of recommendation addressed to Eleutheros which the confessors of Lugdunum gave to Irenæus in the year 177-178 (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 4); this, indeed, does not seem to fit a man of sixty-three years of age—and according to Zahn this would have been the age of Irenæus at that time. Harnack himself does not, of course, claim that it can be understood only by assuming that Irenæus was born in the year 142. One could even doubt his election at the age of 35 as successor to the ninety-year-old bishop Pothinos, which election actually took place in the year 177. We shall, therefore, no doubt be permitted to put the date of his birth a little earlier, but not beyond the year 130; and with this fits in well the statement of Irenæus himself (*Adv. Haer.*, V, 30, 1) that the apocalypse had been written *οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς*; however, little can be gathered from it in the way of an accurate account of time. And such is the situation in general; one, therefore, cannot assume an intimate acquaintanceship with Polycarp, unless, finally, it can be proved by the statement found in the Moscow manuscript of the *Martyrium Polycarpi*. About that, finally, something will have to be said.

c) In the Moscow manuscript we find:

καὶ τοῦτο δὲ φέρεται ἐν τοῖς Εἰρηναίου συγγράμμασιν, ὅτι ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ὥρα ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ Παλῦκαρπος, ἤκουσεν φωνὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει ὑπάρχων ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ὡς σάλπιγγος λεγούσης· “Παλῦκαρπος ἐμαρτύρησεν.”

The further assertion of this manuscript to the effect that, at the time of the martyrdom of Polycarp, Irenæus had taught many in Rome, is incredible in view of the letter just mentioned, which was given him by the confessors of Lugdunum and by which alone he was to be introduced to the church at Rome. On that account it cannot even be inferred that he had gone to Rome together with Polycarp; at the very most it could only have been for a short and unofficial visit there, say on his trip to Gaul. But the specific statement, with which we are here concerned, would not be justified by the above quotation; and if one felt inclined to accept the latter as historical, a close relationship between Irenæus and Polycarp would not even then necessarily follow; indeed, such relation would become entirely inconceivable if the *subscriptio* in the Mosquensis originated in the *Vita Polycarpi*, and if the latter were credible, and, as far as it was concerned, precluded such a relationship with Irenæus. All these three latter statements are defended by Corssen (*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1904, 266 ff.), and he gains thereby, at the same time, a direct proof against the sojourn of the apostle John at Ephesus. This is sufficient reason for closely investigating his claims.

Like others before him, he calls attention, in the first place, to the similarity between the statement in the *subscriptio*:

Εἰρηναῖος . . . τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα καὶ καθολικὸν ὡς παρέλαβον παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου (Πολυκάρπου) καὶ παρέδωκεν

and the sentence, *Vita Pol.*, 12:

ἰδόθη οὖν ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ (Πολυκάρπῳ) τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διδασκαλίας ὁρθῆς ἐκκλησιαστικὸς καθολικὸς κανὼν.

But, unlike others, he does not conclude that both were written by the same man. For one would not then be able to explain why the author of the *subscriptio* of the Moscow manuscript should have omitted just those words which he could use best, namely: *καθὼς δηλώσω ἐν τῇ καθεξῆς*. However, if, on that account, Corssen assumes that the shorter *subscriptio* originated in the *Vita Polycarpi*, he can affirm this only by imagining that in its beginning, among other things, an allusion to a revelation which Pionius had received from Polycarp had been omitted, and can explain the connection

with the *subscriptio* in the Mosquensis only by assuming that its author too had been acquainted with the *Vita*. But is it not much simpler to identify him with the author of the latter and to explain the omission of those words on the ground that the *Vita* from the very beginning related nothing about such a revelation? For with such a conclusion this fact also harmonizes quite well, that here just as at the end of the *subscriptio* in the Mosquensis we find at the close:

ϥ (sc. τῷ θεῷ) ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος . . . . σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι,

while in chapter 23 we find quite correctly:

χαρίτι τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ τῷ δοράτῳ καὶ ἀμετρήτῳ μόνῳ ἀθανάτῳ πατρὶ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ παρακλήτῳ πνεύματι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ κράτος καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

For he who expressed himself so inexactly once does not therefore need to do so continually. But all this is quite unimportant with reference to the main point in question, for whatever its connection with the *Vita Polycarpi* may be, the statement in the Mosquensis is certainly to be explained and judged according to that. What then are its claims upon authenticity?

If not the shorter *subscriptio* of the *Martyrium Polycarpi*, which already mentions Pionius as its author, but only the longer one which is found in the Mosquensis, is either composed by or borrowed from the author of the *Vita Polycarpi*, there is not only no longer any reason to identify the latter with Pionius, but one has no right to do so. For even if the above shorter *subscriptio* be genuine, the same man would hardly have changed it later to the form in which we find it in the Mosquensis; but if, in some way or other, the *Vita Polycarpi* is connected with it, its author can by no means be the Pionius here referred to. Nor are, in fact, any of the points of contact with the martyrdom of Pionius mentioned by Corsen at all convincing. It may be that the vision which he, according to that authority, had the day before Polycarp's birthday (i. e., date of death) points to a special reverence for the latter (a reverence which, in case of a presbyter of the church of Smyrna, is indeed self-evident); it may be also that Pionius, by virtue of his training, was especially

well qualified to erect to Polycarp a literary monument (a thing which he actually did, according to the shorter *subscriptio*). But with all that, that our *Vita Polycarpi* was a part of it is not proved by any means. And of what use is it to us that, according to chapter 20, its author, as well as the martyr, appears to have been a presbyter, and that, according to chapters 15 f. he as well as the latter might have remained unmarried? Moreover to say that the remark in chapter 6: φιλομαθείς, εἰ καὶ τινες ἄλλοι, καὶ προσφυεῖς ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς οἱ τὴν ἀνατολὴν οἰκοῦντες ἄνθρωποι sounds as if its author knew the country and the people of the orient from personal experience—and Pionius had been in Palestine—is in itself a pretty bold statement; but if the author of the *Vita*, like the latter, was educated along rhetorical and philosophical lines, he was only one among a hundred others with the same accomplishments. The logos doctrine also and the expectation of a κρίσις διὰ πυρὸς, as well as the opposition to the Jews, were not especially significant, even the emphasis laid on the beauty of Smyrna was such a usual<sup>16</sup> thing that the agreement of the *Vita Polycarpi*, 30, with *Martyrium Pionii*, 4, need not cause surprise. The kind of similarity which is said to exist between the *Vita Polycarpi*, 27: καὶ γὰρ τῇ θεῷ πιστεύω, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοίχῳ οὐ πιστεύω and *Martyrium Pionii*, 5: καὶ γὰρ λέγω ὅτι καλὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ζῆν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο κρείσσον ὃ ἡμεῖς ἐπιποθοῦμεν I do not at all understand; and *Vita* 12: πολλάκις αὐτὸν προτρέψας καὶ παρακαλέσας ὁ Βουκόλος μὲν ἐπεισε πρὸς τὸ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ κυρίου παιδευσθῆναι καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν τῆς κατηχήσεως ποιήσασθαι λόγον, according to what follows, can, indeed, only bear Lightfoot's translation: "many a time did Bukolus, by exhortation and encouragement, with difficulty persuade him to allow himself to be disciplined by the Lord and to give catechetical discourses in church," and forms, therefore, no parallel passage to *Martyrium Pionii*, 11, in which πρὸς with the infinitive is used causatively. The similarity to chapter 4 is so small and unnoticeable that in this case also one need not infer a relationship to the *Vita Polycarpi*. And, moreover, this additional feature presents itself that in chapter 2, a fact of which Corsen takes no notice whatever, the *Vita* combats a form of observing Easter which certainly is not

<sup>16</sup> Compare Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, II, 3, 462 f., J. Weiss, *Prot. Real-Encyclopädie*, 3d ed., X, 550.

attested earlier than the fourth century, and that it criticises the quartodeciman practice, to which Polycarp himself was devoted, a fact which the genuine Pionius might easily have been aware of. It will, therefore, have to stand that the *Vita* does not come from Pionius, but is later; but in that case its report also with reference to the relationship of Polycarp to John has less weight, and would have even if it should deny such a relationship.

That, however, is really not at all the case. The *Vita Polycarpi*, it is true, relates, chapters 2 ff., that Polycarp had been appointed by Bukolus as his successor, in the same way as his predecessor had been appointed by Paul; but that can perhaps be accounted for by the fact that, as we have seen, Paul only was spoken of in Polycarp's letter which is known to the *Vita* (chap. 12). That John is not mentioned does not mean that, in the opinion of its author, he could not have been the teacher of Polycarp; and, even if this were so, such a statement could not have any weight over against the testimony of Irenæus.<sup>17</sup> This inference, however, remains possible that, though not a bold falsification, it was a mistake; for, in spite of the *subscriptio* to the *Martyrium Polycarpi* found in the Codex Mosquensis, a rather intimate relationship between him and Polycarp is finally rendered impossible by the fact that, except in the two instances mentioned (III, 3, 4; V, 33, 4), Irenæus makes mention of Polycarp nowhere in his great work. He might, therefore, also have confused the John who was mentioned by the latter, with the apostle, if, at the time of Polycarp, another John had actually lived in Asia. But can that be proved?

3. We saw above that Papias certainly distinguishes from the apostle John another, whom he calls presbyter; but that the presbyter John is to be sought in Asia he does not say expressly. Schlatter and Bacon have even attempted to prove that he is to be sought in Jerusalem, and that he was identical with the later bishop of the congregation there or with the one mentioned in Acts 4:6 and had belonged to the converted priests spoken of in Acts 6:7; but though they have not succeeded in doing so, nothing, indeed, points toward Asia. For we recognized above that the fact that even Eusebius makes

<sup>17</sup> Since the above was written, Hilgenfeld, in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1905, 444 ff., has also combated Corsen's opinions.

Papias a listener of this John is incompatible with his own words; even the *καὶ τοῦτο ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε* (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, 39, 15) need not to be understood that way.

"That the Alogi and Caius also who denied the genuineness of the apocalypse seem to have known nothing of the existence of a second John, even Bousset admits (*Die Offenbarung Johannes*, 36). Otherwise they would not have resorted to the desperate means of making Cerinthus the author of the apocalypse." And if—not to return to Irenæus again—he attempts to recognize the presbyter in the John whom Polycrates in his letter to Victor (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 24, 3) introduces in the *μεγάλα στοιχεῖα* of Asia it must be said that that is decidedly unfounded. John, is it true, is here named only in the second place after Philippus; but this is probably done in order to put him *above* the former. For if we are told that he had worn a priest's frontlet, we are, no doubt, to take the expression figuratively, especially in the connection in which we find it, and are not to refer it to the presbyter John, whom only Bacon considers a former high priest. And if Polycrates has made Philippus the evangelist an apostle, the possibility of the development of the idea of a sojourn of the apostle John at Ephesus can be derived from that of the presbyter, only in case the latter is established in Asia Minor.

However, even Dionysius of Alexandria who ascribes the apocalypse to another John, not the apostle, based his statement not upon the tradition of a presbyter by this name, who was supposed to have lived in Asia Minor, but only upon the rumor: *δύο ἐν' Εφέσῳ γενέσθαι μνῆματα καὶ ἑκάτερον Ἰωάννου λέγεσθαι*, which, of course, might have had other reasons. Eusebius was the first to combine the statement of Papias with this one, and has thus produced a presbyter John in Ephesus; before this there had been no reference to him and those who mentioned him later probably obtained their information from Eusebius.

Nevertheless it might be possible also, that the presbyter John of Papias to whose existence we must hold fast, although he is mentioned by no one again until the time of Eusebius, actually lived in Asia Minor, but that Papias did not meet him, either because he had died earlier or had lived in another locality. And, further, since Irenæus seems to have heard Polycarp only as a boy, it might also be conceived that he had only misunderstood the latter, but that he



himself had had in mind that very presbyter. The controversy about the sojourn of the apostle John at Ephesus, therefore, cannot be settled by referring to Irenæus. Just as little can Polycrates and Clemens Alexandrinus, the Acts of John and the antimontanist Apollonius (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 18, 14), though independent, on that account be taken as reliable witnesses for it; we shall have to try to find an answer rather in the Johannine literature, which we have thus far left unused.

Beginning here with the Apocalypse we find that it certainly takes for granted that, at its time, only *one* Ephesian John was known. It speaks of its author solely as John, the servant of God, and not as an apostle in distinction from another, or as such another in distinction from the former. Whether it really belongs, or has only been attributed, to one of the two is a question which can be passed over by us; because, even if, for the reasons which are well known, its authorship should not be attributed to the apostle, its author might easily have thought of the apostle in speaking of John. Likewise, however, it remains conceivable, for the present, that it was written by the presbyter, or at least attributed to him. A decision can again be reached only on the basis of the gospel of John.

It seems to me incontestable that the gospel of John also had its origin in or about Ephesus. The remarkable relations with the Apocalypse, and especially those with the logos speculation which we find in Asia earlier and later than this (in the case of Justin), the polemic (though not to be exaggerated) against the followers of John the Baptist, and finally the effects which at first we notice in case of those who lived in Asia Minor, all point to the Ephesian origin of the gospel of John. But in that case the disciple whom we find in the foreground in the gospel of John must also have been known there; for it can hardly be probable that its author desired to present a purely ideal personality or to give his readers a riddle. But whom now does he mean when he speaks of that disciple?

If in John 1:41 f. we read that one of the two disciples who had gone to Christ from John the Baptist was Andrew and that he was the first to find his own brother Simon and that he took him to Jesus, this seems to take it for granted that the other, too, had a brother and had taken him to Jesus. But this other pair of brothers could only have been the sons of Zebedee who, as is well known, are put together

with Simon and Andrew in all catalogues of the apostles. And this is all the more likely because Philip, who is everywhere designated as the fifth disciple, is also called by Jesus, John 1:43, and because Nathanael, whom the former found, 1:45, in all probability is identical with Bartholomew, the sixth or seventh disciple, according to the catalogues of the apostles. The disciple who was won over first by Andrew must, therefore, have been a son of Zebedee, whether John or James, cannot as yet be decided.

Then, in 13:23, we read of a disciple who, on the occasion of the last supper, lay on Jesus' breast and whom Jesus loved. Of course it is one of the twelve, and most likely also one of the favorite disciples. And since immediately after Simon Peter is mentioned and distinguished from the beloved disciple, the latter must be one of the sons of Zebedee. Which one of them does not as yet become clear here either, just as it does not in later instances in which the expression: *ὃν ἠγάπα* or *ἐφίλει ὁ Ἰησοῦς* recurs: 19:26 and 20:2. A definite answer is possible only on the basis of 21:20 ff.

In this connection the question whether this chapter shares its origin with the author of the preceding ones, or was added by some one else, may remain an open one. Even if the latter were accepted, one would have to assume that the one in question knew who the disciple was whom Jesus loved and who, on the occasion of the last supper, lay on his breast. And to this we are led also by the enumeration of the witnesses of this scene in 21:2—Simon Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the sons of Zebedee, and two others of his disciples. Thomas and Nathanael and the last named disciples are excluded, because they do not belong to the favorite disciples; likewise Peter who, before this, is spoken of by way of distinction from the unnamed. The latter, therefore, certainly belongs to the sons of Zebedee. If now the meaning of *ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν ἕως ἔρχομαι, τί πρὸς σέ* were: he should remain until Christ came to him in a vision, one would therefore have to think of John as the apocalypticist; but this explanation is probably too uncertain. It is clear, on the contrary, that a rumor had been spread abroad about that disciple that he was not to die; but in case of the two sons of Zebedee that is intelligible in the case of John only, for, as we have seen, James had been put to death as early as 44. John must, therefore, have been the disciple who was prized above all at Ephesus about the year 100; the latter,

the apostle, must, therefore, be thought of also in the case of the John of the Apocalypse which had appeared a few years earlier, and not the presbyter. At this time, at least, the presbyter cannot have played an important rôle in Asia Minor.

Only one point might yet be made effective against this conclusion, viz.: that the second and third epistles of John name the *Elder* as their author. It does not do to say that the apostle John was called the elder simply because of his long life; for that in itself would be strange, if, as was the case, the word *πρεσβύτερος* even at that time designated an office, and, moreover, would lack all support. Papias, as we know, distinguishes from the apostle a presbyter John, and appears to call him simply *ὁ πρεσβύτερος*; to him, therefore, these two epistles either belong or have been attributed. As they are certainly later than the gospel and the first epistle, that which has been said on the John presupposed in the latter remains unaffected.

If, therefore, the *apostle* John was so well-known a personality at Ephesus at the end of the first century that one thought of him at once, upon the mere mention of the name John, the servant of God, or by merely referring to the disciple whom Jesus loved, then, in all probability, he must have been there. When he got there we cannot, of course, say: in any case, however, after Paul had left this country; perhaps when Peter left Jerusalem to go to Rome; perhaps only after the outbreak of the Jewish war or the destruction of Jerusalem; perhaps even very much later. How long he lived there we again do not know; probably, as Irenæus relates, he was heard there by Polycarp; but whether he lived until the time of Trajan is again doubtful. For the apocalypse was written in the time of Domitian, but not actually by the apostle; it was only attributed to him; he must at that time have been dead. And thus there would be explained, at the same time, why, except perhaps in the case of Ignatius, nothing is said anywhere about his sojourn at Ephesus before the time of Irenæus. The sphere of his activity might, in general, be an entirely different one from that of Peter's, as also at the end of the gospel of John the latter himself is told: "Feed my sheep," but of John it is said: "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" But to show in full wherein his influence manifests itself would again carry us far beyond the limits of this paper, and will, therefore, have to be reserved for a later occasion.

## METAPHYSICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS OF RITSCHL

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### I

In his little book, *Theologie und Metaphysik*,<sup>1</sup> Ritschl claims that every theologian is as a scientific man "under the duty or necessity to proceed according to a determined theory of knowledge of which he must be conscious and which he must be prepared to justify" (§ 5, p. 66). As a scientific theologian, Ritschl claims (§ 4, p. 57) that he follows a definite theory of knowledge, and that it is just because he rejects the traditional and Platonic theory of knowledge, which his opponents hold, that they are unable to understand him. This is the reason why he places value in things which they omit, and neglects matters which they regard as essential. "A Christianity which is expounded by a scholastic ontology and mystical psychology is unintelligible and neo-Platonic,"<sup>2</sup> while by his own method "a practical and intelligible Christianity is set forth." "The principles of logic, psychology, and epistemology constitute the *ratio* or *intellectus* necessary to comprehend revelation." Indeed, although Christianity as a religion is indifferent to any theory of knowledge, yet the latter is so important for theology that the whole strife between him and his opponents is, in Ritschl's opinion, a strife over a correct theory of knowledge.

Since Ritschl assumes such importance for a theory of knowledge, it is necessary to understand both his conception of epistemology in general and its function in theology. In order to define a theory of knowledge, we must understand his conception of metaphysics. "For a theory of knowledge here intended is identical with the

<sup>1</sup> Last edition published with *Die christliche Vollkommenheit* (Göttingen, 1902); referred to in this essay by the abbreviation *TM*.

<sup>2</sup> Ritschl, *A Critical History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation* (English translation by H. R. MacKintosh), Vol. III, p. 23; referred to in this essay as *JR*.

doctrine of the thing or things which forms the first part of metaphysics" (*TM*, p. 32). "Metaphysics deals with the universal ground of all being. It abstracts from the peculiar nature of natural and spiritual magnitudes in order to get the conception of a thing which is common to both" (*JR*, p. 16). Metaphysical knowledge is therefore *a priori* knowledge. Metaphysics may be divided into two parts. The first part is ontology, or the doctrine of things. It presents

the forms arising in the intelligible spirit of man in which it proceeds in general to fix the objects of representation above the currents of sensation and perception. Thus metaphysical conceptions include and regulate all other acts of knowledge which involve the specific peculiarity of nature and spirit. They explain how it is that the human mind, having had experimentally perceptions of different kinds, differentiates them in consequence into natural things and spiritual beings. But it does not follow from the position of metaphysics as superordinate to experimental knowledge that metaphysical conceptions give us a more profound and valuable knowledge of spiritual existence than can be gained from psychology and ethics. Compared with psychology and ethics, metaphysics yields only elementary and merely formal knowledge (*TM*, p. 32; *JR*, p. 16). A theory of things is employed formally in theology as settling the objects of knowledge, and defining the relations between the multiplicity of their qualities and the unity of their existence. The rules, which it is possible to set up here, form the conditions of experience by means of which the specific nature of things is to be recognized (*JR*, p. 18).

In addition to ontology, metaphysics includes cosmology. In cosmology "the manifold of the perceived and presented things is ordered to the unity of a world, whether the world be conceived as limitless or as a whole" (*TM*, p. 33). This, too, is *a priori* knowledge, and deals with the pure forms rather than with the experimentally given. It presents those general forms of intuition, such as space and time, in which external nature is arranged. But cosmology takes no account of the difference between nature and spirit, and its knowledge is also elementary and superficial. In fact, it applies the results of ontology to the realm of nature; so that ontology is the most important part of metaphysics.

From this we see that for Ritschl a theory of knowledge is identified with ontology, and since this is the chief part of metaphysics, Ritschl virtually equates a theory of knowledge and metaphysics. For this reason Ritschl denies the charge that he rules metaphysics out of

theology. "The question is," he says, "what metaphysics one will accept." He rules a false metaphysics out of theology, but he is enabled to do this by a true theory of knowledge, or because he recognizes the sphere and limitations of metaphysics.

Moreover, since for Ritschl a theory of knowledge is equated with ontology, the criticisms of Stählin<sup>3</sup> and Pfenningsdorf,<sup>4</sup> that Ritschl in his emphasis on a theory of knowledge is opposed by Lotze, must, at least, be modified. Lotze does object to the method of beginning the study of metaphysics by a preliminary critique of reason. It is not by tracing the genesis of our notions that we decide concerning their meaning and value. "The psychological origin of knowledge, and the play of conditions which co-operate in producing it, is the most obscure of all questions."<sup>5</sup> Moreover, for Lotze's teleological view of reality "the process of cognition is itself a part of existence,"<sup>6</sup> and, indeed, a most important part. "The investigation into what our perceiving soul contributes to the excitations which move it—that is, a critique of reason—does not require to precede metaphysics, but is a part of it." But Lotze does lay emphasis on ontology, and this is what Ritschl defines as a theory of knowledge. It is true that Ritschl does not give a clear statement of Lotze's position, and that he is influenced by Kant; nevertheless, his theory of knowledge follows closely the ontology of Lotze. He lays more stress than Lotze upon the genesis of the concept, and does not always differentiate this from the question of the validity of the concept. But it is evidently not his purpose to make a preliminary study of the powers of the mind in order thereby to fix the limits of knowledge.

The same question arises again when one asks what is the character of metaphysical knowledge. At first sight one is inclined to say that Ritschl accepts the Kantian position. Ontology and cosmology are names for Kant's forms of perception and the categories of the understanding. "Metaphysics presents the forms arising in the spirit of man, in which it proceeds in general to fix the objects of representation above the flow of sensations and conceptions" (*TM*, p. 33). Meta-

<sup>3</sup> *Kant, Lotze and Ritschl* (English translation).

<sup>4</sup> *Dogmatisches System von Lepsius und Ritschl*.

<sup>5</sup> *Introduction to Metaphysics*, Vol. I, § ix.

<sup>6</sup> Erdmann, *History of Philosophy*, Vol. III.

physical knowledge is formal and *a priori*. It is worthless for theology. One is inclined to say that the problem of metaphysics is surrendered, and in place of it we have an analysis of the human mind. We discover the forms of perception and deduce the categories of the understanding. Knowledge, then, is limited to phenomena. An attempt to form a metaphysics results from the illegitimate use of the forms and ideals of the understanding and reason beyond the data of sense. Real knowledge is in the natural sciences. Theology is a special science, gets its material through historical revelation, and is limited to phenomena. There is much in Ritschl to suggest this interpretation, and he has been so understood; but a more careful study of him will prove that it is incorrect. For Ritschl says that metaphysics does give us real knowledge. It is superficial and elementary knowledge; it is not valuable knowledge; but it is knowledge of things. It tells us the nature of the ground of all being. And since it does give this universal ground of being, it does not take into consideration the difference between nature and spirit.

Metaphysical concepts are elementary knowledge in which one fixes the objects of knowledge as such, that is, as things in general, in their unity and further in their general relation to each other. For this reason spiritual magnitudes are only superficially and imperfectly known in metaphysics, and not in their characteristic reality (*TM*, p. 56).

And the doctrine of God affords a place where a metaphysical idea is presented directly as theological. "The remaining propositions of theology," says Ritschl (*TM*, p. 40), "are of such a specifically spiritual (*geistiger*) character that metaphysics comes into consideration only as the formal rule for the knowledge of religious magnitudes or relations." Then, too, the so-called proofs for the existence of God fail, because they cannot rise above the world-ground, they cannot prove the spirituality of God. All this seems to show that, while Ritschl's form of statement is Kantian, his position is rather that of Lotze. He has not in mind the difference between form and content which Kant makes so fundamental. He follows Lotze in that he begins with our notions of things, and accepts the conclusion of Lotze. Ontology with Ritschl, as with Lotze, gives elementary knowledge of things; it even leads to a unitary world-ground. Ritschl concedes thus much to metaphysics, and for this reason the

doctrine of God is the only theological proposition which comes in contact with metaphysical knowledge. Ritschl,<sup>7</sup> however, claims to limit his agreement with Lotze's metaphysics to ontology.

Lotze admits that metaphysics "will only be able to unfold ideal forms to which the relation between everything real must conform."<sup>8</sup> In ontology "we seek a definition of thingness."<sup>9</sup> "We deal with a discovery of the universal formal predicates which must appertain to all that (whatever else it may be) which is called thing, or which appears in actuality as a subject of relations." Lotze starts from the general notions of a thing, and seeks to purify these in such a way as to attain a consistent and contradictionless concept. As a result, he reaches certain universal and necessary forms or categories of thought. But Lotze would reject Kant's method of the deduction of the categories. The content of sensation is as subjective as the forms of thought, and the validity of knowledge has to be determined on other grounds than from the analysis of the process of cognition. Lotze simply defines thingness in such a way as to have a consistent conception, and, as Mertz says:

The assumption that these modified notions thus gained have an objective meaning, and that they somehow correspond to the real order of the existing world, which of course they can never actually describe, depends on the general confidence we have in our reasoning powers, and in the significance of the world in which we ourselves, with all the necessary courses of our thought, have a place assigned to them in harmony with the whole.<sup>10</sup>

If it be said that Lotze's method is an illegitimate abstraction of the universal element from its content in concrete experience, and the final positing of this as an absolute to account for experience, then this, if correct, is a criticism upon Lotze's ontology which Ritschl accepts, and possibly upon idealism in general.

Ritschl's critics point out that he cannot accept the ontology of Lotze, since the latter reaches a unitary spiritual world-ground in which things are conceived as spiritual entities, while Ritschl claims that metaphysics does not do justice to spiritual magnitudes, because

<sup>7</sup> See Ecke, *Theologische Schule Ritschl's*, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> *Metaphysics*, Vol. II, § vi.

<sup>9</sup> *Outlines of Metaphysics*, § 15.

<sup>10</sup> Mertz, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. "Lotze."



it does not take into consideration the difference between nature and spirit. But there is no disagreement here; for Lotze says that ontology has not to deal with values.

Nature and spirit are two regions so different at first sight as to admit of no comparison, and demanding two separate modes of treatment, each devoted to the essential character by which the two regions are alike self-involved and separate from each other. But, on the other hand, they are destined to such constant action upon each other as parts of one universe that they constrain us at the same time to the quest for those universal forms of an order of things which they both have to satisfy alike in themselves and in their connection with each other.<sup>11</sup>

Metaphysics, Lotze tells us at the close of his ontology, "might accept a thoroughgoing determinism in which all that happens would be the inevitable and blindly necessitated result of all that has previously happened."<sup>12</sup> Such a view appears "incredible and preposterous" only "when estimated according to its significance and value." The world-substance for Lotze is by no means the God of religion. Mertz remarks that Lotze would probably claim that

the empty notion of an absolute can only become living and significant to us in the same degree as experience and thought have taught us to realize the seriousness of life, the significance of creation, the value of the beautiful and the good, and the supreme worth of personal holiness. To endow the universal substance with moral attributes, to maintain it is more than the metaphysical ground of anything, to say it is the perfect realization of the holy, beautiful, and good can only have a meaning for him who feels within himself what real, not imaginary, values are clothed in these expressions.<sup>13</sup>

Schiller,<sup>14</sup> in his criticism of Lotze's monism, says that Lotze never bridges the chasm between his metaphysical world-ground and the God of religion. In his religious philosophy Lotze presupposes only the religious conceptions as historically given problems of religious philosophy. It is not possible from his world-unity to extract any of the divine attributes.

Ritschl claims to accept Lotze's ontology, and his own brief statements concerning the nature of metaphysics agree with this claim. Metaphysical knowledge then gives us an elementary knowledge of things, but it does not deal with values, and so makes no difference between nature and spirit.

<sup>11</sup> *Metaphysics*, Vol. I, § xiii.

<sup>12</sup> *Outlines of Metaphysics*, § 75.

<sup>13</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

<sup>14</sup> *Philosophical Review*, Vol. V, pp. 225-45.

If, then, metaphysics gives only elementary knowledge, it is not difficult to define its relation to theology. Metaphysics does not even give valuable knowledge of things. If we want that, we turn to the natural sciences. It is even more impotent in the realm of spirit. Metaphysics deals only with that which is common to nature and spirit alike. Religious knowledge depends entirely upon that which is peculiar to spirit alone. "The religious world-view rests entirely on the fact that the spirit differentiates itself in worth from the phenomena surrounding it and the effects of nature forcing themselves upon it" (*TM*, p. 33). Metaphysical knowledge is worthless for theology. Why, then, is a theory of knowledge so valuable for the theologian? Because it has a formal, regulative, and critical function in theology. If one has the correct conception of metaphysics, he will not seek in its knowledge and by its methods to attain the content of theology. All the so-called proofs for the existence of God, and all speculations concerning the pre-existence of Christ and original sin, result from the use of a false theory of knowledge. These proofs can never rise above the world-unity; they cannot give the personality of God. "The use of metaphysics must be forbidden in theology, if the latter's proper and positive character is to be maintained" (*JR*, p. 17). A theory of knowledge can be used critically by a theologian as a weapon against speculative metaphysics and natural theology. The content of theology is absolutely excluded from the elementary and general knowledge of metaphysics.

But Ritschl's opponents would understand by metaphysics, to use his own words, "not that elementary knowledge of things in general which ignores their division into nature and spirit, but such a universal theory as shall be at once elementary and the final and exhaustive science of all particular orders of existence" (*JR*, p. 16). This is why they mingle metaphysical knowledge with revelation. Thus an alien content is mingled with the knowledge of the historical revelation because of a false concept of metaphysics. But this in turn is the result of the overestimation of the speculative method. This method fails to realize that the concepts and laws of human thought are methodological, and give but a partial and imperfect knowledge of reality. It is not for us in our thinking to follow the very laws that the Creator himself must have employed in creation.

A theory of knowledge then corrects this presumptive method. We cannot deduce all from an idea. We must know objects in their relation to us. In so far as the finiteness of knowledge makes objects phenomenal, then all objects are phenomena.

If God belongs as an object of knowledge to scientific theology, then there is no satisfying ground for any claim that one could know something of God in himself, which would be unknown to us apart from the revelation which is somehow created by him, but felt and perceived by us (*TM*, p. 59).

We know things in their relation to ourselves. For this reason we cannot know a passive soul behind and apart from all conscious action; we cannot speculate about the eternal pre-existent union of Christ with God, or the metaphysical attributes of God. The false method did not take into consideration the relation of the object to consciousness. "They want the objective bearing of doctrine and not the interpretation of them as reflected in the subject. But we observe and explain even the objects of sense-perception, not as they are in themselves, but as we perceive them" (*JR*, p. 34).

Wenley's criticism of Ritschl<sup>15</sup> is not just; for Ritschl never claims with Kant that in knowledge acquired through the senses we know phenomena, while in the moral and religious realm we deal with things in themselves. For Kant the practical reason does not give knowledge at all. We postulate God, freedom, and immortality, but we have no knowledge of them. We know that they are, but not what they are. It is because we have no knowledge of them that they are not phenomena. For Ritschl real knowledge of God is given in his historical revelation; but this, like all our knowledge, is the knowledge of a finite being, and so is partial and imperfect. Ecke's statement is more just to Ritschl when he affirms that the latter makes no difference between the objects of natural and spiritual knowledge in the matter of their knowableness; and this, he thinks, shows clearly that both the existence and the possibility of the knowledge of objects was for Ritschl an undoubted fact.<sup>16</sup> Wegener, who charged Ritschl with subjectivity, says that Ritschl makes no difference between the supersensual objects and those of sense-perception. Both appear under the same limitations.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Contemporary Theology and Theism*, pp. 82-124.

<sup>16</sup> *Theologische Schule Ritschl's*, p. 48.

<sup>17</sup> *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1884.

Ritschl then identifies a theory of knowledge with ontology. He admits that ontology gives a general and elementary knowledge of things. But this knowledge has no place in theology, for the latter is confined to the value of the spirit. Then again the method of metaphysics is *a priori*. But this speculative method cannot give us valuable knowledge. The method of theology must be inductive, not deductive; historical, not speculative; scientific, and not metaphysical.

## II

Ritschl finds three theories of knowledge prevalent in his age. The one he accepts is a mean between the other two, and avoids the mistake of each. The first view claims to know "things-in-themselves." It ignores the limitations of human knowledge. The other is agnostic and denies all knowledge of reality. The one which he accepts affirms, he thinks, a partial, but real, knowledge of reality. "We know the thing in its appearance."

The first theory of knowledge is due to the stimulus received from Plato, and found a home in the realm of scholasticism. "According to this view, the thing works upon us by means of its mutable qualities, arousing our sensations and ideas; but it really is at rest behind the qualities as a permanent self-equivalent unity of attributes" (*JR*, pp. 18, 19, 20). This conception of a thing is carried over into scholastic psychology. "It is assumed that behind specific activities of feeling, willing, and thinking, the soul remains at rest in self-equivalence as the unity of its diverse powers." And it is with this metaphysical passive soul that a metaphysical passive Deity enters into union.

Ritschl points out the contradictions involved in this view: (1) The thing or soul is passive and at rest, and yet it must be active, since it is the cause of qualities. (2) A temporal and spatial separation is made between the thing or soul at rest and the qualities which appear. Thus the thing is so severed from its qualities and the soul from its functions that it is not possible to view them as cause and effect. (3) Such a passive soul or thing would be absolutely unknowable for us.

In his *Theologie und Metaphysik* (§ 4, pp. 59 ff.) Ritschl seeks to account for the origin of this theory. He says, in substance, that

the guarantee for the reality of the thing is to be found in the sensations which it excites in us. Yet sensations often deceive us. In any interpretation of sensation, at least, there may be illusions. We seek to avoid this by subsequent and more careful observation. Then the common view makes the mistake of supposing that by repeated presentations and more exact observation we can know things as they are in themselves. We have the image as first perceived, in which there is illusion, and then we have the perception as purified by renewed presentation and observation; and the common view regards the first image as a thing in relation to us, and the latter as the thing-in-itself; i. e., the thing as it is apart from relation to any consciousness. It is assumed that all illusion arises from the relation of things to us, and that, when we know things in themselves, there can be no illusion. But if there is always illusion (*Schein*) in the relation of things to us, then there is no possible way to detect and measure the illusion. For we find out illusion by comparing our conceptions with those of others, or by repeated observations. But we can never contrast the object as related to us with the object apart from all relations to our consciousness. "We are not able to separate from the relation of things in general the necessary and unfailing relations to us as the subjects of sensations, perceptions, and ideas." An object apart from all relations to us would be absolutely unknowable. It is non-existent for us. We, then, know things in their relation to us and to one another. And the fact that we so know them is no discredit to our knowledge. But we know objects as related to a finite consciousness: our knowledge is limited. The vulgar view that we know things-in-themselves is incorrect. It is incorrect because things apart from all relation to us are absolutely unknowable for us, and it is mere dogmatic assumption to say that they exist at all. Then it is incorrect to say that objects are related to us as they are to a perfect consciousness. We know things as they are for us.

The second mistake of the vulgar view of things arises from taking "the mere stationary memory-image of repeated intuitions and effects by which our sensations and perceptions have been stimulated all along within one definite place" for the thing-in-itself. This, however, comes about as follows: When we have repeated

perceptions of the same thing under different conditions, there are certain qualities which are present in every presentation. These qualities get a certain stability and clearness, and by a process of involuntary abstraction we form them into a mental image of the thing. Moreover, we have a feeling of the value of this image, inasmuch as it guides, shortens, and makes easier renewed observation. We were originally assured of the reality of an object by its changing affection, by the sensations which it excites in us. And the memory-image, because of the feeling of its value, is put on a par with the experience which originally guaranteed the reality of the thing. Because of the permanency and clearness of the memory-image in comparison with immediate experience, the mistake is easily made of ascribing to it the reality. The memory-image becomes the thing in itself, and is placed in a plane immediately behind the appearing thing. It is made the real cause of the sensations. There thus arises the contradiction already referred to. This is the psychological explanation of the scholastic thing-in-itself. The claim to know things-in-themselves turns out to be a deception of the memory-image.

This is probably the psychological explanation of Plato's doctrine of ideas. Plato universalizes memory-images. For Plato's idea is but the class-concept which is formed by abstracting the common qualities of the individuals of a species; then Plato ascribed true reality to this concept. The things of sense-perception are supposed to exist and to be real in so far as they participate in the idea. The individual things are, as it were, shadowy images of the idea. These ideas exist in an intelligible world, and can be known by thought alone. Plato tries to think things-in-themselves, apart from their individual appearances to us; yet at the same time he has to make some sort of causal connection between the two. The very opposite of Plato is the truth. It is not the class-concept, but the individual, which is real. The more universal the concept, the paler, more fluctuating, and more undetermined it is; and when it is purified from these defects and is brought out in clear outline, it is the concept of an individual thing.

Frank is guilty of some such fallacy when he talks of the absolute. There is no such thing as substance in general. Frank's absolute is

an abstraction; Lotze would call it "pure being." Since you cannot get a substance behind matter, Frank's concept of the absolute is materialistic. What Frank gives us, says Ritschl, as the absolute or thing-in-itself, is really an imperfect concept of a thing. This is Hegel's criticism of Kant's things-in-themselves. The absolute, Ritschl affirms, is the unrelated. Strictly speaking, this has no meaning. For if we speak of an object as absolutely unrelated, both to other objects and to our sense and intelligence, we are talking nonsense; for such an object is inaccessible to us. But Frank does not do this. He takes an imperfect concept of a thing—a concept that is stripped of all special qualities, of all its relations to other things and to our sense-perception; and he has left an abstraction, a purely formal concept, Kant's unity of apperception; and, of course, such an abstraction cannot give us real knowledge of reality. Yet this is the deception which Frank practices upon himself when he talks of his absolute. It is akin to the scholastic mistake of hypostasizing the memory-image. For a memory-image is virtually identified with a formal concept, since each has lost the special qualities of a concrete thing.

The whole process of thinking "pure being" or "things-in-themselves," meaning by that the unrelated, and then somehow attaching qualities to them in an accidental manner, is unclear and contradictory. The individual apple which we eat is the real apple, and the man in the direction of his will and in the harmony of his feeling of self, whom we learn to know, is he himself. Behind this we do not have to bring into consideration a more characteristic or real being of man to understand him. And the real God is the one who has revealed himself to us in historical revelation, and not the undifferentiated, undetermined, and limitless being which is attained by metaphysical speculation.

The second form of the theory of knowledge we owe to Kant. He limits the knowledge of the understanding to the world of phenomena, but declares unknowable the thing or things-in-themselves, though their interdependent changes are the ground of the changes in the world of phenomena. The latter part of the statement contains a true criticism of the scholastic interpretation of a "thing." The first part, however, is too near the scholastic theory to avoid its errors. For a world of phenomena can be posited as the object of knowledge only if we suppose that something real—to wit, the thing—appears to us or is the

cause of our sensations and perceptions. Otherwise the phenomenon can only be treated as illusion. Thus by his use of the conception of phenomenon Kant contradicts his own principle that real things are unknowable (*JR*, p. 19).

Ritschl's criticism of Kant is that he virtually accepts the scholastic conception and valuation of the thing-in-itself. He shows very correctly that the thing-in-itself is so separated from its appearances that a knowledge of it is impossible. Kant thus exposes the fallacy of the scholastic knowledge of the thing-in-itself. But he is to be censured in that this very fact did not lead him to give up such a conception of things. It is because he himself retains a scholastic conception that he denies a knowledge of reality; but in order to save knowledge from being mere illusion, he implies that appearance is an appearance of reality.

This leads Ritschl (*JR*, pp. 19, 20) to state his own position, which is that of Lotze, and it involves such a conception of things-in-themselves, or of things, that we may have a real, though partial, knowledge of them. Ritschl rejects the scholastic conception, which defines a thing as the unrelated. The opposite is true. Things are in relation, and appearance is the knowledge of reality. "In the phenomena, which in a definite space exhibit changes to a limited extent and in a definite order, we cognize the thing as the cause of its qualities acting upon us, as the end which they serve as means, and as the law of their constant change." In his *Theologie und Metaphysik* (§ 4, pp. 63 f.), after showing the psychological origin of the conception of a thing, like Lotze, he starts from the ordinary conception of a thing to get a clear and consistent conception.

In the elementary stage of the formation of the conception of a thing there is no need [such as the scholastic view necessarily implies] to put in two planes, side by side, the thing, and its attributes which are felt and perceived by us at the same time, and to put the one behind the other, and to assert the possibility of the knowledge of the thing behind its attributes or before the recognition of them. Nor is there need of this, when the conception of a thing is enriched, when the marks are understood as manifest effects of a cause and as means to an end, when one recognizes the marks as changing in definite limits, and the whole as effective in the regular change of its attributes; when, finally, one supposes a law in the perceived history of a thing. [Rather] the thing is caused in its effects and purpose in the ordered series in its appearing changes.

These two passages contain the clear statements of Ritschl concerning his conception of the thing, and show his acceptance of the



ontology of Lotze. According to the statements here, a thing is causality. It is operative and dynamic. It is activity. But it is not mere becoming. It is activity or change within certain limits and according to its own definite law. A thing has the purposive causality of a self.

Ritschl's statements are so brief that they cannot be understood except in the light of Lotze's fuller exposition. He accepts Lotze's idea of cause: causality is efficient. He accepts again Lotze's idea of change. "The phenomena of a thing exhibit changes in a definite sphere and to a limited extent."<sup>18</sup> Lotze tells us that "phenomena neither persist without change, nor change without a principle of change." But change with him indicates transformations or movements of the thing "within a limited sphere of quality." "The essence or substance of a thing is that which admits of change," but in change "the thing never passes over from one sphere to another."

When Ritschl defines the thing as the "law of the constant change of the qualities," or supposes "a law in the perceived history of the thing," he is giving an abbreviated statement of Lotze's position. For Lotze declares "that the essence of a thing cannot be expressed in a quality, but only in the logical form of a conception, which expresses the permanently uniform observance of law in the succession of various states or the combination of various predicates."<sup>19</sup> A thing for Lotze is known in its behavior. The complete conception of a thing includes its past and future history.

Even the actual present condition of a thing would not admit of exhaustive analysis without thinking of the mutual connection of the manifold phenomena which it exhibits as already ordered, according to the same law which would appear still more plainly upon a consideration of the various states past and to be expected of the thing.

This concept of a thing as the law of its changes serves to bring out the idea of unity in difference, and yet Lotze confesses that it is a very imperfect concept of a thing. For a thing is always more than a concept or idea. We must remember, too, the methodological character of our concepts. Then the term "law," as used above, needs to be defined. By the use of the term he does not mean a general law, but "an instance of its application." Then, too, law may be

<sup>18</sup> *Metaphysics*, Vol. I, chap. 2.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 3.

individual, and this is meant here. We may define the thing as "the realized individual law of its behavior." Yet this statement is not exact, since the law is not realized, but has always been real.

It is not a law which, though real as law, had still to wait to be followed, but one followed eternally, and so followed that the law, with the following of it, was not a mere fact or event that takes place, but a self-completing activity. And this activity we look upon, not in the nature of a behavior separable from the essence which so behaves, but as forming the essence itself—the essence not being a dead point behind the activity, but identical with it. But, however faint we might be to speak of a real law or a living idea, in order the better to express our thought, language would always compel us to put two words together on which the ordinary course of thinking has stamped two incompatible and contradictory meanings.

One may, or may not, accept this idea of a thing, but Ritschl does accept it, and when his statement is viewed and interpreted in the light of Lotze's fuller exposition, many of the criticisms of his opponents lose their force.

When Ritschl ascribes purposive causality to things—when the thing is defined as "the end which the qualities serve as means"—he means to accept Lotze's view that things possess a certain selfhood. "If there be things," Lotze says, "with the properties we demand of things, they must be more than things. Only by sharing this characteristic of spiritual nature can they fulfil the general requirements which must be fulfilled in order to constitute a thing."<sup>20</sup>

Our ideas, feelings, and efforts appear to be in their nature the states of a being, of the necessary unity of which, as contrasted with them, we are immediately conscious . . . for these inner events appear to us as states only through the marvelous nature of mind, which can compare every idea, every feeling, every passion, with others; and, just because of this relating activity with reference to them all, knows itself as a permanent subject from which under various conditions they result."<sup>21</sup>

The self, then, is for Lotze the best example of a thing, and it is not in thought merely, but by our whole experience, that we are able to know ourselves, and what we mean by a thing. In the passages already quoted we see that for Lotze there is not some substance behind the thing or soul to which the qualities adhere. It is not a substance which lies behind things and gives them reality, but

<sup>20</sup> *Metaphysics*, Vol. I, chap. 7, § 97.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 633.

"reality is that ideal content which, by means of what it is, is capable of producing the appearance of a substance lying within it, to which it belongs as predicate."<sup>22</sup>

We have seen that Ritschl accepts Lotze's definition of a thing. We have now to point out that certain passages indicate that, like Lotze, he held that things are in constant interaction. Lotze affirms that things are in interaction, and that the nature of the interaction is determined by the natures of the interacting things and by the relations existing between them. A certain state is not carried over from one body into another.<sup>23</sup> But the effect in a body A is determined when we consider both the nature of A and of B, the interacting things, and the relations C under which they interact. Further, the relation between subject and object comes under the general relation of the interaction of things. When subject and object interact, states are produced in the former. "Our ideas are excited in the first instance by means of external impulse." For this reason, an idea is not a mere copy of something. Since it comes under the general law of interaction, the nature of both subject and object, and the relation existing between them, co-operate in the determination of the idea. For Lotze the soul is active, and the sensation is not a passive content given, but the reaction of the soul upon the object which stimulates it.

Ritschl accepts this view (*JR*, p. 18):

In the theory of things, it is taken for granted that the self is not of itself the cause of sensations, perceptions, etc., but that these peculiar activities of the soul are stimulated by its coexistence with things of which the human body is one (*TM*, p. 44).

The soul affirms itself as "cause of its changing sensations under the stimulus of the appearance of the thing." He speaks (*TM*, p. 64) of a "series of sensations excited by the thing."

For all causes which affect the soul work upon it as stimuli of the special activity with which it is endowed. The relation of the soul to all the causes which work upon it is not one of simple passivity; all actions upon it, rather, it takes up in its sensations, as a reaction in which it manifests itself as an independent cause (*JR*, p. 21).

If sensations and perceptions are states in a self or thing as a result of its interaction with others, then knowledge is subjective,

<sup>22</sup> *Outlines of Metaphysics*, § 28.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, § 48.

though it may have a transubjective reference. This is what Ritschl seems to hold. He gives the following as a psychological genesis of the concept of a thing:

The presentation (*Vorstellung*) of a thing arises out of the different sensations which, in a definite order, fasten themselves to something that perception fixes in a limited space. We posit the apple as a round, red, sweet thing, since the sensations of touch, sight, and taste bunch themselves in the place in which the corresponding relations of form, color, and taste are perceived. These same relations which by repeated perceptions meet in a common spot we unite in the idea of a thing, which exists in its relations, which we know only in these relations and designate by means of them. The relation of the marks in question, thus fixed by our sensations, to the thing which we express in the "judgment," "This thing is round, red, and sweet," signifies that we know the subject of this proposition solely in the predicate. Could we leave them out of view, or forget them, the thing which we had come to know in and by these marks would cease to be a matter of knowledge (*TM*, p. 63).

The impression that the perceived thing in the change of its marks is one, arises from the continuity of the feeling of self in the succession of sensations excited by the thing. Further, the apprehension of the thing as cause and as its own end arises from the certainty that I am cause and that I am end in the activities due to me. . . . The appearances which are perceived in a limited space in the same position or series, and their changes in a definite limit and order, are combined by our faculty of representation to the unity of a thing, after the analogy of the cognizing soul which, in the change of its corresponding sensations, feels and remembers itself as permanent unity (*TM*, p. 44).

In these passages Ritschl explains how we form the concept of the thing. He reminds us of Kant. And if these passages, together with the definition of metaphysics as presenting the categories of the mind (which was discussed in the previous section), were taken apart from his ontological position, we would pronounce Ritschl Kantian. We seem to have here Kant's logical or psychological division of form and content. We have the faculty of representation uniting the sensations into a phenomenon-thing. The thing, apart from this content, is a pure formal concept. Kant says: "The unity necessitated by the object cannot be anything but the formal unity of our consciousness, in the synthesis of the manifold in our representations."<sup>4</sup> Kant tells us again: "Phenomena are nothing but sensuous representations, which therefore by themselves must not be taken for objects outside the faculty of representation."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Critique of Pure Reason* (Max Müller's translation), p. 87.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

But is it possible for Ritschl here to be in agreement with his ontological position and with the general position of Lotze? That he thought so is plain from his appeal to Lotze in the very passage (*TM*, p. 44) which sounds most like Kant, and in the other passage (pp. 63, 64) he passes at once from the genesis of the concept to its validity. Further, in these very passages the excitation of sensations is caused by the thing. In the matters here discussed the position of Lotze does not differ materially from that of Kant. For Kant the world of nature is the product of consciousness. It is constructed by the understanding. Phenomena, then, are in consciousness. While Kant's general thought is that consciousness embraces both subject and object, yet sometimes he would seem to imply that the world of objects is the mental construction of the individual conscious self. For Kant, then, we know phenomena. But now Lotze finds in this statement, that we know phenomena,<sup>26</sup> a prejudice. What Kant calls phenomenon, the mental construction, it would seem that Lotze would call knowledge. Kant's phenomena are not realities, because they are a knowledge of reality, and knowledge is subjective. Knowledge is knowledge for someone just as truly as it is knowledge of something. Sensations, perceptions, and conceptions are elements of knowledge, and are the possession of an individual consciousness. Lotze says, in the passage to which Ritschl appeals:

We admit, therefore, the complete subjectivity of our knowledge with the less ambiguity because we see clearly, moreover, that it is unavoidable, and that although we may forego the claim to all knowledge whatever, we can put no other knowledge in the place of that on which doubt is thrown that would not be open to the same reproach. . . . But this universal character of subjectivity as belonging to all knowledge can settle nothing as to its truth or untruth. And it is a fallacy, on account of the subjectivity of all the elements out of which it has been formed, to deny its truth, and to pronounce the outer world to be merely a creation of our imagination. For the state of things could be no other, were the things without us or not. Our knowledge in the one case, our impressions in the other, could alike consist only in states or activities of our own being—in what we call impressions made on our nature, supposing these to be things, but on no supposition on anything other than a subjective property of ours.<sup>27</sup>

The demonstration of a thoroughgoing subjectivity of all the elements of our cognition, sensations, pure intuitions, and pure notions of the understanding is

<sup>27</sup> *Metaphysics*, § 94.

<sup>26</sup> *Logic*, § 312.

in no respect decisive against the assumption of the existence of a world of things outside of ourselves. For it is clear that this subjectivity of cognition must in any case be true, whether things do or do not exist. For, even if things exist, still our cognition of them cannot consist in their actually finding an entrance into us, but only in their exercising an action upon us. But the products of this action, as affections of our being, can receive their form from our nature alone. And it is easy to persuade ourselves that, even in case things do actually exist, all parts of our cognition will have the very same subjectivity as that from which it might be hastily concluded that things do not exist.<sup>28</sup>

In his *Logic*,<sup>29</sup> Lotze points out that an intelligence can never be the thing-in-itself, but can only "have an aggregate of ideas about the thing. He who demands a knowledge which shall be more than a connected and consistent system of ideas about the thing—a knowledge that should exhaust the thing-itself—is no longer asking for knowledge at all, but for something entirely unintelligible."

What, then, Kant calls phenomena, Lotze would apparently call knowledge. Sensations, percepts, concepts, unite to form knowledge, but not things. They are processes in the individual consciousness. But things exist for Lotze whether we know them or not. When you ask after the psychological genesis of knowledge—that is, after the relation of sense to understanding—Lotze's position is similar to that of Kant. He advances somewhat upon the psychology of Kant, but his general position is the same. There are with Lotze certain *a priori* elements in knowledge, there are logical acts which have formal and not real significance. He says:

We cannot assent to the distinction between the matter and form of knowledge as drawn by Kant. The idea is, indeed, perfectly just, but he formulates it inaccurately when he ascribes the entire content to experience, and the form alone to the innate activity of the mind. Kant was well aware of the fact that even the simplest sensations which in the strictest sense furnish the original content of all our perception do not come to us ready made from without, but, on the contrary (if we are to hold to the concept of an external world), can only be considered as reactions of our own nature of combined sense and intellect in response to the stimuli coming from that world.<sup>30</sup>

It is not, then, for Lotze that the content of sensation is furnished by an unknowable, and that the mind subsumes this under its own forms; but rather that the soul, stimulated by its interaction with

<sup>28</sup> *Outlines of Metaphysics*, § 79.

<sup>29</sup> *Logic*, § 308.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, § 326.

things, reacts in the form of sensations, feelings, and ideas. The concept of a thing is formed from its continued activity. Now, it is a "sensation which is our warrant for the presence of real being. . . . There is this reality of content, which in the last resort is given only in sensuous perception."<sup>31</sup> "Sensation is the only warrant for the certainty that something is." If now you abstract from your concept of the thing all the qualities, you have left an abstract form which cannot convey knowledge of any particular thing.

Ritschl, then, is in accord with Lotze when he describes the genesis of a concept as a subjective process; when he further says that, apart from its qualities, a thing is a purely formal concept; and when he affirms that "the sensations which come to us through the senses are the first and last guarantee that the things, which we perceive in the sensations which they excite, exist or are real" (*TM*, pp. 44, 58). He is in accord with him when he affirms that the unity of the concept arises out of the continuity of the feeling of self, and when he ascribes cause to the thing after the analogy of the soul. Lotze affirms that "what we take to be the perception of a thing is never more than a plurality of contemporary sensations held together by nothing but the identity of the place at which they are presented to us, and by the unity of our consciousness which binds them together as intuitions."<sup>32</sup> But, says Lotze, the natural theory of the world never believes that it finds the essence of the thing in these qualities, and he seeks for a more adequate conception of the thing. Ritschl follows him when he says that the subject is known in its predicates, and uses for illustration the very sentence of Lotze: "The thing is round, red, and sweet." But he passes at once from what he calls an elementary concept of a thing to a more adequate one, that is, to Lotze's definition of a thing.

But how can we pass from the genesis of the concept to its validity? How go from the subjectivity of knowledge to the transsubjective reality of the thing? Ritschl does this several times, but he never tells us how. Let us turn to Lotze. It is, indeed, a difficult question for him to answer. He gives us an antithesis of thought and things, but just how thought assures us of things which are not thoughts is a difficult problem. It seems to come down to the fact of intuition,

<sup>31</sup> *Metaphysics*, Vol. I, chap. 1, § 344.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, § 16.

of immediate conviction, to feeling, to the sensation itself. It is a deep conviction which we must accept as true. "Fichte did not draw the only logical inference that could be drawn, namely, solipsism. And if you admit the existence of others, then why not of real things." Bowne, a disciple of Lotze, calls things "projected conceptions." "We do not know," he affirms, "how our thoughts, which arise and exist only in our consciousness, should yet grasp realities independent of our consciousness; but we are compelled to admit the fact, and if in one case, then why not in others." Lotze acknowledges that there is not the same necessity for this in the case of things that there is in that of persons. For a Universal Being could act upon us in such a way as to produce a uniform impression of things, and satisfy all our intellectual demands. A subjective idealism is then a possibility. But, in general, Lotze assumes the existence of things as a fact of which we are immediately conscious. And his explanation of this would seem to be as follows: Things exist in interaction. Sensations, ideas and feelings are the states in a conscious being which arise through this interaction. They give us knowledge of reality. Appearance has both a subject to which it appears and an object which appears. Ideas are not things, they are not copies of things, but they are valid of things. Every sensation, feeling, or idea "is in itself a bit of information about reality;"<sup>33</sup> it is the very nature of knowledge that it gives us information of things beyond the immediate experience. The concept of a thing may arise in the child-mind after repeated experiences. And the concept conveys to the child information concerning its own cause. It is in this light that Ritschl is to be interpreted when he makes real things the cause of experience, and yet regards the concept of the thing as the product of experience.

The interpretation given above seems to be Lotze's thought. If so, then he teaches that we know reality. We have partial knowledge because we are finite, and stand, not in the center, but at the periphery of reality. We can outline reality; we can tell its formal character. Things are soul-like entities; but our knowledge is limited. For Lotze this is not valuable knowledge which leads us to see the formal nature of things; but the laws of science, and the values which ethics

<sup>33</sup> Robins, *Lotze's Theory of Knowledge*, chap. 2, p. 52.



and religion express, constitute the really valuable knowledge and give content to the reality whose formal character ontology delineates. If we were to accept Lotze's *Logic* alone, we would be inclined to say that he limits knowledge to phenomena; but in that case he should not discuss the nature of things in themselves. Interpreters differ, and Lotze is so many-sided that it is difficult to understand him. Robins interprets him in accordance with the interpretation here given. Many of his students take the same general position. Ritschl seems to have interpreted him thus, and that is important for us. He considers him a mean between gnostic scholasticism and agnostic Kantianism.

In Ritschl's theory of knowledge he denies the scholastic conception of substance as the essence of things. He denies the separation they make between the thing and its qualities. He denies their claim to perfect knowledge, and finds in it a logical fallacy. They transform a logical concept into a metaphysical entity. They over-emphasize the laws of thought, and make them constitutive of reality when they are only methodological. He rejects Kantianism. It is not true that we know only phenomena. This reduces knowledge to an illusion. He accepts Lotze's position, and interprets him to mean that we have a partial knowledge of reality. We know the formal nature of things by metaphysics. Their real nature is learned by experience, and induction is the method of procedure. We can never know things as a perfect intelligence knows them, but only as they are for us. Knowledge is subjective. It is the possession of an individual consciousness, but it has an objective reference.

### III

1. *The Platonic theory of knowledge.*—Wendland says<sup>34</sup> that Ritschl does not know the difference between a memory-image and a concept. Neither does he appreciate the function of a concept. Our concepts are not merely a matter of preference, but we are led to form them by the nature of reality outside of us. When a class-concept is correctly formed, it is as sharply and clearly drawn as that of an individual thing. Ritschl virtually denies that careful thinking fol-

<sup>34</sup> *Albrecht Ritschl und seine Schüler*, pp. 37-46.

lowing perception can give us a better knowledge of objects than perception alone.

Lüdemann<sup>35</sup> considers it is false to compare ideas as Plato used them with memory-images. Plato, moreover, held that the ideas were in relation to us, though not to our sense, yet to our thought; so they are not things-in-themselves. These ideas were not to account for the changeable, but the endurable in things. His ideas were concepts, and when Ritschl fails to find a definite and clear knowledge in them, it is because he confuses concepts with intuitions.

Esslinger<sup>36</sup> judges from Ritschl's attacks upon class-concepts that he would forbid conceptional thinking, since he regards it as self-deception to attain definite and clear knowledge by means of concepts. One, then, knows less about an object after reflection upon it, than before. Ritschl needs to be reminded that "percepts without concepts are blind." The idea of an apple is a definite and clear presentation.

These criticisms contain an element of truth. Ritschl does not discriminate between an image and a concept. The difference is entirely one of function. A concept is a rule for the construction of the object or class. The image may serve for the picture of the concept. One does not always fill out the picture fully. But the image is always particular. There is no image of a horse in general. The difference between the particular and the general is one of function.

Ritschl, in his brief statement of Plato's ideas, does not do justice to that philosopher. His ideas were universals. Lotze, in his *Logic*,<sup>37</sup> recognizes the problem of Plato, and ascribes to his ideas the reality of eternal validity. He thinks this is what Plato himself meant to claim for them. But Ritschl does put his finger on the difficulty in Plato's thought, namely, the causal relation between pure eternal being and the changing individual things of sense-perceptions. Ritschl, moreover, is correct when he says that, because of the logical value of universals and concepts, they are often improperly valued and employed. They are given a metaphysical existence. The relation of substance and attribute is a logical one. We call that "attribute" or "quality" which we cannot think of without ascrib-

<sup>35</sup> *Protestantische Monatshefte*, 1897, pp. 189-205.

<sup>36</sup> *Zur Erkenntnistheorie Ritschl's*.

<sup>37</sup> *Logic*, §§ 316-20.

ing it to something else, and we call that "substance" which we regard as the bearer of these qualities. A thing, then, is a substance in respect to something else. Substance and qualities are correlates. And the same thing may be a quality with respect to one thing, and yet be regarded as substance in respect to another. Now, in the case of a physical body there are certain qualities which, as Ritschl points out, are constant, e. g., extension and resistance; while there are others which change with every experience. We may regard the former as substance, since they represent the relatively common or constant element in our experience. We may call them the essential elements of the thing, and regard the other qualities as accidents. But when we regard them as forming a separate metaphysical entity, to which the other qualities are attached, we have, as Ritschl affirms, hypostasized a logical abstraction. These qualities of extension and resistance, as a separate metaphysical entity, have no more reality apart from the whole concrete experience than do the other qualities which change with every perception. The same may be said with regard to any state of self-consciousness. There are certain elements which are relatively constant. The impulsive element of will, or that which Kant designates the "I think," may be found in every state of consciousness. Every state of consciousness is impulsive, or it is owned. I cannot have a state of consciousness without thinking of it as mine, without referring it to the *ego*. Yet to make of this will-element present in every concrete state, or of this "I think," a separate and metaphysical entity which lies behind consciousness and is the cause of all its states—to find in it a metaphysical self—is to hypostasize a logical abstraction which can have no existence apart from the concrete whole from which it has been abstracted.<sup>38</sup> In his doctrine of the memory-image Ritschl does point out how metaphysical entities are placed behind souls and things as substances or things-in-themselves which support the qualities and activities. In doing this he places himself in line with modern psychology and logical thought.

Ritschl does not stand for the particular against the universal, as Esslinger affirms, but for the individual as against either an abstract particular or an abstract universal. He does not say that repeated

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Frank Thilly. *Philosophical Review*, Vol. XI.

observation and reflection will not give us a better knowledge of things—he tacitly assumes that they do; but he does say that these repeated observations and reflections simply relate the thing more completely to the self, and so the thing by them is not known apart from its relations to us. When Ritschl denies that a clear knowledge can be gained from the concept of an apple, his real point is one of method. It is not wise to begin with the concept of “apple,” “soul,” or “absolute,” and from this concept seek to attain truth by means of speculative and logical thought. Here Ritschl has in mind Hegelianism, and is influenced by Lotze. The latter everywhere points out the danger in taking universals of thought for reality. He affirms, over against the constitutive nature of thought, its methodological character.

Every concept expresses only an aspect of a thing. There can be several equally right and fruitful concepts of the same thing. The concept manifests only a part of the nature of the thing. It beholds it from the periphery and not the center. All such concepts are liable to change and modification, and can gradually develop and express more and more the nature of a thing.<sup>39</sup>

But does not Ritschl lay too much stress upon the abstract character of thought? For him the process of attaining universals is a process of abstraction. The greater the extension, the less the intension. Lotze<sup>40</sup> tells us that the universal has as many marks as a subsumed individual, but that the marks are general in the former, while in the latter they are definite. Yet even he admits that in the most general universal some marks would be reduced to zero. We may admit that all thought is an abstraction. But it is a necessary abstraction. It is so because the reality of immediate experience has gone from us, and we seek a method to bring us in contact with reality again. Thought is abstract because it is only a phase of experience; it is abstract as long as it is inadequate. But when we say that the forming of universals is an advance in abstraction, we are looking at but one phase in the process. We do abstract to attain a universal, but we attain the universal to apply it, and in that sense the process is toward concreteness. Let us take Ritschl's concept of

<sup>39</sup> Robins, *Lotze's Theory of Knowledge*, chap. 2, p. 63; cf. also Lotze, *Logic*, §§ 345, 316, 138; *Mikrokosmos*, Vol. II, pp. 333 ff.

<sup>40</sup> *Logic*, §§ 25-33.

an apple. We form the concept "apple" as the predicate of the judgment, "This is an apple." Now, if this is a live judgment, we know more about the subject, the "this," than we did before the judging process. It is not a pear, or some other fruit, but an apple. And we know more about the predicate, the "apple," since all apples are now related to this one particular species of fruit. Knowledge is relating, and every advance to universals means an increase in relations.

Ritschl is correct in his emphasis on the individual. The individual apple is the real apple. It is this I must take account of, if I would have the experience of eating an apple. This functional point of view would mean some change in Lotze's concept of a thing, though he approaches it when he defines a thing in terms of its behavior.

Ritschl's criticism of the scholastic conception of the soul has received severe criticism from the pen of Pfleiderer.<sup>41</sup> The latter thinks that when Ritschl gives up the concept of a soul as a thing-in-itself, he takes the position of the Positivists. They explain the unity of the self as appearance and only the manifoldness as the reality; but how this appearance could ever be brought about, how the actual consciousness of the identical *ego*, how the continuity of consciousness, how recollection from one day to another, is possible, if there are in us only changing functions, and not a permanent unity from which they proceed and into which they return, depositing there their results—this is and remains hereby wholly incomprehensible.

Ritschl, moreover, contradicts himself when he maintains a self-sufficient moral character, for he assumes the "in itself of the soul." The doctrine of a soul which seeks to do without a soul will have difficulty in finding a place for immortality.

Garvey<sup>42</sup> thinks that Ritschl's criticism of the scholastic separation of the soul from its activities is justified, and he agrees that that which is most valuable is our conscious activities, and not the subconscious. Yet Ritschl is incautious in his statement, and goes farther than present psychology demands. "Attributes and operations cannot be permanently construed, unless on the assumption of such a permanent unity which is manifest and active in, but is not

<sup>41</sup> *Ritschl'sche Theologie*, pp. 10-12.

<sup>42</sup> *The Ritschlian Theology*, pp. 138-40.

exhausted in, these attributes and operations." "There is a mental latency, an organic basis, which must be taken into account in a rational construction of personality, as well as the conscious functions and empirical variations." Yet the fact that Ritschl accepts Lotze's definition of a thing which is applicable to the self, as well as his treatment of the divine personality, shows, he thinks, that Ritschl never meant to deny the unity of consciousness.

Traub<sup>43</sup> agrees with Ritschl. Pfeiderer identifies the scholastic concept of a soul-in-itself behind its conscious functions with the conception of the unity of consciousness, and the whole force of his criticism that Ritschl dissolves the soul into a multiplicity of its functions rests upon this mistaken identification. But the unity of the soul is not in a substance behind consciousness. The assumption of an individual soul-substance behind each soul does not explain the unity of consciousness, but only complicates the problem. This conception has been abandoned by modern psychology. It affords no help to the doctrine of immortality. For the hope of immortality is not grounded on the form of the soul, but upon its valuable content.

Traub's criticism of Pfeiderer is correct. It is probable that he has not correctly interpreted Pfeiderer, but it is certain that the latter did not do justice to Ritschl. When Ritschl rejects the soul-in-itself, it is the scholastic entity that he has in mind. When Pfeiderer affirms the "in itself" of the soul, he does not mean it in the scholastic sense. Ritschl's position is here again a reflection of Lotze.<sup>44</sup> Lotze rejects the scholastic conception of soul-substance. The relating activity of consciousness affirms its necessary unity. "It is not through a substance that things have being, but they have being when they are able to produce the appearance of a substance present in them." If Lotze used the term "substance" for the soul, he had in mind nothing more than the unity of consciousness. He considers that the idea of a substance as a sort of atom under each individual thing or soul is absurd. He chides Kant because, while he shows conclusively that the soul in the scholastic sense would be absolutely unknowable, he still seems to imply that, if we could only know it, we should have some very valuable knowledge. Lotze tells

<sup>43</sup> *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 1894, pp. 91-129.

<sup>44</sup> *Metaphysics*, §§ 243-47.

us that we know the being of the thing in what it is and does. "Every soul is what it shows itself to be—unity whose life is in definite ideas, feelings, and efforts." The idea of substance does not help us in our hope of immortality, but that hope rests upon the meaning of the universe and the significance of the soul in its relation to the whole.

We have seen that Ritschl accepts Lotze's ontology, which includes his doctrine of the soul. He is antagonistic to mysticism. He wishes to make a place for historical revelation and to put the proper value upon ethical action. Ritschl emphasizes a practical type of piety. The practical philosophy of Lotze appealed to him. They have much in common; but Ritschl lacks what Lotze possessed—moderation of statement and the power to recognize all phases of a truth, even the criticisms and views of his opponents. There is some truth in Garvey's statement. Consciousness is not exhausted in its conscious activities, and even so noted a psychologist as Professor James, who rejects the doctrine of soul-substance, and whose general psychological and philosophical position is more or less in line with Ritschlian thought, has nevertheless, in his *Varieties of Religious Experiences*, an appreciative chapter upon mysticism, and virtually finds place for revelation in the subliminal or subconscious self.

2. *The Kantian theory of knowledge.*—Pfleiderer asks: "If Ritschl agrees with Kant when he says the thing-in-itself is unknowable, how can he criticise him for limiting knowledge to phenomena?"<sup>45</sup> Flügel<sup>46</sup> finds in Ritschl a misinterpretation of Kant. Kant never says that real things are unknowable. Noumena, or things-in-themselves, are unknowable, but real things are phenomena, and these are what we know. Traub finds that Ritschl has accepted the common interpretation of Kant which, while it must be admitted that it has several passages in its favor, is nevertheless incorrect. Kant never meant to say that things-in-themselves are unknowable, but "that their interdependent changes ground the world of phenomena." Kant uses the thing-in-itself as a negative limiting concept (*Grenzbegriff*). It brings to expression the limits of our knowledge of experience, but it is not a positive reality which is at the basis of the phenomenal world and its changes. "Theoretical knowledge, in

<sup>45</sup> *Ritschl'sche Theologie*, p. 2.

<sup>46</sup> *A. Ritschls philosophische und theologische Ansichten*, p. 9.

the sense of Kant, knows of no other reality than those of the world of phenomenon. Phenomenon and thing are one and the same; a being behind phenomenon is a mere chimera."

Pfleiderer's criticism is keen, but superficial. This might be said, in general, of his entire treatment of Ritschl. The very fact that Ritschl seems to contradict himself so squarely in two consecutive sentences ought to have led so able a critic as Pfleiderer to question his own interpretation. Pfleiderer says of a certain position of Ritschl: "That seems very simple and evident—so simple that one might only wonder that such sensible people as Plato and Kant could not have reached it." One feels like replying here to Pfleiderer: "This contradiction seems very evident and clear—so clear, in fact, that one can only wonder that so sensible a man as Ritschl might not even himself have noticed it." It is difficult for two men, representing such extremes in thought, spirit, and method, as Pfleiderer and Ritschl, to understand and appreciate each other. Pfleiderer's work, however, is not to be compared with that of Stählin.<sup>47</sup> The extravagance of the criticism, and the whole tone and spirit of that work, must surely defeat the plain purpose of the author in the mind of any honest and thoughtful reader.

There is an apparent contradiction in Ritschl's statement, but his thought is consistent. We have pointed out that, if things-in-themselves are as the scholastics represent them, then they are unknowable. Ritschl says: "Kant affirms a true criticism *of the scholastic interpretation of a thing*." Ritschl criticises Kant because he saw this and still maintained their conception of a thing, and this compelled him to limit knowledge to phenomenon. "The latter part," says Ritschl, "is too near the *scholastic theory to avoid its errors*." Ritschl's position here is not difficult to understand, if one really wishes to understand him, nor is it inconsistent.

In regard to the criticisms of Flügel and Traub, the historical student of Kant must answer that there are two tendencies in Kant, and that Ritschl represents one and Traub the other. One line of Kant's thought does lead him to Traub's position. The real thing and phenomenon are one. The thing-in-itself is a limiting concept. It is a necessity of thought to complete experience. The more we

<sup>47</sup> Kant, Lotze, and Ritschl.



relate things, the better we know them. But, again, there is also the other line of thought in Kant, which Ritschl has correctly represented and justly criticised. Kant seems to have Locke's idea of the real essence of things, and to admit that thought cannot give us this. We do not know things-in-themselves, but that would be the most valuable knowledge, if we only could. For these things-in-themselves are the true realities, and, in contrast with them, the phenomena, which we know, are comparatively unreal. In the moral world we come in contact with these realities, but they lie behind the phenomena of sense as the cause of sensations. There is a realism in the system of Kant which is near the scholastic conception of a thing. Seth says<sup>48</sup> that it never entered the mind of Kant to deny the existence of things in themselves. Paulsen<sup>49</sup> thinks "every unbiased reader must admit that Kant never for a moment doubted the existence of things-in-themselves. It was the primary and self-evident presupposition of his thought at all times." "The world of appearance implies as a necessary correlate a world that appears. Without this the idea of a phenomenal world would be meaningless." Professor Tufts<sup>50</sup> shows how both these tendencies mentioned above are manifest in the thought of Kant as reflected in the *Lose Blätter*. The neo-Kantians have developed the idealistic tendency according to which the thing-in-itself is the ultimate category or notion by which we round off experience. Traub is a neo-Kantian, and naturally places this interpretation upon Kant. Of the two tendencies, that of Ritschl is probably truer to the thought of Kant himself. It is interesting also to notice that in his interpretation of Kant, Ritschl is in line with Lotze's<sup>51</sup> interpretation and criticism of Kant.

3. *The Lotzean theory of knowledge*.—No other part of Ritschl's system has been subject to so severe criticism as the sections which contain his epistemological presuppositions. His interpreters differ very widely, but they nearly all unite in their condemnation of these presuppositions. Ritschl has been regarded as a subjective idealist,

<sup>48</sup> "Epistemology in Locke and Kant and Epistemology of the Neo-Kantians," *Philosophical Review*, Vol. II, pp. 172-186. and 293-315.

<sup>49</sup> *Immanuel Kant*, p. 154.

<sup>50</sup> *Philosophical Review*.

<sup>51</sup> *Geschichte der Philosophie*, § 25; *Outlines of Metaphysics*, § 4.

as presenting subjective idealism and naïve realism combined, as a vulgar realist, as Kantian, and as a consistent follower of Lotze.

a) *Subjective idealism.*—This is the estimate of Stählin, Steinbeck, Rub, Wagener, and Luthardt. Stählin<sup>52</sup> disputes Ritschl's claim to be Lotzean. For (1) Ritschl makes a distinction between actual things and things-in-themselves. (2) Lotze regards phenomenon as something which arises directly in the human mind and is purely subjective. Phenomena are the product of our minds in which things do not present themselves as they are, and by means of which no knowledge of actual things is given us. (3) Ritschl says that things-in-themselves are unknown, but Lotze does not regard them as absolutely unknowable. (4) Space with Lotze is a subjective intuition, and the thing which we cognize in the phenomenon given in space has as little objective reality as the spatial phenomenon in which it is cognized. "The thing has no objective reality." After pointing out these differences, Stählin proceeds to show the contradictions and inconsistencies in Ritschl's own position. Inasmuch as Steinbeck<sup>53</sup> takes identically the position of Stählin, and seems to have followed him in his interpretation, we may sum up the position of these two critics as follows: (1) Ritschl contradicts himself in the terms "things-in-themselves" and "real things." They are not the same; for the former are unknowable, the latter are known. But they are the same; for Ritschl criticises Kant for denying knowledge of "real things," when he says that only "things-in-themselves" are unknowable. (2) Ritschl defines a thing as a purely formal concept without content. But the phenomena are real only as the thing appears in them. This leads us to pure subjectivity. (3) Or, phenomena are affections of sense. They are subjective states of the soul. But the soul is a thing, and the thing is a formal concept. We have states or qualities without subject or object. (4) The thing-in-itself is a memory-image. It has no objective reality, but the phenomena are appearances of the things-in-themselves; they therefore have no objective reality. They are shadows of shadows; they are appearances of memory-images. "Phenomenon has no

<sup>52</sup> *Kant, Lotze, und Ritschl.*

<sup>53</sup> *Das Verhältniss von Theologie und Erkenntniss-Theorie erörtert an den theologischen Erkenntniss-Theorien von A. Ritschl und A. Sabatier.*

existence; things given in perception as unities of phenomena have no existence. Things-in-themselves are empty shadows." Stählin draws the awful consequence. God and the soul go. And with it falls Ritschl's whole theology. Steinbeck thinks that Ritschl never meant to land in such subjectivity, and he finds several passages which show conclusively that Ritschl held firmly to the objective reality of God and things, but did so illogically. Pure subjectivity is the logical issue of Ritschl's principles.

Wagener<sup>54</sup> and Rub<sup>55</sup> find in Ritschl's statement of the genesis of the concept of a thing subjectivity of the Berkeleyan type. The phenomenal world is the real world. All things have their existence for the consciousness in which they are. The real thing is a formal concept. The thing-in-itself is a necessity of thought. This is not Kant's position, for he did not deny things-in-themselves. Ritschl teaches solipsism. In Ritschl's statement of the origin of the memory-image Wagener finds his explanation of the origin of space. But the explanation is incorrect; for the first time we see a thing, we see it in space. For Ritschl the "projection of a thing-in-itself with constant marks is the same thing as to present an objective space in which things have place." The philosopher recognizes, according to Ritschl, that the thing in space arises only as an involuntary abstraction, as the projection of the memory-image. Time has its origin in the same manner. Wagener admits that, if Ritschl accepted Lotze's ontology, he could not be called a subjective idealist, and he quotes a passage from Ritschl<sup>56</sup> which, he acknowledges, can be interpreted as showing that Ritschl had Lotze's conception of God. But the relation cannot be admitted, since in that case a Ritschlian theologian would need to be a Lotzean philosopher, and, moreover, the position of Lotze leans toward the pantheism of Spinoza.

b) *Subjective idealism and naïve realism.*—This is the position of Pfeiderer<sup>57</sup> and Pfenningsdorf.<sup>58</sup> In Ritschl's statement, "We know the thing in its appearances," Pfeiderer thinks the problem of knowledge is not even touched, much less solved. For phenomena are the

<sup>54</sup> *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 1884, pp. 194-227.

<sup>55</sup> *Die Erkenntnistheorie von R. Lipsius verglichen mit denjenigen von Brede-mann und Ritschl.*

<sup>56</sup> *Christliche Liebe*, Vol. III, p. 201.

<sup>57</sup> See reference given.

<sup>58</sup> *Dogmatisches System von Lipsius und Ritschl.*

images of things presented by ourselves. They are within our consciousness. But the thing in itself cannot be this, for it must exist apart from any representation of it. Do, then, our images allow us to know the thing in itself accurately, or only inaccurately, or possibly not at all? Ritschl never answers. But in his little work Ritschl informs us that things in themselves are memory-images, and that real things are the products of our representing consciousness (§ 2, p. 44; § 4, p. 64). Ritschl teaches us that the thing is a formal concept. Our faculty of presentation forms it through fastening sensations together, and we think it as being-for-itself, in analogy with our own souls; but there is nothing existing in itself which actually corresponds with this idea of ours. The thing is a formal concept "in which we express the continuity of our own subjective feeling of self." Ritschl teaches the doctrine of subjective idealism. And this doctrine fails to explain (a) the origin of sensation, (b) why just these qualities and not others are united in the concept of a thing, (c) why others experience the same unities as I, and (d) why I am justified in supposing that other persons beside myself exist at all. Subjective idealism always leads to realism, but seldom in so naïve a manner as in Ritschl. For in the same proposition in which he tells us that a thing is a product of the faculty of presentation, he makes the thing at the same time the cause of sensations. Here we have in one sentence subjective idealism and naïve realism, with the contradiction that the thing is at the same time both cause and product.

Pfenningsdorf finds the same contradiction as Pfeiderer. The thing is both the product of the faculty of presentation and the cause of sensations, and no "unbiased reader" can deny the contradiction. Pfenningsdorf claims on the ground of Stählin, already given, that Ritschl is not Lotzean. Ritschl considers it vulgar and unphilosophic thinking to conclude from phenomena to things-in-themselves, but asserts that we know the thing in its appearance as the cause of its qualities. Here he would seem to assert existence apart from subjective phenomena as real being. But he passes over to define a thing as purpose and as a law of change. There is a manifest impossibility in considering the thing both cause and purpose; and the subjectivity of Ritschl is made manifest when the thing is defined as

the law of its changing marks, since the thing is identified with the unity of its phenomena.

c) *Naïve realism*.—Garvey,<sup>59</sup> Ludemann,<sup>60</sup> Wendland,<sup>61</sup> and Haug find in Ritschl a naïve realism. Garvey fails to find Lotze's ontology in Ritschl. Yet the latter does not pass into subjective idealism, as Stählin affirms, but into a vulgar realism. Ritschl is no philosopher, and is either "ignorant or indifferent to the problem of knowledge and existence." But Stählin is guilty of a misinterpretation of Ritschl, when he says that for him the thing is a purely formal concept. The temper of Stählin's book, the writer thinks, accounts for this, but he regrets that Professor Orr should lend "countenance to this misunderstanding." In addition to naïve realism, Garvey finds traces of Kant's phenomenalism in Ritschl.

Wendland claims that Ritschl held fast to an empiricism according to which in the immediate experience, and in it alone, we have the certainty of the reality of the object. The object is given immediately in perception, and there is no place for conceptual thinking.

Ludemann thinks Ritschl never meant to deny the existence of things. He affirms that things exist, and that we know them in themselves when we know them as they are for us. But, in opposition to the skepticism of the senses, Ritschl seems to think that reality is completely given in sensation and perception, and there is no place for thought in the construction of a thing. He has not learned the lesson of Kant's analytic. Ritschl assumes that we attain immediate knowledge of a thing. A knowledge of it in itself is given in our perceptions. He does not realize that there may be illusions and imperfections that must be eliminated by reflection. In this he cannot appeal to Lotze, for the latter never held that through sense-perception one could attain the essence of a thing.

d) *Kantianism*.—Several of Ritschl's critics think that he has accepted the position of Kant. Kügelgen and Schöen<sup>62</sup> say that he is nearer Kant than Lotze. Favre<sup>63</sup> thinks Ritschl is like Kant in

<sup>59</sup> *Ritschlian Theology*.

<sup>60</sup> *Protestantische Monatshefte*, 1897, pp. 189-205.

<sup>61</sup> *Albrecht Ritschl und seine Schüler*.

<sup>62</sup> *Origines historiques de la théologie de Ritschl*.

<sup>63</sup> *Les principes philosophiques de la théologie de Ritschl*.

that he limits knowledge to phenomena. Otto Ritschl<sup>64</sup> says his father's position is virtually Kantian, and he agrees with Lotze only where the latter agrees with Kant. Orr<sup>65</sup> finds the influence of Lotze over Ritschl to be marked, yet judges that his theory of knowledge is closer to that of Kant than to that of Lotze. Traub finds Ritschl's position to be the "geniune Kantian." For theoretical knowledge all reality is included in the world of phenomena, and it is the task of the categories to arrange the manifold of appearances in a unitary manner. Ritschl does not have, like Lotze, a world of metaphysical realities, but he is influenced by the latter in his conception of being. Ritschl has not sharply distinguished between the question of the genesis of a concept and that of its validity. When Pfeiderer, however, asks for the origin of sensations, he is asking for an explanation of consciousness. But this is an impossible demand. We cannot go behind consciousness. The category of causation cannot be carried beyond experience. The thing-in-itself behind phenomena is only a limiting concept. Our sole criterion of reality, in the theoretical reason, is whether or not a given concept can be articulated in the causal series. When one asks if this world of the theoretical reason has real existence, then one passes over from the standpoint of the pure reason to that of the practical reason. The feeling, willing self finds those things to have real existence which excite feelings of pleasure or pain, and which advance or hinder the purposes of the will.

e) *Lotzeanism*.—Ritschl himself tells us that he accepts the Lotzean theory of knowledge, and expounds and defends it in his pamphlet. His statement is entitled to as much consideration as the judgment of any critic or disciple. His statement ought to be accepted until facts compel us to reject it. Ecke<sup>66</sup> decides that Ritschl's position is that of Lotze. When Ritschl says that "one knows a thing first in its qualities, in its effects on our perceptions of another thing;" that "the marks are appearing effects of a cause;" that "the thing is cause in its effects;" that "sensations are caused by the thing;" that "there are causes which lead the soul and affect it as stimuli, etc.;" and when he chides Kant because he limits knowledge to phenomena, he can be understood only to affirm the

<sup>64</sup> *Leben A. Ritschls*, Vol. II.

<sup>65</sup> *The Ritschlian Theology*.

<sup>66</sup> *Theologische Schule Ritschls*, pp. 46-51.

existence and knowledge of real things. Ecke tells us that Thikötter conversed with Ritschl in regard to his theory of knowledge, and that Ritschl admitted his agreement with Lotze in ontology, and thought that by limiting his agreement to that section of his metaphysics he escaped the necessary consequences of Lotze's whole metaphysics. Swing<sup>67</sup> finds Ritschl in agreement with Lotze, and he interprets the latter to affirm a knowledge of reality. Mielke<sup>68</sup> passes the same judgment. Flügel<sup>69</sup> finds in Ritschl's theology the dangerous pantheistic tendencies of Lotze's metaphysics. Ritschl's definition of a thing contains a nest of metaphysical inconsistencies. "Do things have a purpose in their effects?" "How do we know a thing is cause of its marks? Do we know it, or infer it?" What is his meaning when he says the thing is the law of the change of its qualities? There is no real being, but we name the law of constant change, being. The thing as law of change cannot, then, be the cause of change. Ritschl has the monistic-pantheistic metaphysics of Lotze. For he says: "One must think the world as unity in order to explain the reciprocal action of things. But in this sense is the substance of the world more significant in the conception of a universal law than in that of cause?" Flügel regards this as in perfect harmony with the reasoning of Lotze by which the latter concludes to a unitary world-substance.

It is interesting to see the wide divergence of opinion among the critics of Ritschl. Some find the position which Ritschl takes in his larger work to contradict that in the smaller. Others find his teaching in both works to be consistent, but reject his position entirely. Some object to his solipsism, others fear his pantheism. His thing is a formal concept, and it is a naïve realism. He has no place for conceptual thought, and he is a genuine Kantian. Why all this difference of opinion? The standpoint of the individual critic answers in part. The speculative and pantheistic Pfleiderer misses that respect for the intellect that he desires. The Herbartian Flügel thinks that prominence is not given to the independent real; and the dogmatic theologian misses the element of supernaturalism;

<sup>67</sup> *The Theology of Albrecht Ritschl.*

<sup>68</sup> Gottfried Mielke, *Das System Albrecht Ritschl's dargestellt, nicht kritisirt.*

<sup>69</sup> See his *A. Ritschl's philosophische und theologische Ansichten*, pp. 9, 10.

while the sympathetic Traub, both a Kantian and a Ritschlian, wishes his two masters to live in harmony. The standpoint of the man means more in a question of theology or philosophy than in one of mathematics or science. And the peculiar position of Ritschl to all other theological parties renders him susceptible to criticism from every-quarter.

But the theological and philosophical standpoints of the individual critics cannot entirely account for the wide difference of opinion. Ritschl's own statements are unclear and inexact. His *Theologie und Metaphysik* is a polemic, and was produced in the heat of controversy. It is an answer to objections, and is not meant to give an adequate treatment of epistemological problems. Statements are made which perhaps under other conditions would be modified or suffer a change of emphasis. Moreover, he means it, he tells us, to be an abbreviated statement of Lotze's general position, and he tacitly assumes that his opponents are familiar with the latter. There are certain passages in Ritschl which, if isolated, suggest every interpretation given. But when viewed in the light of the whole controversy, and with the background of the philosophic thought of his age, and especially that of Lotze, they can all be reconciled. His critics have made the mistake of criticising his position before they gave him sympathetic interpretation. His position may be untenable, but the first necessity, even to overthrow him, is a sympathetic interpretation. And this demands that one put himself in the position of the author, and view matters from his standpoint and in the light of his purpose. Ritschl's critics have failed to do this.

If we bring under consideration the criticisms of Ritschl which have just been presented, we have to deny the difference between Lotze and Ritschl that Pfenningsdorf and Stählin indicate. Ritschl does not differentiate things-in-themselves and real things. His position here is that of Lotze. There is an ambiguity in the term "things-in-themselves." The scholastic "things-in-themselves" are not real things, but the precipitate of memory-images. But when things-in-themselves are correctly conceived, they are real things. Or, if one would make a difference at all, that difference would correspond to the difference between partial and perfect knowledge. Things-in-themselves are things in relation. We know them as they are related



to us. A perfect knowledge would know all their relations. Again, it is incorrect to say that for Lotze phenomena give no knowledge of reality. There are passages in his system, and especially in his *Logic*, which would seem to lead to this conclusion; but his thought, taken as a whole, teaches that appearance is a knowledge of reality. Moreover, Lotze criticises Kant, because the latter teaches what is here imputed to him. When Stählin says that Lotze held that things-in-themselves are not absolutely unknowable, he is correct; but this is precisely the position of Ritschl. Stählin's criticism shows that here he fails completely to understand Ritschl. For the whole point of the latter is an attack upon a "scholastic interpretation of a thing." Stählin is correct when he affirms that for Lotze space is a form of perception, and this is also Ritschl's position, and he reveals it clearly in his discussion of the personality of God. But when Stählin concludes that on that account the thing has no objective reality, he shows a lack of clear philosophic knowledge. What is meant by objectivity? Any presentation in consciousness has a certain objectivity; or objectivity may mean universality, or that which exists in space and time. Even for Kant objects have as much objective reality as the empirical self; for both are included in consciousness. For Lotze an objective reality has an existence for self. The thing has precisely the same "objective reality as the self." Neither is in space; but space is the form in which things appear to us, and this appearance conveys real information of the behavior of things. The same criticism may be urged against the term *ausser uns* as used by Steinbeck. Does it mean an object in space, or a Kantian thing-in-itself?

We have already pointed out that when Ritschl calls a "thing-in-itself" a memory-image, it is the scholastic conception of a thing that he has in mind. This failure of interpretation renders much of the criticism against Ritschl absolutely worthless. Ritschl never says, as Pfenningdorf claims, that it is a mistake of the vulgar to conclude from phenomena to things-in-themselves. The mistake of the vulgar is that they conclude to the *scholastic* thing-in-itself, to a substance behind and supporting qualities. Ritschl teaches us that, if we form a correct conception of the thing, we shall be led to Lotze's view, and affirms that the "cause is known in its effects." It is a

pure piece of imagination on the part of Wagener, when he makes the memory-image Ritschl's explanation for the genesis of space and time. Ritschl tells us that he wishes to account for the scholastic view that we know things apart from their activity. So far as Ritschl reflects his psychological position, he is in harmony with Lotze, and no doubt would accept his explanation of the origin of space and time.

When Pfenningdsdorf and Flügel criticise Ritschl's doctrine of the thing, they ought to interpret him in the light of the fuller exposition of Lotze. When one conceives cause as Lotze does, there is no contradiction in saying that the thing is both cause and purpose. For the self can be both cause and purpose. When we limit the term "law," as Lotze does, and keep in mind the methodological character of our concepts, the thing, when defined as law, is not reduced to a mere formal concept. Flügel as a realist raises the old question of the relation of the individual to the whole. Lotze denies mere becoming, with which Flügel charges him. Lotze denies the doctrine of independent reals, and it is his merit to have pointed out the insurmountable difficulties in this doctrine. But no one will claim that Lotze gave a final solution to the problem of individuality in its relation to the whole. When Flügel asks if the thing then is uncaused, he should remember that Lotze forbids us to ask after the cause of experience. Our task is not to create the world, but to understand it.

The criticism of Pfeleiderer loses its force when we remember that Ritschl accepted Lotze's idea of the thing and of its relation to the self, and denied the position of Kant. If you define phenomena and conceive things-in-themselves as Kant did, then it is impossible to say that we know "the thing in its appearance." Even Ritschl might see that. But Lotze denies this position of Kant. Robins<sup>70</sup> says for Lotze this involves (1) a false and abstract distinction between form and matter; (2) the view that appearance only is known, at least directly; (3) the dogma that, if reality is knowable, it can be known only indirectly by the mediation of appearance which must be the identical copy or likeness of reality; (4) the traditional dualism which Kant accepted between subject and object. One might reject Lotze's position, but it is hardly fair to him to say that he has not

<sup>70</sup> See his *Lotze's Theory of Knowledge*, p. 34.

"touched the problem of knowledge;" and if Ritschl indicates and accepts Lotze's position because he does not restate it in full, he ought not to be open to this charge. Neither should Garvey say that he is "no philosopher." Ritschl impresses the diligent student of his work with the fact that occasionally he did a bit of philosophic thinking.

A true interpretation of Ritschl shows the superficial and unfair nature of the criticisms of Stählin and Steinbeck. For the thing-in-itself is not a memory-image, but is a soul-like entity. A thing is not a phenomenon of consciousness. The concept of a thing in our consciousness is our knowledge of a thing. It is the nature of knowledge to be knowledge of something. While the concept of a thing is subjective, it gives us information of a transsubjective reality. Knowledge is a product of experience, but it conveys information of things which are causes of experience. The thing is not both cause and product of experience, as Pfeiderer affirms, but the thing is the cause of the concept of a thing, which is a product of the experience of the self. Ritschl never defines a thing as a purely formal concept. That, as Garvey correctly points out, is just his criticism of Frank's imperfect concept of a thing.

If the position of Ritschl is that of Lotze, he can scarcely be charged with naïve realism. He agrees with Lotze that the individual alone is real, but it is by reflection that he passes on from the elementary to the consistent concept of a thing. There are isolated passages where he tells us that sensation is our only warrant for affirming that things exist, and Lotze says the same. The common man does seek to exclude errors by repeated observation and by comparing his conceptions with others. This is, in fact, the scientific method of observation and experiment, and involves reflection, and is the basis of further reflection. Ritschl does not exclude conceptual thinking. He is not a Hegelian, but is by no means a mere empiricist.

Our aim has been to interpret Ritschl, and it is not our task to give a full and critical appreciation of his position. Criticism might better be directed to the fuller and clearer statement of Lotze; for it is only in the light of the garment of Lotze that the shreds and patches of Ritschl can be put together. The philosophic thought of today is scarcely able to accept this doctrine of ontology. Schiller's criti-

cism<sup>71</sup> seems to the writer to be just. To accept the world as given, and to recognize that we cannot go behind experience, is to accept the world in which things are in interaction. Lotze's concept of the absolute does not explain change. We do not know why there should be change in the absolute. If the interaction of things necessitates a change in the absolute to restore equilibrium, there seems to be no place for freedom. When Lotze assumes freedom, he does it at the expense of the absolute.

From the standpoint of modern psychology and logic, Lotze's position may be criticised. Jones<sup>72</sup> has done this in his philosophy of Lotze. What is the relation between sensation and conception? At one time all is given in sensation, and thought has merely to do over the work of sensation. At another time thought has a bare multiplicity given, and it must combine the elements. Lotze has a "psychic mechanism," which takes the place of Kant's "imagination," and mediates between sense and understanding. In places, at least, he implies that a datum is given, and that we can have a subjective consciousness before we have an objective consciousness, so that thought has "to objectify the subjective." Ritschl seems to show, in his brief statement, the same mistake. As a psychological analysis his formation of a concept is not correct. He seems to assume that sensations are given. But sensations are an abstraction. They are an abstraction of the psychologist just as atoms are of the physicist. It is an undifferentiated experience which is immediately given, and from which, for logical purposes, both universals and particulars are abstracted. We must remember, of course, the methodological character of Lotze's concepts. It is probably true that Lotze held that there was a cognitive element in every sensation, and it is in this light that we have interpreted him.

From the epistemological point of view, it is difficult to see how an idea is not a copy of reality, and yet is valid of, and gives information concerning, reality.<sup>73</sup> Lotze can hardly escape the copy-theory which he rejects. We are certain, by immediate intuition or by

<sup>71</sup> "Lotze's Monism," *Philosophical Review*, Vol. pp. 225-45.

<sup>72</sup> Henry Jones, *The Philosophy of Lotze's Doctrine of Thought*; see also trenchant criticism by Dewey, in *Studies in Logical Theory*.

<sup>73</sup> See John Dewey, *Studies in Logical Theory*, pp. 54 ff.

direct sensation, that we have a knowledge of reality. If this is true, there does not seem to be much room for thought.<sup>74</sup>

Things are made of such stuff as thoughts are. They are thought-constructs and represent modes of action. Thought itself arises in experience when a habit is broken, to form a new method or habit of action. From the intellectual point of view, the thing is a concept; from the practical, it is a more or less fixed mode of action. Traub is correct when he says that the reality of a thing is determined by our feeling-willing nature; but he fails to realize that thought in the service of the will forms the concept as a means of action. There is but one test to the reality of a thing, and that test is its function.

<sup>74</sup> See discussions on epistemology in the *Philosophical Review*, by Seth, Rogers, Tufts, and MacLennan.

## ANECDOTA MONOPHYSITARUM

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THE CORRESPONDENCE OF PETER MONGUS, PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA,  
AND ACACIUS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, TOGETHER WITH THE  
HENOTICON OF THE EMPEROR ZENO AND THE RESCRIPT OF THE EMPE-  
ROR ANASTASIUS, NOW FIRST TRANSLATED FROM THE OLD ARMENIAN  
TEXT

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The correspondence translated in the following pages reveals to us the secret negotiations between the patriarch Acacius of Constantinople and Peter, surnamed Mongus, the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, which attended and led up to the famous *Henoticon* of the emperor Zeno in the year 482. The reader who glances too hastily over it, and who notes the fulsome eulogies bestowed by Acacius upon Peter, who had for so long been his bitter enemy and adversary in faith, may be inclined to regard these letters as forgeries committed by the Monophysite party, with a view to glorify their famous prelate. But this view will not hold good. Severus, the Monophysite bishop and historian of Antioch in the early years of the sixth century, shows an acquaintance with the text of this correspondence, as the scholar Renaudot has shown. Nor is there any reason why Monophysites should have picked upon Acacius for their forgery, for this prelate was condemned for heresy in the reign of Justinian, and his name erased from the diptychs of the church in Constantinople, so that he might not be prayed for by the orthodox. Now, the Monophysites would not have taken the trouble to hang such forgeries as these, supposing they be forgeries, upon the name of a patriarch who ceased to be of any account and was so early condemned as a heretic. He was not a conquest to boast of.

I have taken the Armenian text here translated from a manuscript which is at present in the library of the Armenian Fathers of St. Anthony in Stamboul. Until the year 1871 this library was at Rome. And while it was there the entire manuscript was copied by two of the Mechitarist Fathers of Venice, of whom one was the well-known historian and poet Alishan, more than fifty years ago. This apograph of theirs, now in the library of St. Lazaro in Venice, was copied from end to end by myself in the year 1900; for it is the most valuable repertory in existence of documents bearing upon the history of the mediæval Armenian church. Because of

the nature of its contents it is called the "Letter-Book of the Patriarchs;" and it contains correspondence between the Greek and Syriac and Armenian churches, and also the Roman; beginning with the letters of the catholicus Sahak to Proclus of Constantinople, and ending with the correspondence with the view to union between the Vatican and the patriarchs of Cilicia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The manuscript is in size 24×18×8 centimeters, written upon paper, and 355 folios in length. The whole of it was copied by one Thomas, whose colophon at the end of the letter of Anastasius is to be found below. And he wrote it in Cilicia, according to his final notice, six years after the sultan of Egypt had taken the fortress of Romklay and carried Stephen, the Armenian catholicus, into captivity. This was in the year 1292; therefore the date of the manuscript is 1298. But another notice of the copyist Thomas informs us that the first part of the volume, comprising documents anterior to the year 1050, was copied by him from an older manuscript which belonged to Wahram, son of Gregory Magistros, and which had been written in the year 1078 for Gregory Catholicus, called the "Lover of the Martyrs." The entire manuscript was printed in the autumn of 1901 in Tiflis, at the press of Rhodineantz, under the will of the late Joseph Ismireantz. I have compared the printed text with the Venice apograph, and find it to be very accurate.

The correspondence before us was certainly translated from a Syriac original, for it is full of strongly marked Syriac idioms, such as ever characterize Armenian translations made from that language. Perhaps we can discover from the marginal note which is to be found at the end of the letter of Anastasius the date, if not of this Syriac original, at least of the Armenian translation. For that note was written in the year 595, which corresponds with the thirteenth year of the emperor Maurice, and eighty-nine years after Anastasius wrote the letter, so that he must have written in the year 506. The thirteenth year of Maurice is further equated, and rightly, by the author of this note, with the 144th year after the Council of Chalcedon, for that council was held in 451. I believe that this date 595 must have been that of the translation from Greek into Armenian of this correspondence, because in the eighth letter of Peter the month of May is identified with the Armenian month Margatz, and this equation of May with Margatz held good roughly for forty years from 584 A. D. onward. For in 584, Margatz 1=May 1; in 595, Margatz 1=April 27; in 624 Margatz 1=April 21; and after another eighty years, in 704 A. D., Margatz became discontinuous with the Julian month of May, for its first day fell on April 1. Thus the equation of May with Margatz can only have been

made in or soon after 584, and it must have arisen within the limits of the Armenian translation itself.

The concluding date 320 of the King of Kings A . . . . is difficult to explain, nor am I certain here of the reading of the original. For in the printed text the notice stands as I have rendered it above; but the Venice apograph has as follows:

In the pontificate of the Armenians of George and in the year 320 of the king of kings Ash . . . . (or? Al . . . .). When this letter was written, up to, etc.

In the one case, then, the year 320 of the King of Kings=595 A. D.; in the other, 506 A. D.; and the first year of this era would be 275 A. D. in the one case, and 186 A. D. in the other. The era referred to must surely be that of the Sassanides, but this is supposed to have begun from the first year of Ardashir, 223-24 A. D. I cannot explain either the earlier or the later date. The later Persian era of Ias-dagerd began in 632 A. D., and cannot be the one intended.

The beginning of this correspondence is unfortunately lost. Of the two patriarchs, Acacius reveals himself as the more insincere, and one suspects that he saw the vision of Christ on the altar to order. The advice of Peter that his friend should pray in secret for Monophysite saints, while the deacon read out a counter-list from the diptychs, almost betters the Jesuit teaching of mental reservation. It is evident, however, that the Monophysite saints were not popular in Byzantium. Altogether these letters convey to us a not very pleasing idea of the mentality of fifth-century Greek prelates, no matter to what faction they belonged.

The only one of these documents preserved in the original Greek is the *Henoticon*, and I have rendered the Armenian text of it, wherever possible, in a way conformable to the Greek.

These letters of Peter reveal an intransigence of spirit on his part quite out of keeping with the letter ascribed to him by the historian Evagrius, iii, 17, in which he declares to Acacius that he had never anathematized the Council of Chalcedon, nor regarded it as other than confirmatory of that of Nice. In the light of this new evidence, we can safely condemn this letter, given in Evagrius, as a forgery.

#### FROM THE LETTER-BOOK OF THE PATRIARCHS

##### FIRST LETTER OF PETER TO ACACIUS

1 . . . . which Satan has sown within the churches. And when I heard all this, I, the lesser Peter, was very much afraid of the judgment of God; and I say to Julian, my deacon: "Make a firm agreement with me, and let no one know

1 Through the loss of a folio the beginning of this letter is wanting.



of this plan until the will of God be brought to pass." And he took oath unto me. Then I took courage, and wrote a letter in my own handwriting; and I gave to Julian the same advice which he gave to me, namely: "Write in your own handwriting." And I dispatched him, and said: "He will summon thee, and give a letter by the hand of a man who seems to thee to be trusty; send it on. I likewise will send one by him, and do thou adjure him not to divulge this counsel to anyone." And the deacon Julian said to me: "I have a servant, as trusty as myself." And he brought him to my bishop's residence, and I made him swear upon the holy evangelists; and I ordered my deacon Julian to settle in the city of Constantinople, and to become the go-between of the letters which I and he should write to one another by means of his young man Theodosius.

And, having offered prayer, I forthwith dispatched him, and he went on board.

That which is pleasing to God and man has been written to me without delay; and I have given my letter to be brought to thee under seal. But I have not written further until I hear from thee to say how thou art disposed unto me, and I have sealed my letter with a cross on the upper side.

#### SECOND LETTER OF PETER TO ACACIUS

Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, to Acacius:

Eighty days having expired since the departure hence of my deacon Julian, he has sent to me a letter by the hand of his youth, Theodosius, which has been written by thee to me; but when I saw the superscription thereof, I refused to open and read it because of the address which was written on it; for it was written thus: "I have given this letter to the blessed bishop and patriarch of Alexandria, Peter, from Acacius, bishop, who is patriarch in Constantinople." Tell me, why do you call him "patriarch" against whom you were formerly filled with anger? For I am patriarch, as thou hast said, whether willingly or no. For with God's help I have kept and will keep my faith, and have not gainsaid it. But thou, how dost thou call thyself "patriarch," and art not rather stricken with heart-ache at the thought of who thou art, that hast plunged the land in such disasters? Remember this, fellow, and recollect that the righteous judge will demand at thy hands an account of all the subversion and disturbance of the faith. So soon as I saw this letter written by thee, I broke not the seal nor read what was written in the papers within. But I at once returned it to thee under thy seal, just as it reached me.

#### FIRST LETTER OF ACACIUS TO PETER PATRIARCH

Wise physicians are wont to cut off withered limbs with a knife of steel. In this way following, hast thou, my wise father, with a spiritual knife cut off the will of impiety and made a proper beginning of the cure.

Wherefore I have been the more emboldened, and I trust in God in whom thou also hast put thy faith, that Jesus, his only-begotten Son, may anoint all the swollen wounds and sores with his soothing emollients, and give new strength

to, and set up afresh, the withered limbs of his church; and that the Lord God may through thee, our father, renew afresh that faith which flourished aforetime, and which I through a slip of my tongue have denied. And as I have through my ignorance anathematized thy holiness, I now repent and turn me again, as of old Peter, the head of the holy apostles, repented of his denial which concerned Christ, and by his sorrow was at once restored.

And now I entreat thee, my spiritual father, to let me be in communion with thee, and gladly bear the suffering, if only this estrangement may cease of the church, the bride of Christ. For I must needs suffer torments in my body, even as it is written, and reap Christ as my reward, of whom I have until now deprived myself. Do thou clothe thyself now, father, in faith with the sweet and gentle quality of mercy, such as was the apostle Paul's; and say unto us all: My children, whom I once more bring to second birth with pangs, until Christ be imaged in you. But thou didst well not to open and read the first letter; for, as thou hast said, the superscription was ill-worded, albeit within was written as follows:

"The light of orthodoxy has blazed forth on those from whom it was hidden till now, and has illumined us who sat in darkness and in the shadow of death. So it is then that to us does the blessed David cry aloud and say: 'All went astray together and became unprofitable, There is none that doeth good, not even one.' When the prophet used the words 'except one,' of whom did he speak? That is to say, of our God.\* But he seems now to me to speak about thy holiness, for thou alone among the priests hast righteously kept the truth. For all we priests, according to the word of Elijah the prophet, have forsaken God and gone after impious princes. For through our unprofitableness we lost the light of orthodoxy which continually illumineth unto glory, and now we are reduced to straits and to suffering. But do thou show forth thyself, hidden splendor of orthodoxy, and illumine from above them that sat in darkness and in the shadow of death. Thou lamp full of the sheen of orthodox excellency, be like unto Stephen, the first martyr, and call upon God in our behalf; for we have persecuted thee, and do thou say: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

#### THIRD LETTER OF PETER TO ACACIUS PATRIARCH

Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, to Acacius:

The letter which you have sent from thyself to us accumulates sorrow upon sorrow in my soul. For until now it was the one sorrow of my soul to think how I might be worthy to depart from this life in orthodoxy and righteousness; and might receive the crown of orthodoxy, and stand spotless and flawless before the awful tribunal of our God Jesus Christ. Now, O beloved one, I know not what I shall call thee; for thou hast confined me in chains from which I shall not escape. And so I know not what to do, and am not able to dissemble; for I am no dissembler of Christ. I am not worthy to heal the sorrow which thou hast of thy own will brought on thyself, inasmuch as for thirty-one years ye have

\* The words "that is . . . God" seem to be a copyist's gloss.

without mercy massacred the flock of Christ by your infidelity. For those who were not your partisans ye have with sword and with divers sufferings at the hands of impious princes deprived of this life, and have gainsaid the beauty of that church in behalf of which Christ died, while he was with the Father and to the Father; and with the fatal instrument of the tome of Leo ye have destroyed Christ, by dividing him into two natures; and, like a pitiless lion, if it were quarry for your teeth, ye have with ravening torn asunder his flock. For in your impiety ye have divided the indivisible God.

Now, therefore, I know not what to do. For I am not able to heal the sorrow which ye have wilfully brought on yourselves; for I am a sinful man and mortal. But ye shall offer up your petitions to God, whom ye have denied; and not cease, so that he may turn and have mercy and save you. May our lament be taken up by all the ranks of the saints, by the multitudes of heavenly beings, since we have stripped off their glory; by the garden which was planted for our sake and which welcomes us not because of our want of faith, by the sun which refused to behold the suffering of its Lord, but put on darkness instead of light, in order to confute them that in that age were lacking in faith. And in this age, let our lament be taken up by all the congregations of the righteous, seen and unseen, by all the hosts above. And Gabriel and Michael, the captains of the angelic hosts above, shall offer up their petitions to the God who loveth mankind. The Seraphim and many-eyed Cherubim shall also offer up petitions in our behalf; also the chariot of annunciation, which magnify the Holy Trinity, the Godhead that begins not, to the end that he may with his mercy asperge this sinful congregation. But in the present I cease not to advise you to offer up your prayers and petitions to God whom you have denied, until he turn again to you and have mercy.

#### SECOND LETTER OF ACACIUS TO PETER

From Acacius to Peter of Alexandria, patriarch:

I now reckon myself just, because I have seen thee take upon thyself our sorrows, and am aware of the holy prayers which thou, who hast not denied God, dost offer up to him in our behalf. Moreover, I shall deem myself blessed in being rebuked by thy goodly teaching; and I now recognize that thou art a chosen disciple of Jesus Christ. For thou hast not dealt with us in accordance with our transgression, but hast been manifested from God a goodly corrector of all men. For it is good teaching of thine to say that "it is well for you to offer up petitions without ceasing to the God whom ye have denied, to the end that he may turn again and have mercy and save you."

But in respect of the tome of that impious Leo, our fathers who were before us were partisans of the impious Prince Marcian, as also we ourselves who followed them have gainsaid in writing the only-begotten Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ. This tome, however full of impiety, I now, in the presence of beings in heaven and on earth and under the earth, anathematize in this letter which I have herewith written with my own hand.

So now, O holy father, have regard to the quality of mercy bestowed on thee

from God; and reflect whether thou wilt be angry and give us up, and whether thou wilt return evil for evil. Nay, rather return good for evil, like a faithful follower of Christ. Think whether thou wilt abandon us in these fetters of denial, and reject those who repent, rather than loose by the authority which has been given thee from God these bonds which fetter us. Howso, I have cursed in mine own handwriting the tome of the impious one, in this letter which my hand has written. And now I will be silent until I shall have offered up my petitions to God, who loveth man, and to thy doctorate.<sup>3</sup>

## FOURTH LETTER OF PETER, THE PATRIARCH, TO ACACIUS

Peter, patriarch of Alexandria:

Hush, my friend! How much you<sup>4</sup> trouble my soul! Hush, and tell me not of the fact that until now you condemned myself; for you were handing me over to death as one that was impious, and were drawing the sword of the Emperor against me. But now I perceive that you are come forth as my champion, who were before a destroyer of men, and minded to cast them into straits and torment. But now you are offering to God prayers in my behalf, and you have cast me on to the spiritual sword, which can slay both soul and body. But far be it from me to return evil for evil; nay, rather would I return good for evil. You ask me: Will I abandon, or will I delay, or will I not receive them that repent? Well, now, I would have you know, O friend, that I regard you as altogether an outcast. Yet far be it from me to return evil for evil. If God gives me strength, I will not delay, will not abandon you; but I receive them that repent. But until I read this letter of yours, written with your own hand, in which you have cursed the tome of the impious one, I wondered, and I do not cease wondering yet. Or do you not know, my good man, or do I not know, what you have done? For when you cursed this tome, you cursed your fathers who put their signatures to that tome, and who also ordained you a priest? For it is they who have been cursed by you; and so you have cursed yourself, since you were ordained a priest by them. By consequence you are an outcast from your bishopric; and let not these words of mine distress you, for I am not ashamed to speak the truth, even though anyone should cut off my head.

## THIRD LETTER OF ACACIUS TO PETER

From Acacius to Peter, patriarch of Alexandria:

Once more will I speak, but after that I will not further address you. O, holy father, have regard to the grace given to you from God, and consider whether you will delay or abandon, or not receive them that repent. It is true that I have cursed myself, in that I have just now cursed in writing the tome of the impious one; and I rejoice that I have not spared myself, in order that I may

<sup>3</sup> Or "to thy learned self."

<sup>4</sup> In the Armenian the correspondents address each other mostly in the second person singular, but sometimes in the second person plural. So far I have discriminated, but henceforth I reject the tedious use of "thou" and "thine" in favor of "you" and "your."

thus reap Christ as my reward. And that is why I have committed myself to God, who loves man, and to your doctorate. Only have regard to the mercy which is given to you from God in behalf of his church. If all the bishops curse, in the same way as I have, the tome of the impious one, they will be found as well as I to lie under the curse. Where, then, will be the springs of mercy of our God, and how shall we receive the Scripture which says: "Confess thy sins, in order that thou mayst be justified."

Surely, then, it exists for us. If repentance on our part brings no remission of the sin, then destruction awaits the whole congregation. What of the altars which will lie neglected by the number of these priests, the while they are sorrowing for the destruction and loss of mankind? On a sudden they are left forsaken by them, and the multitude of barbarous peoples will profane them, and the heretics will make mock at the bride of Christ; and the last state of things will be worse than the first. So now listen to me, my father, and stand firm in your strength, until you, who have not denied God, can reconcile him to us; so that he may wipe out from among us his priests who now repent, that instrument of our denial, and may restore to us the crown of orthodoxy.

And do you, O father, who have not denied God, appeal to him, as did the blessed Moses when he said: "If thou wilt remit to them their sins, remit them; if not, wipe out myself also from thy Book of Life." In the same way also did Aaron, the high-priest, sin together with the people, for he offered worship together with them to idols; but, because of the petitions of the blessed Moses, he rejoiced and was made whole and regained his health, for God vouchsafed it to him in that hour; and he was not made an outcast from the priesthood, but he remained and by means of it served God until his death. In the same way do you, our father, imitate the blessed Moses, and cry out to God, since you have not denied him, and say: "If thou remittest to them their sins, remit them; if not, wipe out myself also from thy Book of Life." With such words you will reconcile Christ to us, if you will only reach out your hand and grasp us who perish, so that we be not utterly lost. Come down and help us at once, and snatch us from the infidelity of hell, and establish us upon the rock of certainty, which is Jesus Christ, as the holy apostle says, in the words: "Christ himself is the rock, he that for no other reason was made man, except to save the races of mankind."

And now, O father, do you stand firm, for I have put my trust in this, who now trust in God that he will not hinder you. Therefore do not hesitate to offer prayers and petitions in behalf of us, the transgressors; for you have been endowed with grace by God, so that you may receive the grace of God in our behalf; for it is said: "The Lord doeth the will of them that fear him." This the Psalmist says, and he hears their petitions and saves them. For this reason I have offered this prayer of mine to God, who loves man, and to your own merciful self. Therefore, O father, have regard to the mercy which has been given to you in behalf of his holy church. I have spoken once, and henceforth I will be silent, nor open my lips. Only pardon me, for I have sinned.

## FIFTH LETTER OF PETER TO ACACIUS

Peter, patriarch, to the blessed Acacius, patriarch in Constantinople:

I am distressed on all sides, and the snares of death have been spread against me, in that I have heard from such a brother as yourself of a repentance which transcends the children of men. If I do not stand by you, and suffer and live with you, and with you die in order that I may live with you, and with you reign, and if I close the doors against those who repent, then I fall into the snares of the impious Leo. But I make my choice now. I will die with the multitude that repent, in order that I may be made glad by the mercifulness of our God.

Therefore, father, hear me; hear the plan of our God. For forty days we will fast, yourself and I; and meanwhile no one shall know of it, save God alone, who through myself hath laid the command upon you. But of these forty days let the priests and the members of the congregation know nothing; you shall plead your health in excuse, and you shall not enter into the holy altar of God until the full term of the prescription is past, and until you are become worthy again to offer praise in behalf of all the congregation of the orthodox. This is in order that you may suffer disability in behalf of all men, and in behalf of all receive remission of sins. For it is all men whom you have made to stumble, seeing that in the days of Basiliscus you prevented the union of the churches from being brought about. But as for these forty days which the God of all, Jesus Christ, has through myself imposed upon you as a fixed term, we will fast in secret, I and yourself alone, in behalf of all the congregation of the holy church. We will not eat bread as we would desire, nor will we anoint ourselves with oil, nor will we drink wine or fermented liquor. But we will live only on the pulse of the earth, and with lamentation and with tears we will wash our bodies morning and evening; and we will offer up unceasing petitions to our God, asking him to regard the petitions of a sinner in behalf of yourself, and in behalf of all the priests who repent, and in behalf of all the people. We will pray that God in his mercy may turn again the priests who repent and restore them to the holiness of the anointing of their first orthodoxy; and that the Holy Spirit, who, sent by the Father, dwells within me, may, because of his mercifulness, come down from above and light upon yourself and upon your priests who repent.

But I now loose you from the curse which you have imprecated upon yourself and upon your priesthood; and I do so because of the mercy of our Lord God, Jesus Christ, who through the Holy Spirit has commanded me so to do; and you shall be loosed therefrom, and all of them have been likewise so loosed; and it fulfilled through the Holy Spirit. Amen.

But it was the great and mighty God who commanded me erewhile to impose upon you the term of so many days, during which I who am a simple mortal man might pray to God, for him to have pity upon me in behalf of all the congregations, or else at once to wipe me out rather than you from the Book of Life. But for the present you shall accept this prescribed term in fear and trembling; for I trust in his mercy, that I may live<sup>s</sup> with you all. For in the holy gospel he

<sup>s</sup> "Live" in Armenian as in Syriac means "be saved."

himself cries out and says: "Come to me all ye that are weary, and I will give you rest."

But with regard to those who have died in apostasy, because they believed in the tome, and who never repented, you shall not presume, nor I, nor anyone else, to offer the sacrifice in their behalf. For the Lord our God will not accept sacrifices in behalf of them, because they denied him and gainsaid him. But he closes against them firmly the doors of the kingdom. This Jesus Christ, the God of all, does, who said with his own lips: "Verily, verily I say to you, whoever shall deny me before men, I also will deny him before my Father in heaven." But I am the more urgent in insisting to you upon the case of those in whose behalf you have in the past rashly and wrongly offered the sacrifice; I mean Marcian and Pulcheria, the heretical princes, and Paulinus and Anatolius<sup>6</sup> and Gennadius,<sup>7</sup> who were formerly heretical bishops, and Simeon the elder of the monastery, and others, deacons and anchorites. But it was incumbent upon me to impress upon you all this concerning them before God; for it is because of the faith that I say whatever I say; for fear lest if I omit anything, we may be called to account for it to the utmost, and fall into perdition. For have we not suffered anything because of the faith, lest we should become foolish and participate in the offerings and eucharists of the heretics?

Farewell, my brother beloved in the Lord.

#### FOURTH LETTER OF ACACIUS TO PETER

Acacius, patriarch in Constantinople, to Peter, my father and patriarch of Alexandria:

Everything has been fulfilled unto me according to my prayer. And now I have the assurance of being called by the mercy and loving-kindness of God, who is glorified in heaven, and who has enjoined yourself to humble yourself and supplicate him in behalf of us who have gone astray. But as touching the curses which I have imprecated on myself, I have received a complete discharge of them from Jesus Christ, who has through yourself interceded by the Holy Spirit. And as touching the fast which God has imposed upon me in secret through yourself, if the Lord will, I will fulfil it, observing the limits of forty days laid down in your command. But as regards those who attached their signatures to the tome, and never repented, I cannot do what you prescribe, namely, refuse to offer the sacrifice in their behalf.

For, mind you, the bishop Gennadius, who preceded myself, was wont with great circumstance to offer the sacrifice in their behalf, especially for Simeon the elder and abbot. And now how can I, after so many years, prevent this congregation of mine [from commemorating him]? For if I do so, then at once I shall be burned with fire by them—I mean by the princes and by the bishops and the elders and by the laity. For they will say to me thus: "If all these multitudes were lost, if all the multitude of the sons of men who aforetime have fallen

<sup>6</sup> Spelled "Antelis" in the Armenian.

<sup>7</sup> Spelled "Egnadit."

asleep from the time of Marcian until today, if we declare that they are lost, then result subversion and confusion of all the churches." But have a care and consider, O my father, if all the congregations will not at once return to the tome of the impious Leo, just as aforetime Israel returned to Egypt; and, as I said before, the last state will be worse than the first.

But as recently God advised you concerning ourselves who are alive, so also now will he make a revelation to you about those who are dead, and who put their hands to the tome of the impious Leo. Have regard therefore, O father, to the grace with which you are endowed by God in behalf of his church. To this end you have been preserved safe and sound until now by the merciful God, in order that through you he might release all his priests and all the congregation from the curse of their apostasy. For he who is able to release and liberate from bonds is easily able to release them that lie in bonds. Have regard therefore, O father, to the quality of mercy conferred upon you by God in behalf of his Holy Catholic Church.

## SIXTH LETTER OF PETER TO ACACIUS

Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, to Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople:

Whereas I have allowed everything that is agreeable to God and acceptable—that is to say, I have without demur allowed your repentance and that of the other priests who are alive, and the health and salvation of all the congregation—therefore I am<sup>8</sup> about to reveal to you also about those who have died in their iniquity after putting their hand to the Jewish tome, which was published by the impious Leo. It is wrong for us to offer their sacrifices in the presence of the Godhead, for we risk thereby ourselves being lost with them. If the blessed Moses, who was gentler than all the children of men, ever offered sacrifices in behalf of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, then it is right for us to offer sacrifices in behalf of them. And why should I not cite the example of the holy apostles? If Peter, the head of the apostles, ever offered sacrifice in behalf of Simon Magus, who was baptized and forthwith returned to his wickedness, then must we also offer. If the blessed Paul ever offered sacrifice in behalf of Himenæus and Alexander, who gainsaid the true faith, then must we also offer sacrifice in behalf of these. If all the congregations of the holy apostles ever offered sacrifice in behalf of all the heretics who have died, for example Protus or Aulus, then must we also offer. If any of the orthodox patriarchs and bishops allowed sacrifices of the heretics, for example of the Arians and of Potus,<sup>9</sup> then must we, at any rate, follow in the steps of our fathers, whether we like it or not. But you are not able to point me out an example in case, either from the divine laws or from the holy apostles, of their having offered sacrifice before the Godhead in behalf of heretics.

Therefore listen to me, while in all humility I signify to you the oracle of God,

<sup>8</sup> Correcting *en* in the manuscript to *em*.

<sup>9</sup> In the manuscript *Potli*. Below, the same name is placed with Leo. Its significance is obscure.



which, as I believe in his mercy, he has committed to me for the building up of his church. And as regards your assertion that you cannot refuse to make their offerings for fear of the crowd of the congregation making an uproar and throwing the holy churches into confusion, it devolves upon me by the command of God to prescribe rules for your Holiness to follow, whenever you are making their offerings; I refer to those of Marcian and Pulcheria, the impious princes, and of Paulinus and of Anatolius and of Gennadius, who preceded you and were heretical bishops, and of Simeon, the elder and abbot, and of the other priests and anchorites. When the deacon proclaims the name of one or another of them in the service of the mass, then you, who are the patriarch in the sacrifice which you are offering, shall appeal in secret to God, who searches out the hidden things, as follows: "Lord God Almighty, do thou not despise this offering because of the names which have been proclaimed by the deacon, for such and such a name goeth unto its portion, since before thy just judgment no man can stand. Therefore accept, O Lord God, these our holy offerings, upon thy holy altar in heaven, in behalf of those who fell asleep in orthodoxy, for the sake of thy holy and beneficent name."

Accordingly, instead of Paulinus, the heretical bishop, you shall offer the sacrifice before God in behalf of Dioscoros, who was patriarch in Alexandria and who was martyred in the days of Marcian, the heretical emperor. And instead of Anatolius, the heretical bishop, offer the sacrifice of the blessed Theodosius, bishop of Jerusalem, who was martyred in the days of Marcian, heretical prince. And instead of Gennadius, heretical bishop, offer the sacrifice of the blessed Timothy, our faithful father and patriarch of Alexandria. And instead of Simeon, elder of the monastery and heretic, offer the sacrifice of the blessed brother of Timothy, I mean of Anatolius the elder, who was martyred in Gangra in the days of Leo, the heretical sovereign. And instead of Marcian, heretical sovereign, offer the sacrifice of the blessed Eusebius the elder, our brother who was martyred in Alexandria. And instead of Pulcheria, the heretical empress, offer the sacrifice of the blessed Eudocia, the orthodox empress. And instead of all the congregations and of the heretical bishops who have died, offer the sacrifice in behalf of the whole congregation that is now alive, and of orthodox bishops and priests and anchorites and peasants.

And O, holy man of God, when you fulfil all this in secret, you shall keep all the congregation spotless and free from flaw, and preserve them and save them from the hands of heretics; and then your offering to the Lord God will be accepted as it is presented, holy, free from spot and from blemish. And so the holy offering which is tendered by you to our merciful God will not anger him, for the reason that you have not mentioned the names of the heretics. You shall therefore be on the side of the Lord our God in the dreadful season when all the hosts above stand in fear and trembling around you, and fix their eyes on Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who is being sacrificed by you as patriarch in behalf of his Holy Catholic Apostolic Church. Make your appeal, therefore, secretly in your heart to the God of all through the grace which has been given to you, and

say as follows: "I will not recall nor mention their names with my lips; but I will mention those who, because of thy name, have in orthodoxy suffered martyrdom, to the end that we may together with them be made worthy to inherit thy kingdom." And so the Holy Spirit shall hear you and shall come down upon your sacrifice, and with his own divine power shall sanctify you who are priests, as well as the heavenly hosts that stand around you, and who aforetime stood around you, as well as all the priests and all the congregations who live in consequence of your prayers. For the Holy Spirit, that is equal in power and authority with the Father and Son, rests upon them. The same Holy Spirit by the might of God shall come down and fill the entire sanctuary; I mean the holy altar upon which Christ is being sacrificed by you, the priest, and is dispensed to them that are called and chosen. The Holy Spirit himself will then descend along with you, the chief priest, and will overshadow and cover the entire sanctuary with his great power and might, and change and convert the bread into the body of the Son of God, Jesus Christ. As also the cup in which the wine is poured out shall be changed and converted by his divine authority into the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, the blood, I mean, which was poured forth from the divine side for the forgiveness and remission of sins. For in this divine blood we have been washed and hallowed and saved, and his Catholic Apostolic Holy Church he rules even to the ends of the earth. In this wise shall we who are priests of the Lord Almighty receive with true faith and orthodoxy the spotless and pure body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to him be glory and honor, and victory and sovereignty, for ever, together with the Father and with the Spirit, the Giver of life, now and ever and to eternity, Amen.

But as touching the orthodox bishops in the several churches, and the other holy priests, whose offering they make, these [never]<sup>10</sup> set their hands to the impious tome, nor died unrepentant. For not everyone can have an understanding of the command of God; consequently this will give rise to no outcry or tumult, on the score of their not being held worthy of the mystery of God; as God has said that by means of two witnesses . . . and by the power of the Holy Ghost, the unsearchable God Almighty over things seen and unseen, I accept henceforth all which is written in this letter. And when you have attached your signature to its contents, dispatch it at once to me; so that, when I behold your signature attached to its contents, I may glorify God because of your being henceforth my ally and friend. But as soon as I receive your letter written in a spirit of orthodoxy, to which all orthodox bishops and priests and anchorites will bear witness, then I shall at once send my petitions and prayers to be laid before our sovereign, Zeno. For henceforth all men will openly curse the tome of the impious one, in order that the unity of the churches may be established.

But do you, O my beloved friend, prepare yourself, and be ready whenever you may be summoned by the emperor, to make answer to him gently and without

<sup>10</sup> I add "never," which the context seems to need. But the text is broken, and we cannot guess what was the original purport of the whole passage.

agitation, as if you were not aware of this communication. This lest you should fall into temptation. Peradventure he may know of our plan in any case, and will say to you: "Up till now you have led astray both myself and my people, inasmuch as you declared to all men that Peter of Alexandria was a heretic. How, then, do you now regard him as orthodox?" For this reason I enjoin your Holiness to use great caution and prudence in your conversation with the sovereign, lest you should trip and be condemned by your own words. However, God, in whom you have hoped, and who has accepted your repentance, will himself give strength and prudence to your Holiness, and so there shall follow a union of the churches in the unshaken and firmly established faith. Accordingly, if the sovereign accepts the prayers of people—I mean of the devout ones who are in your city and who agree with us in orthodoxy—then you too shall fearlessly present openly our petitions and prayers to him; in order that he may attach his hand to a rescript, and in order that he may return to the faith and curse all heretics, and especially the impious destroyer of all the congregations who was called Potê, Leo, bishop of Rome, author of the Jewish tome which was impiously accepted in Chalcedon because of the infidel Eutyches. And as for the letter of the king, so soon as it has been written in orthodox style by the sovereign, Zeno, and by your own Holiness, dispatch it to me, and I will peruse it in order to see if it agrees with the faith of the holy apostles, and of 318 holy fathers who met in Nice, and of the 150 who afterward met in Constantinople, and of the 200 who met in Ephesus to deal with the impious Nestor. If it does so, then I will at once attach my signature to the document, and will manifest myself. If it be the will of the Lord our God, I will then return to the throne of the holy evangelist, Mark, and will receive the gift of my fathers, which God himself bestowed upon me, and I believe in him. And hereafter will ensue a union of the holy churches, and Christ's sheep will be pastured together in peace and happiness upon the one life-giving nutriment, by us who have been chosen by God to be their shepherds; and our joy will be completed, and orthodoxy will rule in the concord of the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church. So soon as our prayers for all the shepherds and their flocks are finished—I mean after the forty days which have been imposed upon you, Acacius, the pontiff, by me, the humble patriarch Peter of Alexandria, by command of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, our one and single God; so soon as we have completed this holy fast in secret of repentance and salvation according to the command given to me by the Lord God, at the completion of the forty days on the Sunday, the Lord God shall come openly, just as he revealed himself to me by night and I believe in him—he will come to me here, and to yourself yonder in the midst of the congregation on the same Sunday, at the third hour, while we are offering the holy, incorrupt, and inscrutable elements, and are glorifying the holy Trinity together with the heavenly hosts and the many-eyed seraphim and cherubim. In that hour he will appear to you yonder, and to myself here, God himself, Jesus Christ. It is a holy and wonderful sign which shall thus be given. For you will behold the only begotten Son of God in his glory openly, in the shape of a youth clad with

a linen tunic, and reclining upon the paten and disk which are set upon the holy altar. And he will stretch forth his hand upon you, and will exempt you of all fear and misgiving, and will say to you yonder as to myself here: "Be ye of good cheer, for I have blotted out from you priests who repent, and from all the congregations that repent, the profanation and the apostasy which you committed as regards me in the Jewish tome. And henceforth you shall not see him again until his second coming.

The document which Acacius, the patriarch of Constantinople, signed and enclosed in his letter:

I have read and I accept all that has hitherto been written, as well as what I find in this letter which you, Peter, my father, head of the bishops and patriarch of Alexandria, orthodox and faithful, have written with your own hand. And I rejoice and glorify the God who dwells in you, my holy father. In this same letter which your hand has written, I also have written my signature with my own hand, as I believe in the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit. Thus do I believe all the days of my life; and so will I keep the faith according to the terms which I have set down, until Jesus Christ our God shall come to judge the earth in righteousness, he who has spoken and through you revealed all this orthodox language for ever. For to him is due glory and honor and praise and worship, with Father and Holy Spirit, now and ever and to eternity, Amen.

#### FIFTH LETTER OF ACACIUS TO PETER

Acacius, patriarch in Constantinople and bishop, to Peter, my father and patriarch of Alexandria:

Like a wise and prudent artist you have accepted from God a foundation of repentance firm and unshakable, and have undertaken to build up upon it the holy churches; not, indeed, with stones and earth and lime have you established upon earth the foundation of faith, but with spiritual words have you been filled from heaven by the divine wisdom, with which alone God is wise. For with your orthodox professions and avowals you have chastened all men, as Moses did of old, and as Paul did the heathen; for you have been all things with all men, and have won all as your reward. And I know not what name to give you. However, I will call you another and second Peter; for he was the greatest and first of the apostles, and when he was sent from God to Cornelius, he used this language: "God has shown me not to speak of any man as common or unclean." He was head of the apostles, of the class of saints, just as you are head of the orthodox ones and of the priests who have been renewed; for you have done what he did, since you have welcomed the transgressors to repentance. For as Peter destroyed Simon Magus by his prayers and blotted him out, so have you, O father, by your prayers and tears and supplications made appeal to God in behalf of us; and have blotted out Leo and the tome which he published with his impious lips, and which our fathers anathematized. Consequently you, O father and priest, have received in your mercy all, and you have saved all. However, I appeal for mercy to the Word of God, that is, to Christ, who through you has signified and intimated that the priests and all the congregations should repent.

For this reason I accept everything which your hand has written in this letter. I believe and allow whatever has been written in this letter; and I rejoice and glorify God, who dwells in you, my holy father, and has revealed to you miracles according to your faith, and likewise has declared that he will show them to myself also who deserve them not.

And as I accept and believe all this, I have written within the letter and signed it in my own handwriting. And I will believe in the all-holy Trinity all the days of my life, and will keep my faith as you have commanded me to do, until Jesus Christ our God shall come to judge the world in righteousness. And I have dispatched to your Holiness your letter, after setting thereunto my own signature. But as in your holy letter you have declared to us, you shall at once and without delay send orthodox and holy fathers to the well-disposed sovereign, Zeno, that they may present prayers and petitions to him in behalf of the union of the holy churches, in order that from now forth the tome of the impious one may openly be cursed by all men in writing. Well, I hope and trust in my God that he will open my lips through the might of the Holy Spirit, in such a way that I may say everything to the sovereign that is pleasing to God. So that as if at your instance and written request the sovereign, Zeno, may act, and I after him. But for the moment let your Holiness be indulgent and wait. Only this I ask of the Lord, that you may not cease to bear me in mind, who am the sharer of your religion and of your wishes.

#### SEVENTH LETTER OF PETER TO ACACIUS

Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, to Acacius, chief of the bishops that are in Constantinople:

When I received from the blessed youth, Theodosius, the letter which you gave him to bring to me, and which was written in my own handwriting, I magnified the loving-kindness of our God; for I saw it and read it, and I find and welcome therein your signature, and it tallies throughout with orthodoxy. Can it really be that you are become a sharer of my wishes and of my religion in the presence of God? However, I have sent certain blessed bishops and elders who are with me, and also anchorites that hold converse with God, in order that they may tender my prayers to the well-disposed sovereign, Zeno, in behalf of the repeal of the impious tome and of the union of the holy churches. But write at once to me, O blessed one, and send to me the document which has been written in orthodox style by the sovereign Zeno, and by your Holiness; and pray for ourselves, you who are holy and devout, my friend and sharer of my religion, my father Acacius.

#### SIXTH LETTER OF ACACIUS TO PETER

Acacius, patriarch of the bishops in Constantinople, to Peter, my father and patriarch of Alexandria:

On the arrival in the royal city of the blessed and devout bishops and priests and anchorites, God worked all kinds of marvels in a wonderful way. For at the same time the sovereign Zeno, the blessed, gave himself over soul and body to orthodoxy; and forthwith sent and summoned myself, with others whose sev-

eral names I must not tell you, for you will learn them and everything else from the devout men whom you sent to me. For the emperor at once ordered a document to be drawn up, in which he anathematized the tome of the impious one, as well as all heretics, and the impious Eutyches, and in which he avows the orthodox faith which the holy apostles have committed to us. And without delay they are about to depart unto you, the same holy fathers whom you sent hither, and with them, in all the splendor of his high office, Pergamius,<sup>11</sup> the Augustal of the great city of Alexandria, who has received from my hands the document of the blessed emperor Zeno, that he may bring it without delay to your holiness. And as soon as you receive the document, O blessed one, you shall forthwith attach your signature thereto; and so the splendor of orthodoxy which was hidden shall henceforth be manifested, and all men shall be illumined, at the same time that you release us from the chains of apostasy, who sat in darkness and in the shadow of death. And you shall receive from God the throne that is yours and your fathers', to wit, the beloved and holy church of Alexandria.

Receive, therefore, the true crown of God of orthodoxy, which has been given you from God, by the judge of righteousness, by Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to whom is due glory and honor, for ever and ever, Amen. And make prayer in behalf of myself, O my father, that am your companion, friend, and sharer of your religion.

The document of union which was sent by the hand of the blessed Pregmius, the Augustal, from the sovereign, Zeno, of good-will, and from Acacius, chief of the bishops that are in Constantinople, to the blessed Peter, chief of the bishops and true patriarch and faithful of the city of Alexandria:

The autocrat, Cæsar Zeno, pious and victorious and renowned, great and ever good, and Augustus, ruler of the world, to those who are in Egypt and in Alexandria and in Libya and in Pentapolis, to the God-fearing bishops and clergy, to the monks, and to all others, hail in the Lord! As to our authority and championship,<sup>12</sup> our might and the arms impregnable of our sovereignty and kingdom, ye shall know that these consist in the true and orthodox faith, which through the advent of God was fixed by the 318 holy fathers who assembled in Nice, and which was confirmed a second time in the same terms by the 150 holy fathers who assembled in Constantinople. By day and by night, with incessant prayers and with solicitude, and by means of regulations, we seek to increase and foster by means of this faith everywhere the holy and Catholic Apostolic Church, which is the incorruptible and immortal mother of our scepter, that in peace and concord as touching God all the pious congregations may abide and remain, accepting<sup>13</sup> from our royal selves steadfast prayers, which we offer

<sup>11</sup> Called below "Pergmius," and here "Pregmius" in the Armenian text. Evagrius, *H. E.* iii, 13, preserves his real name, "Pergamius," and styles him *Hyparchus* of Egypt.

<sup>12</sup> In Evagrius *σβαρσις*.

<sup>13</sup> The Greek = "and offer acceptable prayers in behalf of our empire together with," etc.

together with the true chief bishops, and with devout men who have taken vows, and with the monks and anchorites; when our Savior Jesus Christ, who was made flesh and born of the Theotokos, the Virgin Mary, commends and readily accepts our praises offered as with one voice and our worship, the generation of our opponents shall be dashed to pieces and blotted out, obliged each and all of them to bow their necks under God to the yoke of our authority, in order that there be peace and the prosperity resulting therefrom, with fair winds and fine seasons, with abundance of fruit, and with all else which, being helpful to us, shall without stint be vouchsafed to men.

Whereas such a spotless and flawless faith can secure our own welfare and that of the Romans, supplications and prayers have been tendered to us by pious monks and anchorites, and by other reverend persons. With tears they intreat us to bring about the union of the holy churches, and to gather into one body the scattered limbs, which the traducer who hates what is good has on many occasions been intent to sever and cut off from one another.<sup>14</sup> Let them therefore know this, that if anyone conflict with and oppose the concordant and whole-membered body of holy church, he shall be delivered over to discomfiture. For from such a condition of things there has resulted unto races innumerable the very greatest hurt and damage.<sup>15</sup> How many times, in the past years of our own life, have some been mulcted of the salutary baptism of regeneration, while others, without receiving the divine sacrament and the communion, have reached the pitiless parting of death? And many a time have some dared to commit murder and to pollute the earth with bloodshed, and not the earth alone, but the air of heaven as well.

Who then would not pray that this state of things may be changed for the better, and that we may behold union? For these reasons we have hastened to acquaint you that everywhere there shall be a union and unity of orthodox and holy church.

But any other faith or teaching or form of creed than that which was pronounced to be aforetime the holy faith, namely, that of the 318 holy fathers, which was confirmed by the aforementioned 150 holy fathers, when assembled in Constantinople—any other we have not entertained, nor do we entertain, nor will we entertain.

We know not<sup>16</sup> if anyone doth entertain another form, but if anyone do, we reckon him to be an outcast from us. In this faith alone do we find our comfort, as we said before, and through this we reckon that we will maintain alive our realm and sovereignty, as well as all the concordant congregations, that have been made worthy of saving baptism, and have received it in its oneness and sameness. By it especially were those who met together in Ephesus illuminated,

<sup>14</sup> The Greek goes on without break: "Knowing that if he [i. e., Satan] conflict with," etc.

<sup>15</sup> An Armenian copyist has inserted here words to make the version intelligible.

<sup>16</sup> Here again the version quits the Greek, and, as it makes sense, I render it literally.

who were followed and imitated by all the holy fathers who deposed and expelled the lawless Nestor, as also those who after his time held and still hold his opinions. This same Nestorius we anathematized, along with Eutyches, though they hold opinions contrary to one another, and also those who entertain their opinions or shall entertain them—all these we anathematize. And we accept the twelve chapters, known as those of the devout and pious Cyril, who was chief of the bishops of the holy church of Alexandria.

For we believe that the only-begotten Son of God is God in very truth, who was made man, our Lord Jesus Christ, he who, being of the nature of his father as touching his Godhood, became as touching his manhood of our own nature. He came down and was made flesh of the Holy Virgin Mary, the Theotokos, by the Holy Spirit. For there is one Son and not two. We acknowledge that the Son of God, the only begotten, is one, and to him belong the works of power and the miracles, and the sufferings which of his own free will he underwent in his body. But those who divide him, or who say that he was changeable or alterable, such as these we reject. For the true incarnation, incorruptible and without sin, which took place from the Theotokos, did not create an additional sonship, but the Trinity remained the Trinity, until it willed and became man, the Word God one through the Trinity.<sup>17</sup>

#### EIGHTH LETTER OF PETER TO ACACIUS

Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, to my friend, Acacius, chief of the bishops that are in Constantinople:

On the nineteenth of the month called Fichon, and in the Roman calendar on the 14th of the month of May, which is called in Assyrian Iyar, and in Armenian is called the month of Margatz. So soon as those who were sent from Constantinople came to me, I welcomed them, my lord, I mean the holy and devout sharers of my religion, bishops and priests, ministrants and holy fathers of the desert who hold converse with God. And when I beheld them, I glorified our God for his loving-kindness, for that he has aroused and stirred up the blessed sovereign, Zeno, to compose by means of your holiness this document which I have received from the hands of the blessed Pergamius, the Augustal. And as soon as I had taken it and read it, I knew that he anathematizes the tome of the impious one which was received at Chalcedon, as also the impious Eutyches and all heretics. I saw that this document is in all ways conformable with the faith of the 318 bishops who assembled in Nice, and of the 150 holy fathers who assembled in Constantinople, to deal with them that fought against the Holy Spirit. And also with the holy council which met in Ephesus, of 200 fathers under our holy father Cyril, the chief of the bishops and the patriarch of the great church of Alexandria.

Accordingly I will glorify God, now that I have received and put my signature to this document, and I rejoice and delight and pay homage to Father and Son and Holy Spirit, to the real Trinity of persons and to the united Godhead. And I have received, by the mercy of the Lord, my throne, which was that of the

<sup>17</sup> The Armenian omits the rest.



evangelist Mark, and I sit upon it together with the spiritual fathers, who are incapable of defiling the holy church of Alexandria. But on the Friday, on the nineteenth of the month Fichon, and according to the Romans on the fourteenth of the month which is called May, and in Assyrian, Iyar, and according to the Armenians, Margatz, all this is accomplished.

Accordingly, O blessed one, you shall receive in fear and trembling from Father and Son and Holy Ghost that which through my humble self has been enjoined upon you. You shall therefore receive the term of forty days of fasting, which has been assigned to us in secret, and which is to be accomplished in behalf of yourself, and in behalf of all the priests that repent, and in behalf of all the congregation that repent, for the remission of their sins. By means of it you shall in all holiness retrieve your consecration and a renewal afresh, and an anointing, and the beauty which aforetime attached to your genuine priesthood, I mean that which aforetime was committed to us by the only begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ, God of all, through the apostles and the holy fathers. And now we will begin upon this holy fast according to our reckoning upon the sixth day of the month, which is called Thoth, and according to the Romans on the third day of the first month, which is called September, and in the Assyrian, Ilul, and in the Armenian, Kthotz.<sup>18</sup> And we will end this holy fast on the Wednesday with scrupulous secrecy. And on the Sunday in our reckoning, on the fifteenth of the month Fopi, and according to the Romans on the tenth of October, and according to the Assyrian Tshriktim (? the first) and according to the Armenians Trekani. Thus will we accomplish the holy fast, yourself and I, O my friend, in behalf of the one body of the holy church.

#### SEVENTH LETTER OF ACACIUS TO PETER

Acacius, chief of the bishops that are in Constantinople, to Peter, my father and pontiff and patriarch in Alexandria.

Holy and trustful one, for I will call you Peter, the preacher of orthodoxy, because I cease not to wonder at your strength and insight and at the knowledge given you by God, my Father, in excess of that which all other men possess. And indeed I do not know what name to give you, and am not able to praise you as you deserve, since you are the beloved sharer of God's will; for I have assured myself now in very truth, that your form of faith is the holy and right one, and that in offering the sacrifice before God, you became the seer of the greatness of his power. For I too have seen; I have seen everything which you predicted, O holy father, in the hour when the forty days of fasting were accomplished, of the fasting enjoined by you upon myself in secret. And the holy words of your prophecy have been fulfilled on the Sunday, close to the ninth hour, as you declared, while I stood in fear and trembling, and offered the holy sacrifice of the Lord God upon his altar. For while I was glorifying the Holy Trinity, on a sudden there burst over me a light, such as I never before beheld, a great and unspeakable light, and it enfolded me together with the holy altar, and I beheld

<sup>18</sup> I. e., the month of the vintage.

truly and in very deed. I beheld our Lord Jesus Christ in the form of a youth, and he was clad in a white tunic of linen. I beheld in him also the sign of the nails, and he was reclining as if on a throne, upon the disk and paten which were laid upon the holy altar. And he relieved me of all fear and anxiety from that moment, and filled me with joy, so that I could not believe myself to be upon earth. And I heard a voice which said to me, as God himself knows: "Be comforted, ye priests; be comforted, O my peoples. For I have lifted from you the reproach of apostasy which you incurred in signing the impious tome of the accursed Leo." And after that I beheld him no more, nor heard his voice, nor saw again the light shining around me. And therefore I glorified our God, who works wonders, and I have intimated all this to your Holiness, in order that at all times you may offer your prayers for me to him whom you have loved and have never gained, I mean to God. For you have acknowledged him before judges and princes, our God Jesus Christ. Him of whom I was not worthy I have beheld in truth and in very deed. For to him are due glory and kingdom for ever, together with Father and Holy Spirit, now and ever and for ever, Amen.

## NINTH LETTER OF PETER TO ACACIUS

Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, to Acacius, my partner in religion and in friendship, and patriarch of the bishops that are in Constantinople:

Behold, you have been made worthy, my holy father, to behold the glory of our Lord; and to hear the words of the incarnate God, which I have at the expiration of the secret fast on the Sunday at the approach of the third hour likewise seen, when we were offering in the church the holy sacrifice of our God that loveth mankind. I both heard it and saw it, as you wrote to me in your letter in your own handwriting; and neither more nor less than that did I see or hear, as God himself knows.

Consequently you shall keep up in secret the orthodoxy by reason of which we have beheld Jesus Christ our God, who for mankind was made flesh unchangeable and unalterable and indivisible, himself alone, and came to his awful and wonderful birth. He came to his birth from the Theotokos Mary, suffered and was crucified and was buried, and rose from the dead on the third day, and during forty days he consorted with his holy disciples and communed with them, and then ascended into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father on high, and he will come again at the end of this world from heaven, in the glory of his might, to judge the quick and the dead. For to him is due glory and honor and victory and kingship, now and ever and for eternity, Amen.

The letter which was composed by Anastasius, the emperor, against all heretics:

Whereas there is one definition of the faith which we hold due to the 318 holy fathers who assembled in Nicæa, which teaches us that of the holy Trinity one was our Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, who was made incarnate of the holy and God-bearing Virgin Mary, and was made man. This definition

was also received by the holy 150 fathers who assembled in Constantinople to discuss the Holy Ghost. And withal by the blessed council that met in Ephesus and anathematized Nestorius, the heretic, and all who think and believe with him, as also in the letter which is called the *Henoticon* of Zeno, the orthodox emperor; likewise also in the letter of the blessed John, the archbishop of Alexandria; which have the following purport, namely, he anathematizes the tome of Leo and the Council of Chalcedon, which contravened the said definition, and defined them to be two natures after their union in Christ.

But we, as we have received from the holy and true fathers, deny that there are two natures, and confess that there is only one nature out of two, which was made incarnate God, the Word; and we anathematize the Council of Chalcedon, and along with it also Leo and his tome, and all those who assert that there are two Christs and two Sons, one before all eternity and the other in these last times. And those who say that there are two natures after admitting their union, and two persons, and two modes, and two properties, and two diversities, or two several operations of the several natures, these we reject and anathemize because they are found to be contrary to the twelve chapters of the blessed Cyril.

We anathemize Paul of Samosata, and Diodorus, and Theodorus, and Nestorius, and Theodoretus, and Lutharis, and Andreas, and Hibas, and Kurê, and John of Egea, and Bardsuma, and Acacius the Persian, and Apollinaris and Eutyches, and Sabellius, and Arius, and Eunomius, Macedonius, and Mani, and Marcion and Bardesanes, together with their filthy teachings. And we anathematize all who believe as they believe, unless they repent, and all heresies which conflict or shall conflict with the right faith of the Catholic Apostolic Church, and all who do not avow that Mary is the Theotokos, the Holy Virgin, and that from her was made flesh and became man unchangeable and inseparable he that is equal and is the Son of the substance of God the Father, and was also the Son of our nature in virtue of his incarnation. And one is that existed before the incarnation; likewise was he [one] that existed after the incarnation; as we said above, one nature of the incarnate God the Word do we acknowledge. He suffered as a man, and by his sufferings he took away our sufferings; and he died, and by his death slew death, and remained impassible and immortal as God. To him and to the Father who sent him and to the Holy Spirit be glory to eternity of eternities, Amen.

Ye shall remember the sinful scribe of this book, Thomas, and my parents, unto Christ God, O ye ranks of the orthodox.

Here in the margin of the manuscript is written the following note:

From the time at which this letter was written, up to the thirteenth year of the reign of Maurice is 89 years; and from the Council of Chalcedon is 144 years. In the pontificate of the Armenians of George, and in the era of the King of kings A . . . . the year 320

## RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

### THE BIBLE AND ITS AUTHORITY

One characteristic of all Professor Dods's work is the explanation of large subjects with extreme clearness. Other characteristics are sanity of judgment and strong religious sense. All these are well represented in his latest book on the Bible.<sup>1</sup> The book consists of seven lectures delivered in 1904 at Lake Forest College on the Bross Foundation. The titles of the lectures indicate their scope: "The Bible and Other Sacred Books," "The Canon of Scripture," "Revelation," "Inspiration," "Infallibility," "The Trustworthiness of the Gospels," "The Miraculous Elements in the Gospels." The central thought of the book is that the chief distinction of the Bible among sacred books is that it contains the consummation, though not the close, of God's revelation.

The value of the Bible results from its connection with Christ. He is the supreme, ultimate revelation of God, and the Bible, being the amber in which he is preserved for man, is as inviolable and unique as he. On all hands and in all ages there has been knowledge of God. He has never and nowhere left himself without a witness: through nature and through conscience and through the experience of the misery that follows sin, God has spoken to men in general and to the individual in a language that many have been unable to misunderstand. But all such revelation is demonstrably incomplete without Christ. . . . It cannot be too often repeated that the element in the Bible which differentiates it is not the supreme and unrivaled excellence of all its constituent parts, nor that in it alone God speaks to man, but that it is the record of his supreme manifestation in Jesus Christ (pp. 25 f.).

The influence of this idea is visible in the lecture on the canon. There the lecturer builds upon a very illuminating, although brief, sketch of the distinguishing principles of the Protestant and Catholic conceptions of the canon. He accepts as the test of canonicity, the congruity of the writings to the main end of revelation, which is the revelation of God in Christ. That this is not a criterion of exactness is admitted. Some books lie more loosely connected with the purpose of revelation than others, so that at the last the canon comes, for practical purposes, to be a historic expression for what the church has regarded as congruous with revelation. The Protestant principle reserves the right to investigate and judge the estimate of the church. The chapter on "Inspiration" includes a discussion of verbal

<sup>1</sup> *The Bible, Its Origin and Nature*. By Marcus Dods. New York: Scribner, 1905. xi+245 pages. \$1.

inspiration, showing how impossible it is to hold this theory in the face of the biblical facts. The problem of infallibility raises the question: "Infallibility for what?" The answer must be given in the light of the purpose of the Bible. That purpose is not to reveal science or history, but to communicate to the world the love of God in Christ. Infallibility then may be used of the Bible, but not of those things which do not concern its main purpose. The chapter on "The Trustworthiness of the Gospels" maintains that, while diversities and minor errors must be recognized, yet the essential claims of Christ are verified. The chapter is designed to conciliate those who suppose that all gospel criticism is of the school represented by Schmiedel. The final chapter is a defense of the gospel miracles, and is less in the form of a plea in behalf of criticism than is any of the others. It would be impossible, except by large quotations, to convey an adequate idea of the clearness, the grace, and the tactful incisiveness with which the positions of the book are developed. It contains little that is not a generation old in the realm of scholarship, but it needs a generation of thought to ripen an expression so clear and yet so conciliatory as this. The book is a polemic, but a gracious polemic.

Radically different, and yet similar in purpose, is Mr. Balmforth's book.<sup>2</sup> There are two classes of people who need a plea for the Bible as interpreted by criticism. By far the most numerous is the class who cling to the Bible and need to be reconciled to criticism. For this class Professor Dods writes, and few men have met their needs more skilfully. There is a class, much smaller in numbers, but still deserving of aid, who have abandoned the Bible, repelled by the use which creedal religion has made of it. They need to be brought back to the Bible. To this class the book of Mr. Balmforth is addressed. It covers less ground than Professor Dods's book, being confined to the Old Testament literature. Its object is to show that, after all, the Bible is worth studying. It consists of a series of Sunday evening discourses from the point of view of liberal religion. The book is useful, not doubtless for most people in the average orthodox church, but for that class outside which has practically thrown away the Bible—a class larger than most ministers realize.

The book of Professor Haussleiter<sup>3</sup> is composed of six discourses delivered in 1904 in the Greifswald vacation school for teachers. It is a simple statement of the facts regarding the Lutheran doctrine of the Bible, from the evangelical, but not reactionary, point of view. To the lectures

<sup>2</sup> *The Bible from the Standpoint of the Higher Criticism.* By Ramsden Balmforth. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., 1904. x+262 pages. \$1.25.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Autorität der Bibel.* Von D. Dr. Haussleiter. München: Beck. 1905. v+77 pages. M. 0.80.

is added a chapter on the *Bibel-Babel* controversy. The whole is designed for teachers in Protestant schools who must teach the Bible, and is admirably adapted for its purpose. Its point of view, as making the value of the Bible center about the revelation of God in Christ, is more nearly akin to that of Professor Dods than to that of Mr. Balmforth.

In 1903 Miss Helen Gould offered three prizes for popular, brief essays on "The Origin and History of the Bible Approved by the Roman Catholic Church" and "of the American Revised Version." Two hundred and sixty-five essays were presented. The prizes were won by Rev. William Thomas Whiteley, L.L.M., L.L.D., Rev. Gerald Hamilton Beard, B.D., Ph.D., and Charles B. Dalton, Esq. These three essays are published in cheap form.<sup>4</sup> Of course, they cover much the same ground. The limits of space imposed were such that the authors could give only a somewhat bare and crowded statement of facts. The first two essays are very full, accurate, and well proportioned. The third leaves something to be desired in accuracy, especially regarding the exactness of the present biblical text (p. 140). The chief value of the third essay lies in certain quotations from contemporary Catholic sources. Nowhere are the facts regarding the antecedents of the English versions of the Bible so succinctly gathered as in the first and second essays. The spirit of the essays is good. Both show that there is no one approved English version in the Catholic church, and that the various Catholic and Protestant versions have acted and reacted upon each other in a most interesting way, so that each is now a composite from the work of men of both creeds. It is unfortunate that the question of real importance between Catholic and Protestant forms of the Bible lies outside the range of the subject offered. It is this: Which is the proper Old Testament canon for the Christian church, that of Palestinian Judaism in the second century, or that of the early Christian church itself? There is something to be said on both sides of this question.

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#### SOME RECENT OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE

The *Babel-Bibel* controversy is still agitating the biblical scholars of Germany. König<sup>1</sup> has taken a first place in the amount of his contribu-

<sup>4</sup> *Roman Catholic and Protestant Bibles Compared*. (The Gould Prize Essays.) Edited by Melancthon Williams Jacobus. New York: Bible Teachers' Training School, 1905. 180 pages. \$0.50.

<sup>1</sup> "*Allorientalische Weltanschauung" und Alles Testament*. Letztes Hauptproblem der Babel-Bibel-Debatte. Erörtert von Eduard König. Gr. Lichterfelde-Berlin: Runge, no date. 69 pages. M. 1.

tions and the vigor of treatment of the questions at issue. The problem that he undertakes to solve in this brochure is whether and how far the ancient oriental view of the world has exercised a positive influence on the Old Testament. The discussion reviews three points: (1) the astronomical-cosmological elements, (2) the astral-chronological elements, and (3) the astrological-mythological elements, of the Babylonian view of the world and the relation of each of these to the literature of the Old Testament. The discussion almost centers about Jeremias' last book, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orient* (1904), and often vigorously protests against Jeremias' concessions to Babylonian influence. It is, in fact, a lengthy review of Jeremias' position, incidentally drawing into the treatment other recent writers on the *Babel-Bibel* controversy. König's well-known position on Old Testament questions necessarily leads him to discount many of the things that every Assyriologist finds in the narratives of the Old Testament. Though Jeremias in some places is too ready to find Babylonian elements in the literature of the Old Testament, his aggressive and vigorous method of procedure, and his candid, evangelical spirit, heartily commend themselves to students of ancient oriental lore. While König seems to be fair his bias tends rather against many of the generally acknowledged results of modern Assyriological investigation, and to minimize Babylonian influence in the literature of the Old Testament.

Professor Peake's commentary on Job<sup>2</sup> is a welcome addition to the literature in English dealing with this book. It is adapted to the needs of the same class of students as that to which A. B. Davidson's splendid commentary makes appeal; but the author's intention was to supplement Davidson, rather than supplant him, and it is for this reason that the work is of especial value. As Davidson summarized and illuminated with the radiance of his own spirituality the results of critical study attained up to 1884, so Peake's volume is a record of the progress of the last twenty years' work upon Job. He regards the present Job as a working over of an old tradition, the prologue and epilogue being direct survivals of the old story. The more important sections assigned by Peake to later writers are the Elihu speeches (chaps. 32-37), the eulogy on wisdom (chap. 28), the descriptions of the leviathan and behemoth in the speech of Jehovah (40:15-41:34), and the fragments 24:18-21 and 25:4-6. The book is dated about 400 B. C., and this date finds support in the history of the doctrine of individualism which first found clear expression in the days of the exile. For the application of this doctrine to the problems of life,

<sup>2</sup> *Job: Introduction; Revised Version, with Notes and Index.* By A. S. Peake. ["The Century Bible."] Edinburgh: Jack, 1905. vi+355 pages.

and the working out of a philosophy of suffering such as appears in Job, a somewhat extended period of time seems essential. In both introduction and commentary Peake shows himself thoroughly familiar with the recent literature, and his decisions among conflicting opinions will, in general, command the assent of cautious and critical scholars. While not advancing our understanding of Job to any appreciable extent, this commentary can be heartily recommended to all who need a handbook reflecting the latest and best thought upon this, the finest of all the Old Testament writings.

The first edition of this book<sup>3</sup> was noticed in this *Journal*, January, 1905. The second edition contains one chapter newly written, that on "The *Shoshannim* (or *Shushan*) *Eduth* Psalms with the Feast of Weeks." This is a more plausible explanation than that offered in the first edition, and adds one more touch of reality to the interesting solutions that Thirtle has proposed for the superscriptions of the psalms.

Popular Bible study is by no means extinct in Germany. Pastor Doerne has spent part of the last three winters in a careful critical study of Isa., chaps. 1-39. His results he has presented to a few of the members of his congregation in an exegesis and exposition.<sup>4</sup> His results as printed show that he made a conscientious study of the Hebrew text, of the Septuagint, and of the latest and best commentators. He presents a translation that follows Luther quite closely, yet does not hesitate to depart from him when the case requires it. The historical picture of the times is wrought out with care, and, when it is possible, the New Testament interpretation or use of a passage is considered. The practical side—the lesson for the present day taught by the passage—is applied with directness and skill. Thus the scholarly pastor doubly benefits himself, feeds his congregation on wholesome food, and exercises a healthful influence over all neighboring and brother pastors whose flocks look to them for nurture. The spiritual value of the book is everywhere evident, and the busy pastor everywhere can do for himself and for his flock just such valuable service as this little volume represents.

Much study has been given by Old Testament scholars to the problem of the place and significance of Amos in the development of the religion of the Hebrews. In the last few years the current of thought has run steadily away from the position advanced by Wellhausen and Stade, and

<sup>3</sup> *The Titles of the Psalms: Their Nature and Meaning Explained*. 2d ed. By J. W. Thirtle. London and New York: Frowde, 1905. viii + 386 pages.

<sup>4</sup> *Jesaja: der König unter den Propheten (Jesaja 1-39): In Bibelstunden aus der Vergangenheit für die Gegenwart ausgelegt*. Von Fr. Doerne. Leipzig: Jansa, 1904. vii + 256 pages. M. 4. bound, M. 5.



for a while enthusiastically sustained by a majority of scholars, viz., that Amos was virtually the creator of the doctrine of ethical monotheism. As representatives of the more recent and more rational view it suffices to mention Giesebrecht, *Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes* (1900); E. Kautsch, art., "Religion of Israel," Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (Extra Volume, 1904); W. R. Harper, *Amos and Hosea* (1905); and G. Rothstein, "Amos und seine Stellung innerhalb des israelitischen Prophetismus," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, April, 1905. Franckh, in his study of the antecedents of Amos,<sup>5</sup> arrays himself upon the same side. More than half of his space is devoted to a consideration of the origin and significance of the so-called schools of the prophets. This is the most complete survey of the subject extant. The author decides that the *nebbi'im* were of distinctively Israelitish origin; that they were already in existence when Samuel appeared, but were aroused to a more intense religious and patriotic activity as a result of the deepening of the nation's spiritual life which was brought about by Samuel; and that the name *nabhi'* was taken over from the Canaanites. Franckh's conclusions are weakened much, on the one hand, by the fact that they rest in large part upon an uncertain philological basis, viz., the explanation of *nabhi'*, through the Assyrian, as "the one who speaks for God;" and, on the other hand, by the fact that they presuppose too wide an influence for Samuel in the early portion of his career. Judging from the story of Saul in search of his father's asses, Samuel was at that time practically unknown outside of his own immediate district.

The relatively large amount of attention devoted to the prophetic societies deprives the remainder of the preprophetic period of the space requisite for an adequate treatment. Elijah is the only prophet to whom serious consideration is given. A study of prophecy before the time of Amos certainly ought not to ignore Micaiah ben Imlah, Elisha, and the J and E schools of writers. This same lack of space, perhaps, hindered the author from substantiating his statement that prophecy was not hostile to culture—a statement hard to reconcile both with the view that prophecy was of distinctively Israelitish origin, and consequently dating from the nomadic period, and also with the character of Elijah and the relation of the prophets to the Rechabites. The article as a whole is a good, careful piece of scholarly work, and may be commended to the consideration of American pastors as a sample of the frequent contributions to biblical and theological learning by their German colleagues.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Prophetie in der Zeit vor Amos: Ein Versuch zur alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte.* Von Franckh. [—"Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie," IX. Jahrgang (1905), pp. 27-86.] Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. M. 1.50.

The much-discussed subject of the atonement in the Old Testament is again attacked by Johannes Hermann.<sup>6</sup> His discussion centers about the verb כָּפַר. The treatment falls into seven chapters. Chapter 1 gives comprehensive digests of the methods and results of the more important previous investigations, viz., those of Hofmann,<sup>7</sup> Ritschl,<sup>8</sup> Riehm,<sup>9</sup> and Schmoller.<sup>10</sup> Chapter 2 takes up the word כָּפַר from the point of view of its primary meaning and its relation to other words, such as נָסַח, כָּפַרִים and כִּפּוּרִים. The third chapter is devoted to an exegesis of the passages in which כָּפַר appears; the fourth, to a study of the usage of כָּפַר outside of Ezekiel and P; and the fifth, to its use by Ezekiel. The larger part of the book is given to chap. 6, the use of כָּפַר in P; this is subdivided in the following manner: (a) the theory of atonement in Lev. 17:10-14; (b) extraordinary atonements in P; (c) the laws concerning atoning sacrifice, and their bearing on the history of this kind of sacrifice; (d) atoning sacrifice for consecration; (e) atoning sacrifice for purification; (f) the day of atonement. The last chapter attempts to gather up the results of the foregoing sections and organize them into a positive, constructive statement of the doctrine of the atonement as developed in the Old Testament. Space does not permit of detailed criticism of this work, which would involve an examination of the exegesis of more than a hundred passages from the Old Testament. In general, the exegesis is good. It is to be regretted that no use is made of Gray's invaluable commentary on Numbers. The method of the investigation is admirable, being strictly historical and inductive. The general result is reached that atonement through blood goes back to the old primitive Semitic conception of sacrifice as an act of communion between the deity and his worshipers. The atoning sacrifice is thus a renewal of a communion interrupted by sin. The element of substitution appears in that the blood of an animal rather than that of a clansman serves as the medium of communion. But in no case is the atonement of the P legislation regarded as a propitiatory gift or

<sup>6</sup> *Die Idee der Sühne im Alten Testament: Eine Untersuchung über Gebrauch und Bedeutung des Wortes Kipper*. Von Johannes Hermann. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905. 121 pages. M. 3.50.

<sup>7</sup> *Der Schriftbeweis*, Zweite Hälfte, erste Abteilung (2. Auflage, 1859), pp. 230-91.

<sup>8</sup> *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*; Vol. II, "Der biblische Stoff der Lehre" (1874), pp. 61-81, 185-208.

<sup>9</sup> "Der Begriff der Sühne im Alten Testament," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 1877, pp. 7-92.

<sup>10</sup> "Das Wesen der Sühne in der alttestamentlichen Opfertora," *ibid.*, 1891, pp. 205-88.

a ransom. The author modestly claims nothing more than reasonable probability for his conclusions. He is certainly right in emphasizing the antiquity of many of the rites and usages of the P code.

Posnanski's ponderous volume<sup>11</sup> is a library in itself, though limited to a very narrow field. It concerns itself with the history of the interpretation of Gen. 49:10 from the earliest times down to the end of the Middle Ages. The amount of work represented by this volume is enormous, apparently out of all proportion to the value of the results obtained. The first chapter, given to the oldest interpretations, deals with Ezek. 21:30-32, Ps. 78, 1 Chron. 5:1, 2, Josephus, Philo, *Assumptio Mosis*, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The testimony of the ancient versions is adduced in chap. 2; chap. 3 cites the early Jewish traditions; and chap. 4 passes in review the exegesis of the church fathers from the days of the New Testament and Justin Martyr down to Gregory of Rome (540-604 A. D.). Jewish exegesis is resumed in chap. 5 and carried on through chap. 12 to the end of the seventeenth century. Samaritan interpretation is recorded in chap. 13, while chaps. 14-17 are given to the Christian interpretation up to the middle of the fifteenth century. The last chapter deals with the more important Arabic authors. A complete system of indexes and an appendix containing excerpts from 111 different sources, printed in unpointed Hebrew, complete the volume. The history of the interpretation from the period of the Reformation to the present day will furnish the materials for the second and final volume. The chief advantage of such a work is that it puts within easy reach of all many sources otherwise accessible to only a few.

Professor Duhm, in his essay<sup>12</sup> dealing with the various classes of individuals especially consecrated to the Deity, enters upon a subject rich in significance for a true understanding of any primitive religion. Starting from a description of religion as "a constant intercourse between a definite, invisible Being and his human adherents," which intercourse always originates as a result of a first encounter between an invisible and a human being, he discusses the intermediaries through whom Yahweh came in contact with his people. The first of these in point of time are the men to whom God reveals himself directly, so that they see him eye to eye; such were Moses, Elisha, Elijah, Micaiah ben Imlah, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah,

<sup>11</sup> *Schiloh: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Messiaslehre*. Erster Theil: "Die Auslegung von Genesis 49:10 im Altertume bis zu Ende des Mittelalters." Von Adolf Posnanski. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. xxxiii+512+lxxvi pages. M. 15.

<sup>12</sup> *Die Gottgeweihten in der alttestamentlichen Religion*. Von B. Duhm. Tübingen: Mohr, 1905. 34 pages. M. 60.

Micah, Jeremiah. The consecration of such men is a gift to them from God. It is only as a product of the religion established by these that priests appear; and they belong to the class of individuals who by sundry external and more or less mechanical agencies consecrate themselves to God, or are consecrated by others, whereas the earlier "man of God" was consecrated by God himself. In the same general category of self-consecrated ones belong the Nazirites, the *nebhi'im*, and the temple-prostitutes. The adoption of the deuteronomic law marked the end of that free creative type of religion represented by the "man of God." The period of revelation now gave way to that of organization and interpretation, in this respect running parallel to the course of other great religions. In this essay Professor Duhm puts within the reach of the general theological public ideas and facts long familiar to specialists, and also throws out a suggestion or two worthy of consideration by Old Testament scholars. Mention may be made only of his explanation of the temple-prostitute as having originated in the period of transition from the matriarchal to the patriarchal condition in which the institution of marriage arose.

The son of Professor Duhm, in his maiden effort<sup>13</sup> gives evidence of a scholarly spirit and a capacity for research, which should enable him to win a large place for himself in the field of Old Testament science. In treating of the evil spirits mentioned in the Old Testament, he has taken hold of a subject not heretofore systematically investigated. The study includes a classification of the spirits and a detailed investigation into the nature and function of each demon, and a statement of the general propositions concerning the demon cults which the results obtained seem to justify. The striking fact that evil spirits are relatively few in the pre-exilic period, and that they appear in relatively larger numbers after the exile, is explained as due chiefly to the following causes: (1) the amount of literature from the pre-exilic period is comparatively small; were there more of it, we should probably find somewhat more frequent allusion to evil spirits; (2) the early Hebrews were a practical and realistic people, among whom the faculty of the imagination—the most fertile source of demons—was but slightly developed; (3) the primitive view of God as the author of both good and ill left little room for the activity of spirits; (4) the Babylonian influence was strong in the post-exilic period; (5) the dismantling of the local shrines in accordance with the deuteronomic law discredited the *numina* of these shrines, which consequently sank to the level of demons; (6) the elevation of the idea of God in the later period

<sup>13</sup> *Die bösen Geister im Alten Testament.* Von Hans Duhm. Tübingen: Mohr, 1904. 68 pages.

necessitated the coming in of demons to perform the various functions once unhesitatingly ascribed to Yahweh, but now considered irreconcilable with his nature. To these causes the author might well have added the exceedingly prominent part played by prophecy in the pre-exilic period as a preventive of encroaching cults, and the almost entire absence of prophetic activity in post-exilic days. In many details the data at hand are too slight to permit of certainty in the results, and there is room consequently for varying opinions. Furthermore, the author is at times guilty of working his hypotheses too hard. But the methods and results, on the whole, justify themselves and deserve the consideration of all Old Testament scholars.

A volume of letters is often a unique interpreter of character. Reuss and Graf occupied pioneer positions on questions of biblical criticism. For long years there was a discussion as to the priority of certain views set forth by Graf and Reuss. This voluminous correspondence<sup>14</sup> of these two gifted scholars and theologians will go far in settling that dispute. The letters have been carefully edited, and supplied with notes of a valuable character, pertaining to contemporary events and personages. In this respect they are historical and instructive. The admirable spirit of the two men pervades their confidential words, and gives the reader a tender side of lives that may often have seemed uninteresting.

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### THE NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA

Shortly after the completion of the German translation of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, edited by Professor Kautzsch,<sup>1</sup> of Halle, the want was felt on all sides, and expressed by many, that the same task be performed for the Apocrypha of the New Testament. Consequently, arrangements were made in April, 1900, between Dr. Paul Siebeck, the head of the firm of J. C. B. Mohr, and Dr. Edgar Hennecke, to prepare a German translation with critical and bibliographical introductions. The work was published in the beginning of 1904,<sup>2</sup> the preface

<sup>14</sup> *Eduard Reuss' Briefwechsel mit seinem Schüler und Freunde Karl Heinrich Graf: Zur Hundertjahrfeier seiner Geburt.* Herausgegeben von K. Budde und H. J. Holtzmann. Giessen: Ricker, 1904. ix+661 pages. M. 12.

<sup>1</sup> Reviewed in the *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. V, p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen.* In Verbindung mit Fachgelehrten in deutscher Übersetzung und mit Einleitungen herausgegeben von Edgar Hennecke. Tübingen und Leipzig: Mohr, 1904, xii+28\*+558 pages. M. 6; bound, M. 7.50.

dating July, 1903, just two hundred years after Joh. Albr. Fabricius (died 1736) had brought out his *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, which for many years remained a standard edition. On p. v of the Preface to this volume the editor promised to publish shortly also a brief commentary on the texts contained in this volume (I), consisting of bibliographies, critical introductions, and short annotations. This companion volume (II)<sup>3</sup> appeared within the same year, 1904, and the two together constitute a most welcome and indispensable guide into the widely ramified field of the apocryphal literature of the New Testament. For the study of early Christianity, its literature and theology, the two volumes are of the greatest importance. As in the case of Kautzsch's book, we find also here a general introduction by the editor, supplemented by special introductions to the individual writings by him and his fifteen collaborators.

In his general introduction to Vols. I and II Hennecke discusses in three carefully prepared paragraphs first the history and meaning of the terms "apocryphal" and "canonical," and reaches the conclusion that New Testament Apocrypha (the equivalent of Hebrew *g'nuzim*) are those writings of the early Christian church preceding Origen (died 254), which constitute the main portion of the literature of primitive Christianity and of the early church contemporaneous with or immediately following the period of the New Testament literature, and exhibiting as their authors the names of apostles or of persons closely connected with them. They claim to be, in like manner as the New Testament writings, sources for the period of Jesus and of his apostles, or pretend to be, at least, a supplementary continuation of the literary productions contained in the now accepted canon of the New Testament. Many of the early Christian churches considered them, for a time, authoritative, and permitted them to be read in public worship, along with the New Testament writings. Other churches, to be sure, rejected them from the beginning and fought them most vehemently. As sources for our knowledge of the post-apostolic era and the subsequent formative period of the Old Catholic church, they are of the greatest importance. Additional remarks to this paragraph in Vol. I are published in Vol. II, Preface, pp. vii-ix: An excursus on the early use of the term "apocryphal;" an answer to Belser's objection<sup>4</sup> against the editor's definition of "apocryphal;" and pp. 1-4, where a well-selected literature is given. The editor discusses up primitive Christian and

<sup>3</sup> *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*. In Verbindung mit Fachgelehrten herausgegeben von Edgar Hennecke. Tübingen: Mohr, 1904. xvi+604 pages. M. 12; bound, M. 13.50.

<sup>4</sup> *Literarische Rundschau für das katholische Deutschland*, 1904, No. 6.

apocryphal literature, and the time of their composition (Vol. I, pp. 10\*-22\*, and Vol. II, pp. 4, 5)—a most interesting résumé of the literary and social, ethical and religious, history of the time shortly before our era to the middle of the third century. The development of Christianity in the post-apostolic time can be understood only by the most careful consideration of all the elements of public and private, social and ethical, life, and with an intimate knowledge of the intellectual and religious conditions of the time in which the Græco-Roman world of those days lived. For the history of the church of the second century, its inner development, its principal heresies, such as Gnosticism, the documents given in Vol. I are of vital importance. In a third paragraph (Vol. I, pp. 22\*-28\*; Vol. II, pp. 5-9) we find a brief sketch of the history of the critical study of these writings, and of the editions, beginning with the work of the Paris professor, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (died, 1536). Noteworthy is the three-volume work of Jeremiah Jones (died 1724), *A New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament* (London, 1726, 1727), and still useful for the material which Vol. II especially contains. The only modern English work which, in any measure, compares with this German translation is the supplementary volume by A. Menzies (1897) in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*.

The two volumes contain each six divisions, four of which are headed by an introductory chapter written by the general editor.

A. *Gospels* (Vol. I, pp. 1-79; Vol. II, pp. 10-172).—This division is especially well done and accurately treated. With few exceptions, the different gospels are extant in very fragmentary condition. The general introduction to this division treats of (1) the meaning of the word "gospel;" (2) the four-gospel canon (see also Vol. II, Preface, p. xii); (3) other gospels and their origin; (4) and (5) the oral tradition; (6) comparison of the canonical and the extra-canonical gospels. This introduction is followed by: (1) "The Logia or Sayings of Our Lord," as far as they belong to this period; to which, in the Preface to Vol. II, pp. xii-xiv, a new text is given, with the commentary and critical notes.<sup>5</sup> (2) "The Gospel according to the Hebrews," by Arnold Meyer (Vol. I, pp. 11-21;

<sup>5</sup> The article of Heinrici, referred to on p. xiii of Vol. II, is published in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1905, pp. 188-210. See also Swete, *Expository Times*, Vol. XV, pp. 489-95; and, based on this article, the summary in the *Methodist Review*, New York, January-February, 1905, pp. 137-40. The bibliographies in the two volumes are, as a rule, rich and carefully selected, and the *Handbuch* especially will remain in that respect a rich source of information for all future workers. We are sorry to notice, however, that Hennecke and most of his collaborators seem not to know this *Journal* at all.

Vol. II, pp. 21-38), who justly maintains the dependence of the gospel upon the synoptic type. Its original title was "the" gospel. It was written in the West-Aramaic dialect, closely related to the Syriac, and early translated into Greek, which assisted materially in its wider circulation. In Syria it was known as early as the first quarter of the second century.<sup>6</sup> (3) "The Gospel according to the Egyptians," by the editor (Vol. I, pp. 21-23; Vol. II, pp. 31-42). It is dependent on No. 2, and a little later of date, probably, however, the earliest Gnostic gospel and encratite in its bearing. (4) "The Gospel of the Ebionites, or the Gospel of the Twelve," by A. Meyer (Vol. I, pp. 24-27; Vol. II, pp. 42-47). This gospel, written probably toward the end of the second century, is totally different from *The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, Together with the Apocalypses of Each of Them*, edited from the Syriac manuscript by J. Rendel Harris (Cambridge, 1900), a production of the period after Constantine. In Vol. II, pp. 47-71, Meyer adds a most careful and excellent excursus on "Jesus, the Disciples of Jesus, and the Gospel in Talmud and in Related Jewish Writings," discussing these questions: What was the opinion concerning Jesus of the Jewish teachers of the Law whom Jesus had attacked so often and condemned so severely, and who, in turn, had planned his death and, when opportunity offered, had assisted in bringing it about? What of his miracles? What of his teachings? What was the attitude of the rabbis and Jewish scholars of talmudic times toward the picture which the early Christians had drawn of Jesus? In what light did they regard the Jewish Christians who, to be sure, maintained that they were still true and faithful Jews? In terse compactness we find concerning these questions all the information necessary for an intelligent appreciation of what the Jewish scholars of talmudic times thought of Jesus and his disciples. As in all other chapters prepared by Meyer, we find also this one prefaced by a carefully selected and rich bibliography. (5) "The Gospel according to Peter," by A. Stülcken (Vol. I, pp. 27-32; Vol. II, pp. 72-88). It is docetic and anti-Jewish in character, though saturated with allusions to the Old Testament. To the readers of this *Journal* it is probably the best-known of all the apocryphal gospels, containing an account of the passion and the resurrection of our Lord. It was written in Syria toward the middle of the second century. (6) "Gnostic and Related Gospels," by the editor (Vol. I, pp. 33-44; Vol. II, pp. 88-94). The important rôle

<sup>6</sup> To the literature on this gospel add now: Walter F. Adeney, "The Gospel according to the Hebrews," *Hibbert Journal*, No. 9, October, 1904, pp. 139-59; and A. S. Barnes, "The Gospel according to the Hebrews," *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1905, pp. 356-78.



which Gnosticism played in the early church naturally gave rise to numerous gospels. Almost every one of the apostles had a gospel ascribed to him by one early sect or another; but the relentless war waged by the Fathers of the church, especially against this most dangerous portion of the early Christian heretical church, has caused an almost complete annihilation of early Gnostic writings, preserving but a few fragments. The editor also writes the general introduction to (7) "Gospels of the Infancy," while A. Meyer contributes translation and critical discussion of (a) the Protevangelium of James (the Just),<sup>7</sup> containing the earliest legendary account of the birth of the "Virgin Mary, the sacred mother of God," and extending to the death of Zacharias. It was composed, probably in Egypt, toward the middle of the second century, in Greek, for the use of the Greek church in Alexandria and Egypt. (b) The narrative of the childhood of the Lord by Thomas the Israelitish philosopher. Indications point to India as the country where this Apocryphon was composed. It exists in various recensions. Meyer translates from the longer Greek recension, with variants added from the shorter Greek text and the four translations, a Syriac, two Latin, and an Arabic version (see Vol. II, pp. 132-34). It is not to be confounded with the Gospel of Thomas, a fragment of which is printed in Vol. I, pp. 39, 40. It must also be borne in mind that from early days Thomas was called the "Apostle of India." The Israelitish philosopher is probably a later change for the original Indian philosopher, i. e., a Brahman. The last two sections of this division are edited by A. Stülcken, viz., (8) "Acts of Pilate," often called the Gospel of Nicodemus; and (9) "The Abgarus Letters." Both titles are somewhat misleading; the former consisting merely of the short letter of Pilate to Claudius Tiberius, the emperor, witnessing, so the author emphasizes, for the truth of the Christian faith; and the latter being the text of Eusebius' *Church History*, Vol. I, chap. 13, §§ 6-22, containing the correspondence between Abgarus V. Uchama, king of Edessa, and Jesus, resulting in the foundation of the church at Edessa through the preaching of Addai or Thaddæus, sent there by the Master. This completes the first division, to which, in Vol. II, pp. 165-71, Johannes Flemming adds an excursus on "The New Testament in the Koran," printing a collection of all that is given in the Suras concerning Mary, John the Baptist, Jesus the precursor of Mohammed, and his disciples. Surveying this division as a whole,

<sup>7</sup> Called thus by Guillaume Postel (died 1581), who first found the Greek text toward the end of the sixteenth century. His translation into Latin, with commentary, was edited, under the auspices of Th. Bibliander, in 1552, while the Greek text was not published until 1564, by M. Neander.

we are most favorably impressed with the work of A. Meyer, who shows a grasp of the problems and a knowledge of the literature far superior to that of his collaborators.

B. *Epistles* (Vol. I, pp. 80-140; Vol. II, pp. 172-204).—This branch of literature, appealing only to a more restricted class of readers, or rather hearers, is not as largely represented as the gospel literature. As specimens of epistolary literature of the second Christian century they are of great importance and worthy of careful consideration. They assume to have been written—and, as a matter of fact, the majority was composed—by disciples of the apostles (Clement and Polycarp) or other faithful successors (Ignatius). In style and language they combine the characteristics of the epistles of Paul and of the profane Greek letter-literature of the period. After a general introduction to this division, by the editor, we have here translation and critical discussion by R. Knopf of the so-called First Epistle of Clement of Rome to the church at Corinth, and of the letter of Paul to the Laodiceans<sup>8</sup> (Vol. I, pp. 84-112, 138-40; Vol. II, pp. 173-90, 204). G. Krüger does the same work for the epistles of Ignatius and that of Polycarp (Vol. I, pp. 112-38; Vol. II, pp. 190-203). Knopf bases his translation and commentary of Clement's letter, in the main, on his recent book, *Der erste Clemensbrief, untersucht und herausgegeben* ("Texte und Untersuchungen," N. F., Vol. V, No. 1, 1899), and was thus well fitted for his work. The letter was written in 95-96 A. D., by Clement, the third or fourth bishop of Rome. Its importance is shown by the fact that in the Codex Alexandrinus (sæcl. V) and in the Syriac translation it is found, together with 2 Clement, immediately after the canonical books of the New Testament. It was considered by Clement of Alexandria and other writers as holy writ. Krüger's translation of the epistles of Ignatius of Antioch is probably the best part of the whole volume. This, of course, we all expected of the learned author of the *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*. We marvel, however, at the fact that the busy editor of the *Theologische Jahresbericht* could find the time to write out this translation and the commentary, and, in addition, assist the editor in a reading of proof-sheets of various parts of this volume. Krüger's translation contains, of course, only the shorter recension of the Ignatian Letters, viz., the letters written by Ignatius in

<sup>8</sup> To the meager literature on the epistle (of Paul) to the Laodiceans, founded upon Col. 4:16, and, at present, a short cento of Pauline phrases, we would add the two brief articles of E. J. Goodspeed, "A Toledo MS of the Laodiceans," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 76-78; and "The Madrid MS of Laodiceans," *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. VIII, pp. 536-38.

Smyrna on his way as a prisoner to Rome, and addressed to the churches at Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, and Rome; and in Troas, where he wrote to the churches at Philadelphia and Smyrna, and to Polycarp. The letters to the churches in Asia Minor are mainly letters of thanks for the loving treatment he had received by them while on his way to Rome; warning them, at the same time, against the two most dangerous heresies: Judaism and Docetism. The letter to the Romans prepares the church at Rome for his arrival in that city. Krüger accepts these letters as genuine. The epistle of Polycarp is an answer to a letter of the church at Philippi asking the bishop for spiritual encouragement and the strengthening of their faith.

C. *Didactic Writings and Sermons* (Vol. I, pp. 141-79; Vol. II, pp. 205-55).—The longest, and by far most important, document in this division is the Epistle of Barnabas, which is most admirably treated by H. Veil, who strongly maintains its integrity and unity. The author of the letter belongs to the post-apostolic period; his religious conception is rooted in Paulinism, and as such is closely related to that of the somewhat earlier author of the epistle to the Hebrews. He was probably some Christian teacher in the Orient writing during the first years of the reign of Emperor Hadrian. In Vol. II, p. 209, Veil comes to the conclusion, on the basis of chap. 9, 6, that the letter was written in Egypt for Egyptian Christians, who, to be sure, were, for the most part, gentile Christians. Toward the end of the second century the letter was ascribed to Paul's companion Barnabas, and in the Codex Sinaiticus (sæcl. IV) we find it after the Revelation of John; while, on the other hand, Eusebius and, especially, Jerome deny its canonical authority. The editor follows with a translation and discussion of the few fragments of and references to the Memoirs of Matthias, whose gospel is mentioned in Vol. I, p. 40. He has also charge of the fragmentary *κῆρυγμα Πέτρου*, the Preaching of Peter, to which are added the scanty remains of the Teaching of Peter, *διδασκαλία Πέτρου*, quoted by Origen. The former is assigned to the first third of the second century, and was written perhaps in Alexandria. To the well-known professor of church history, Hans von Schubert, we are indebted for an excellent translation of the second so-called Epistle of Clement, which is not a letter at all, but rather the earliest known Christian sermon or homily, written about 140 A. D. in Rome (or possibly in Corinth itself), perhaps by the Clement mentioned in Hermas, *Visiones*, II, 4, 3.<sup>9</sup> Since the fifth century it has been known as 2 Clement.

D. *Manuals of Ethics and Church Discipline* (Vol. I, pp. 180-98;

<sup>9</sup> See, however, Weinel in Vol. I, p. 227.

Vol. II, pp. 256-84).—Professor Drews presents a new translation, with commentary, of the famous Teaching of the Apostles (the Didaché), discovered and edited, in 1883, by Bryennios, the metropolitan of Nicomedia; and since then so often edited, for English readers most conveniently by the late Philip Schaff. Drews comes to the conclusion that the first part of our Didaché (chaps. 1-5 or 6:1)<sup>10</sup> was an independent work, bearing originally the title "The Doctrine of the Two Ways;" and that it was later on incorporated into the present work by the author of the later chapters. This early work did not contain 1:3-2:1, nor were they found in the important parallel texts, the Latin translation, and the canons of Basilides. It is most likely that "The Two Ways" was a Jewish work intended originally for the use of proselytes, to which belonged also the sixteenth chapter of our present text. The place and date of composition of this are most uncertain. In his commentary on 11:11 (Vol. II, pp. 274-76) Drews accepts Harnack's interpretation of the *μυστήριον κοσμοκτον ἐκκλησίας*. Of the Syriac Didascalia of the Apostles no translation is given; but we find a brief introduction and chapter headings by the general editor (Vol. I, pp. 194-98). The reader is referred to the edition of the text and translation into German by Joh. Flemming and H. Achelis.<sup>11</sup> The Didascalia most probably does not belong to the period before Origen, and has, therefore, small claim to a place in this work.

E. *Apocalypses* (Vol. I, pp. 199-345; Vol. II, pp. 285-350).—The two centuries immediately preceding and following the opening of the Christian era gave rise to a large amount of apocalyptic literature, the extant remains of which were published for the Old Testament side by Kautzsch. It is here especially that Jewish and Christian literatures meet and borrow one from the other. Most of the Jewish apocalypses have been remodeled by early Christian writers. Of genuine Christian origin, according to Hennecke's edition, are these: The Apocalypse of Peter the Apostle. The section given to this is prepared by H. Weinel, who furnishes also a well-written general introduction to this whole division and, in addition, takes charge of the work on the Shepherd of Hermas and the fifth and sixth books of Ezra, all belonging to this division. The influence of the Apocalypse of Peter and of kindred literature can be observed in the mediæval literary productions among most European

<sup>10</sup> Chap. 6:2 and 3 being of later origin and not found in the old Latin text.

<sup>11</sup> *Die syrische Didaskalia übersetzt und erklärt*. [= "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur," Neue Folge, Vol. X, No. 2.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. viii+388 pages. M. 12.50. This is only a *Vorarbeit* for their final edition, which is to appear in the Berlin corpus of the Greek Fathers.

nations, finding its most classic expression in Dante's *Divina Commedia*. Harnack has made it very probable that the Greek text discovered by Bryennios represents only one-half of the original work. Weinel believes that our apocalypse is the source for the second epistle of Peter, the two showing very close relationship. Next follows the Shepherd of Hermas, with its five gorgeous visions, its twelve strict mandates, and its ten fanciful similitudes, written in Rome between 130 and 150 A. D. Old Testament pseudepigrapha of Christian content are the Ascension of Isaiah, so carefully and completely edited by R. H. Charles, in 1900, and now translated and annotated by Joh. Flemming, the well-known Ethiopic scholar. Geffcken, the editor of the *Oracula Sibyllina* in the Berlin corpus of the Greek Fathers,<sup>12</sup> gives the Christian portions of the Sibylline Oracles, i. e., Books VI and VII, both of heretical character and written toward the middle of the second century; portions inserted into the Jewish third book originating during the era of the Christian apologists, i. e., before 180 A. D., and small portions of Books I and II, Christian insertions into Jewish oracles; finally, also, the "fragments."

F. The last, and perhaps most important, division treats of the legendary Acts of Apostles (Vol I, pp. 346-544; Vol. II, pp. 351-604). It is here especially that we observe the superiority of the canonical Acts of the Apostles over the apocryphal lucubrations of unknown authorship. Throughout the descriptions run into the grotesque and bizarre, and the narratives are honeycombed with most incredulous miracular performances on the part of the apostles, similar in character to those in the narratives of the infancy of our Lord. It is significant that in these Acts we find decided traces of the encratite ideal,<sup>13</sup> which is a peculiarity of the Christianity of the second century, and that the accounts of the death of the apostles to whom the Acts are ascribed are most carefully preserved, especially when their life ended in martyrdom.

The general introduction by the editor (Vol. I, pp. 346-57; Vol. II, pp. 351-58) is exceedingly well done. In five chapters are treated the Acts of Paul, of Peter, of John, of Andrew,<sup>14</sup> and of Thomas.<sup>15</sup> The Acts

<sup>12</sup> See the writer's review in the *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. VII, pp. 336-38.

<sup>13</sup> Especially noticeable in the Acts of Andrew, whom the later church created patron saint of the marriageable young maidens.

<sup>14</sup> That we have Acts of Andrew is probably due to the fact that, according to Mark 13:3, he belonged to the inner circle within the Twelve.

<sup>15</sup> The Acts of Thomas are the only ones preserved completely. According to the stichometry of Nicephorus, they comprised 1,600 stichs; but, if so, Nicephorus either must have had before him a shorter recension than the present text, or his figures are wrong (see Vol. II, p. 474).

and the Passions of the remaining apostles are all of later date and do not come within the range of this book. Especially noteworthy are the first two contributions, viz., by E. Rolfs on the Acts of Paul, and by G. Ficker on the Acts of Peter.

1. Of the *Acta* (also *Actus*) *Pauli* we have extant only about one-quarter of the original text, the fragments known at present comprising about 900 stichs, while the complete work, according to Nicephorus, was at least 3,600 stichs. In all the canonical lists from the Orient they are considered a "catholic" work, owing to the fact that Origen quoted the work with approval. They rank equally with the Shepherd of Hermas, the Apocalypse of Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Didaché. Little was known of the Acts until the discovery of the Coptic fragments by C. Schmidt, in 1897. Parts of the original *Acta Pauli* are (1) the two quotations of Origen, *Princ.*, I, 2:3, and *Comm. on John*, xx, 12; (2) the apocryphal correspondence of Paul and the Corinthians (3 Corinthians), the most important portion of the Acts, especially since Schmidt's recovery of the Coptic text;<sup>16</sup> (3) the Acts of Paul and Thecla, of Iconium; (4) the healing of the sick with dropsy in Myra; (5) Paul's fight with wild beasts in Ephesus, an apocryphal amplification of 1 Cor. 15:32 preserved in Nicephorus Kallisti, *Church History*, II, 25; (6) the Martyrdom of Paul, which is the least important part of the *Acta*, full of contradictory statements owing to the fact that two separate traditions are superficially combined. The author of the *Acta*, according to Tertullian and the testimony of the work itself, was a presbyter in Asia Minor devoted to Paul's service. It is the least heretical in character. It was considered canonical for some time, but rejected by the church as a forgery when heretics called attention to it. The Acts were written probably between 160 and 180 A. D. The author's intention was to represent Paul as *the* apostle, and furnish a counterpart to the canonical Acts which, in his opinion, did not give due prominence to him.

2. Of the Acts of Peter, originally numbering 2,750 stichs, we have (1) a fragment relating miraculous healings by the apostle;<sup>17</sup> (2) Peter's

<sup>16</sup> Since Vol. II of Hennecke's edition there has been published *Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger Papyrushandschrift Nr. 1. Übersetzung, Untersuchungen und koptischer Text. Herausgegeben von Carl Schmidt. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905. lv+240+80 pages. M. 12. A Handausgabe of his more expensive Acta Pauli (1904). Also a most important article by Professor Adolf Harnack in the Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, at Berlin, January 12, 1905, pp. 1-35. M. R. James, "A Note on the Acta Pauli," *Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1905, pp. 244-46: "Perhaps a continuation of the canonical acts." Eb. Nestle, "Zwei syrische Zitate aus dem 3. Korintherbriefe," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1905, No. 5.*

<sup>17</sup> A Coptic fragment discovered by Carl Schmidt; see this writer's book on *Die alten Petrusakten*, in "Texte und Untersuchungen," N. F., Vol. IX, No. 1, 1903.

Contest with Simon Magus at Rome, whom he defeats, and thereby re-establishes the church at Rome (the *Actus Vercellenses*); (3) the Martyrdom of the Holy Apostle Peter, a continuation of No. 2, according to which he was crucified at Rome, head downward at his own request. The Acts were written between 200 and 210 A. D., in Asia Minor or some place distant from Rome, because of the ignorance shown by the author of Rome and Roman affairs.

3. The Acts of John, comprising originally 2,500 stichs,<sup>18</sup> of which about two-thirds has been preserved. We hear of (1) John's arrival at Ephesus from Miletus and his activity there; (2) his later return to the same city from Laodicea and second sojourn; (3) the apostle's account of the life and swoon-death of Jesus; (4) his peaceful end. The introduction to these and the Acts of Andrew is by Hennecke, while G. Schimmelpfennig furnishes translation and critical notes, which latter the editor supplements by numerous additions of his own. The Acts of John are perhaps the earliest of all these apocryphal Acts, and, next to the Acts of Paul, they had the greatest influence upon other legendary Acts. They were written in Asia Minor, and show traces of paganism from beginning to end.

4. The Acts of Andrew, the brother of Peter. The fact that they are not mentioned in the stichometry of Nicephorus proves that at his time the Acts as a whole no longer existed. We have now: (1) a short fragment in Euodius of Uzala, contemporary of Augustin; (2) Andrew in prison at Patræ in Achaia; the fragment begins in the midst of a sermon by Andrew; (3) the crucifixion of Andrew, which in its account strongly resembles that of Peter. The so-called St. Andrew cross is a mediæval fiction. The Acts were in circulation especially among the Gnostics, but survived only in various Catholic recensions of later date.

5. The Acts of Judas Thomas, relating thirteen episodes in the life of the apostle during his missionary activity in India, and finishing with the martyrdom of the holy and famous apostle. The introduction to these Acts is by E. Preuschen; the translation, by R. Raabe. Both contribute the critical notes in Vol. II, a rather confusing arrangement, found also in the two preceding chapters. With Macke, Nöldeke, and Burkitt, Preuschen holds that the Acts were written originally in Syriac; he doubts, however, that Bardesanes and his school had anything to do either with the Acts proper or with the Hymn of the Soul, chap. 110 (see Vol. I, p. 479; Vol. II, p. 563).<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> I. e., about as much as the present gospel of Matthew.

<sup>19</sup> See, on the other hand, F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity in the Syriac-speaking Church* (The St. Margaret's Lectures, 1904), London, 1904; Nöldeke,

Vol. I, pp. 545-53, contains an index of names and subjects; pp. 554-58, a list of the passages quoted or referred to in the texts translated. Vol. II, pp. 602-4, gives a short index to this second volume; and on p. 604 of this volume are indexed the new supplementary texts, to which we call the readers' special attention.

The contributors, as we have seen, have, in most cases, endeavored to determine the date and place of the composition of these apocryphal writings. They find that most of them are productions of the second century. A few were written originally in Syriac; most of them in Greek. In many instances, however, the Greek text has been lost, and we have only translations, based either directly upon the original text, or, as in many cases, on first or second translations; thus, e. g., an extant Armenian translation may be based on an early Syriac version of the original Greek text. The extant texts are preserved in many languages besides Greek: in Syriac, Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Sahidic, Old Slavic, etc. In some instances—e. g., the correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians—the original Greek text has been lost; but we have at least five translations, each differing somewhat from the others—a fact which makes the fixing of the original text very difficult, and at times almost impossible. The editor and his collaborators have made the best use of all the resources at their command, and are deserving of the highest praise and commendation. The only adverse criticism one could make is that texts and introductions are in a separate volume from bibliography and commentary—a fact which in many instances necessitates some repetitions. It would have facilitated the use of these books considerably if the general introductions of the two volumes had been combined into one and published as Vol. I together with everything relating to Divisions A-C, and the rest as Vol. II. A translation into English on this plan, we are convinced, would command wide attention and a large circle of readers in this country as well as in England.

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#### RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS ON EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

The professor of church history in the University of Tübingen, Dr. Karl Holl, is known to the readers of this *Journal* as the author of two *Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1905, p. 82. To the literature given in the *Handbuch* add also "The Connection of St. Thomas, the Apostle, with India," by Philipps, in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXII (1903), pp. 1 ff., 145 ff.; and "St. Thomas and Gondophernes," by T. F. Fleet, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1905, pp. 223-36.



contributions to the new series of the "Texte und Untersuchungen,"<sup>1</sup> which, in a way, are preparatory to the present book, a biography of Amphilochius of Iconium and a critical estimate of his relations to the three great Cappadocians.<sup>2</sup> It is an important subject, discussed in a fascinating style. While the writings of the ante-Nicene fathers are being edited critically, studied exhaustively, and estimated as to their value and importance for the history of the early church, the same cannot be said of the century following immediately upon the days of the Nicene Council. The theology of the post-Nicene fathers has not yet received that critical attention which it deserves and to a correct appreciation of which Holl aims to make a much-needed contribution, with special reference to the history of the development of the Trinitarian and Christological terminology of the early mediæval church. Charged with a new edition of the works of Epiphanius, the author was led to a renewed study of the theology of the great Cappadocians, one of whom, Amphilochius, has been greatly neglected. Hence this contribution. The book falls into two parts, of which the first considers the life (pp. 5-42) and the writings (pp. 42-115) of Amphilochius. Amphilochius was born somewhere between 340 and 345 A. D. In his youth he was taught, together with his older brother, Euphemius, first by his father, Amphilochius, and then by Libanius in Antiochia, in his estimate of whom the author is particularly happy. After a short career as a rhetorician in Constantinople, he returned to his father about 370, and remained with him for a few years. Almost against his will, he fell under the influence of Basil the Great, his countryman, at whose suggestion he was elected bishop of Iconium in the year 373, as successor of Faustinus. Later on he became metropolitan of Lycaonia; played an important part during the second ecumenical council, 381 A. D.; and died before 403 A. D. Of his writings we have (1) fragments of the lost works, collected from fourteen different sources,<sup>3</sup> among which the *Sacra parallela* of John of Damascus are most important. On the basis of these fragments Holl enumerates (pp. 51-58) sixteen writings of Amphilochius. (2) Of the eight homilies mentioned on pp. 59, 60, No. 7, the *Epistola synodica*, has not been doubted by anyone, and No. 8, the *Iambi*

<sup>1</sup> *Fragmente vornehmlich. Kirchenväter aus den Sacra parallela* (1899); *Die Sacra parallela des Johannes Damascenus* (1897).

<sup>2</sup> *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den Grossen Kappadokiern*. Dargestellt von Karl Holl. Tübingen and Leipzig: Mohr, 1904. viii+166 pages. M. 6.

<sup>3</sup> By no means complete, as Diekamp has shown, *Theologische Revue*, 1904, No. 11, col. 332, beg., mentioning seven further literary sources, all of which contain quotations overlooked by Holl.

*ad Seleucum*, have been defended as genuine by Tillemont and Th. Zahn. The six sermons, Nos. 1-6, rejected by Tillemont and others, bear a strong resemblance, in style, exegesis, and theology to the fragments accepted as genuine, so that all objections to these fall to the ground. (3) The homily *eis τό· πάτερ, εἰ δυνατόν κτλ.*, recently discovered by Holl in the Codex Monacensis gr. 534, is printed on pp. 91-102, preceded by a good description of the codex and a comparison of this homily with that of pseudo-Chrysostom on the same subject, rejected by Holl as a later plagiarism; and followed by an examination of the agreement of this homily with the other accepted writings of Amphilochius. The homily, as Diekamp observes, is quoted also by Pope Gelasius. (4) The importance of the writings of Amphilochius for the history of the church and the literature of the period. In this chapter the author takes up the church calendar of Amphilochius, with special reference to the spread of the Christmas festival in the East, starting in Cappadocia.<sup>4</sup> The author strongly emphasizes the great influence of the Cappadocian church in the shaping of the eastern liturgy.

Having given us in the first part a good biography and a literary study of Amphilochius, the author proceeds in Part II, pp. 116-263, to describe minutely the theological views of the bishop of Iconium in their relation to those of the three great Cappadocians. In four chapters we have (1) the theology of Basil the Great (pp. 122-58); (2) that of Gregory Nazianzen (pp. 158-96); (3) that of Gregory of Nyssa (pp. 196-235); and (4) that of Amphilochius (pp. 235-63). A few introductory pages present a general survey of the theological views of the great Cappadocians. The important theological questions of the day concerning the Trinity and the historic character of Christ occupied, almost exclusively, the minds of these Cappadocian theologians, all of whom, even against their will at times, were influenced by the logic of Aristotle, and following the footsteps of their famous countryman, Gregorius Thaumaturgus, who directed their attention to the great master-mind of Origen. Basilus, though younger than Gregory Nazianzen, has always been looked up to by the latter as his authority and guide in matters of religion, without, however, being followed slavishly. Also to his younger brother, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil was one of the greatest men, whom he followed in all questions touching theology and religion, without, however, thereby giving up in the least his own convictions. Compared with these three great Cappadocians, the theological achievements of Amphilochius appear superficial, lacking the depth of wisdom and the breadth of knowledge, the acumen of the philosophic

<sup>4</sup> So against the views of Usener.

mind, and the thoroughness of method so observable in his famous countrymen. This the author tersely states on p. 263.<sup>5</sup>

In the year 1904 Joh. Flemming and Hans Lietzmann published a new edition of the writings of Apollinaris of Laodicea and of his school.<sup>6</sup> It contained some important additions to the texts of Apollinaris published hitherto, chiefly taken from manuscripts in the British Museum. The Greek original has been reconstructed throughout by means of the Syriac versions. Writings of Gregorius Thaumaturgus, Julius of Rome, and Athanasius are the essential components of this new edition, which is followed by a Syriac-English glossary. The book is dedicated to the memory of Paul de Lagarde and, while the work may not be done quite so carefully as Lagarde would have it, does not deserve the severe condemnation of Nestle, whose review in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1905, No. 21, is, to be sure, quite instructive; for he shows that the editors did not always use the edition of Apollinaris by Lagarde (1859) so carefully as they should have done, maintaining that the comparison of the Syriac and Greek texts is at times inaccurate, even in cases where no grammatical difficulties are involved, and calling attention to the fact that a number of biblical references are wrong, which by a more attentive study of Lagarde's edition might have been avoided. Lietzmann's name, as well as that of Flemming, is most favorably known to all students of early Christian literature; the former having done such excellent work on the catenæ, since 1897, resulting in the great *Catenarum Graecarum Catalogus*, which he edited together with Karo; the latter, a competent Semitic scholar, whose editions of the book of Enoch, in the Berlin *corpus*, and of the Syriac Didascalia, together with H. Achelis, have been brought to the attention of the readers of this *Journal* on former occasions. The edition of the Syriac texts of Apollinaris and his school was crowned with a prize by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Göttingen; and based on it is the book, by one of the two editors, on Apollinaris of Laodicea and his school,<sup>7</sup> which we will now briefly describe.

<sup>5</sup> "Ein Bahnbrecher ist Amphilochius auf keinem Punkt gewesen. Aber er besass in praktischen wie in theoretischen Fragen sichern Instinkt für den kirchlichen Mittelweg und Energie, ihn mutig bis zu Ende zu gehen. Deshalb galt er in der Periode, in der die Kirche den richtigen Standpunkt zwischen zwei Gegensätzen suchte, als einer der berufenen Führer. Aber zu den 'grossen' Kappadoziern ist er doch nie gezählt worden. Und mit Recht. Denn etwas Individuelles, mit seiner Persönlichkeit verknüpft, hat er nicht zu schaffen vermocht."

<sup>6</sup> *Apollinaristische Schriften, syrisch mit den griechischen Texten und einem syrisch-griechischen Wortregister herausgegeben*. [= "Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen," Philologisch-hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, Band VII, Heft 4.] Berlin: Weidemann, 1904. ix+76 pages. M. 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule. Texte und Untersuchungen*, I. Von Hans Lietzmann. Tübingen: Mohr, 1904. xvi+543 pages. M. 9.

Lietzmann sets out to indicate the importance of Apollinaris and his school in the development of early ecclesiastical history and polity, and endeavors to furnish a good and sound philological foundation for all future examinations into and discussions of the dogmatic treatises of that school. A forthcoming second volume is mainly to treat the exegetical fragments of Apollinaris and his followers, for which our author has collected his own material in his work on the *catenæ*. This volume will also contain full indexes and a critical estimate of the literary character of this whole school and period. The make-up of the present volume is as follows: (1) Political history of the period in which Apollinaris and his followers lived (pp. 1-42). As in the case of Amphilochius, so also in that of Apollinaris, we do not know the date of his birth nor the year of his death; his excommunication by Bishop George of Laodicea because of his friendship for, and devotion to, Athanasius, in October, 346, being the first known date in the man's biography. In the year 362 he was made the Nicene bishop of Laodicea, by the side of the Arian bishop, Pelagius, the successor of George. The christological problem early attracted his attention, and to its solution most of his literary work is devoted. The trichotomic conception for which he stands in history belongs to the later period of his life, which is of importance for the chronology of his writings. Although the heretical character of his teaching concerning the christological problem was sharply defined as early as 363, going back in its beginnings as far as the year 352, he was not condemned as a heretic until 377, together with his follower, Timotheus of Berytus (Beirouth), brought about in Rome by his principal opponents, Basil the Great and Peter, bishop of Alexandria. The great reputation of Apollinaris can be seen from the attitude of both his friends and followers, and his enemies. For the former called him "divine," as Polemon (p. 274, ll. 28, 29); "our holy father" (p. 274, l. 24); "the thrice sainted teacher and bishop;" so Timotheus (p. 277, l. 24, etc.); and placed his writings with the Sacred Scriptures (p. 289, l. 30). His adversaries and enemies, again, attested his importance by placing the friend of Athanasius among the most dangerous heretics, and carrying on a most destructive warfare against his writings and those of his friends and followers. The whole first chapter, in which these events are narrated, is most interesting and instructive, and presents, in connection with Holl's book, a vivid description of the ecclesiastical conditions of the eastern churches at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century; the western churches, with Rome as their center, were not affected by the storms which Apollinaris had raised in the Asiatic provinces of the empire. (2) The literary sources and the chronology (pp. 43-78). Almost all the later accounts of Apollinaris and his school are, directly or indirectly,

based on the work of Timotheus, bishop of Berytus. For the chronology the letters of Basil the Great are of vital importance. Here the results of Loofs in his book on Eustathius of Sebaste have been of great service to Lietzmann, as they have also been to Holl, both of whom pay due regard to this well-known publication. Of equal importance with the letters of Basil are the synodical letters of the bishop of Rome concerning Apollinaris and his heresy, as also the letters of Ambrose and Pope Damasus, and especially some of Gregory Nazianzen. (3) By far the best part of Lietzmann's book is his chapter headed "Geschichte der Überlieferung" (pp. 79-128), giving a most interesting account of the warfare against heretical writings by the orthodox church, the *Grosskirche*, with special reference to the works of Apollinaris and his school, most of which have practically been lost, existing in part only in fragments imbedded in catenæ and in quotations found in works especially directed against Apollinaris and his school, the earliest of which is the *Antirrheticus contra Apollinarem* of Gregory of Nyssa. Theodoret and Cyril of Alexandria also bear witness against Apollinaris, and are of great value for their quotations from his writings, as is also the extant monophysite *florilegia* literature, to which we are indebted for the preservation of a few complete treatises. Another batch of fragments is gathered from the writings of those who since Justinian combated monophysitism, considered by them as an Apollinaristic heresy. Here we mention especially Leontius of Byzantium, *Adversus fraudes*; Justinian, *Contra Monophysites*; and Anastasius of Sinai (seventh century), *Doctrina de verbi incarnatione*. (4, 5) The critical estimate of the writings of Apollinaris and his disciples (pp. 129-63) and the texts themselves (pp. 167-322) are naturally grouped together. The edition of the fragments is especially noteworthy and bears comparison with the *Epicurea* of Usener, to whom, in honor of his seventieth birthday, the volume is dedicated. We are made acquainted with three complete treatises and 171 fragments from about thirty works and letters of Apollinaris and his school. The most important of the complete works is the *ἡ κατὰ μέγας πίστις* (pp. 165-88). The Syriac texts are given in German translation. The extant texts and fragments indicate the varied and manifold literary activity of Apollinaris and his school. To this latter belong (1) Vitalis of Antiochia; (2) Polemon, leader of the extremist party of Apollinarism; (3) Eunomius, bishop of Berea in Thrace; (4) Timotheus, bishop of Berytus, leader of the moderate party, conciliatory and willing to enter into a compromise with the orthodox *Grosskirche*; and several less-known writers. Pp. xiv, xv contain a chronological table of the events in the life of Apollinaris from 346 to 383 A. D.; and on p. 323 we find some additions. We

shall await with great expectation the second volume of Lietzmann's timely contribution toward our knowledge of eastern church history.

By far the greater part of Vol. XIII, Part 2, of the new series of the "Texte und Untersuchungen"<sup>8</sup> is taken up by Paul Koetschau's contribution toward the criticism of the text of Origen's commentary on John, edited by Erwin Preuschen in Vol. X of the Berlin edition of the Greek fathers of the first three centuries.<sup>9</sup> The essay is an elaboration of the author's review of this edition in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1904, No. 24, cols. 657-61. In this review Koetschau maintained that the emendations proposed by Preuschen and Wendland could and should have been greatly increased, and denied also the trustworthiness of the editor's statements concerning the tradition of the manuscript text. Hence this contribution, which in three paragraphs discusses (1) the marginal notes of the *prima manus* in the two manuscripts Mon. 191 and Ven. 47 (pp. 4-15), briefly treated by Preuschen in his preface, pp. xiv-xvii. (2) Corrections and additions (pp. 16-39) to Preuschen's edition. To the owner of Vol. IV of the works of Origen, Koetschau has rendered here great service, although it seems that, at times, he has gone somewhat to the extreme. (3) Suggestions toward the emendation of the text of this commentary on John (pp. 39-74), of which a considerable number are most excellent and convincing. Pp. 75 and 76 contain a list of the passages discussed. It is quite significant, though not unexpected, that the editors of the preceding volumes of Origen's works, Koetschau and Klostermann, should thus contribute the most searching reviews of this volume. Will Preuschen reciprocate by doing the same for the volumes edited by these two reviewers? Attention is also called, in this connection, to the important review of Preuschen's edition by Winter in the *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1905, Nos. 15 and 16. Harnack's *Analecta* toward the earliest history of the Christian church at Rome treats (1) of Ptolemæus, the disciple of Valentinus, founder of a school at Rome (?) between 145 and 180 A. D. Harnack makes it very probable that he is identical with the Gnostic Christian teacher, Ptolemæus, in Rome, who died a martyr, and is mentioned by Justin in his second Apology—a passage preserved in Eusebius' *Church History*, IV, 17, but unfortunately not in the

<sup>8</sup> "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur," Neue Folge, Band XIII, Heft 2; containing *Beiträge zur Textkritik von Origenes' Johannescommentar*. Von Paul Koetschau. vi+76 pages.—*Analecta zur ältesten Geschichte des Christentums in Rom*. Von Adolf Harnack. 9 pages.—*Über des Didymus von Alexandrien in epistolas canonicas enarratio*. Von E. Klostermann. 8 pages. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905. M. 3.

<sup>9</sup> See my review in this *Journal*, January, 1905, pp. 178-80.

Justin manuscript. If these two are identical, Ptolemæus must have died between 150 and 152 A. D. (2 and 3) Two passages from the Coptic translation of the Acts of Paul, discovered by Schmidt, viz., *Handbuch zu den neustamentlichen Apokryphen*, p. 364, ll. 11-16, and the Martyrdom of Paul, show that their author considered the church at Rome as the leading church of Christendom, and also that he had no actual, personal knowledge of the Neronian persecution described by him. (4) An examination of Commodian, *Carmen apolog.*, ll. 825-60, a passage based upon Rev. 11:3-13, shows for the first time that the real instigators of the Neronian persecution were the Roman Jews. Erich Klostermann expresses doubts concerning the genuineness of the *In epistolas canonicas enarratio* of Didymus of Alexandria. He reaches this conclusion after a careful study of the Greek catena on the catholic epistles, edited by Cramer.

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#### EARLY CHRISTIAN CATECHISMS

Almost since the day of its discovery the *Didaché* has been recognized as one of the most important pieces of patristic literature. It has been generally recognized from the first that it represents an advanced, rather than the first, stage in the development of the material which it contains. It falls naturally into two divisions, the dividing line being at the end of chap. 6. The first part, containing the material composing the so-called "Two Ways," is by far the more interesting of the two, and with this section are connected the most perplexing questions. Recent years have witnessed a revival of interest in this section, and much has been written to elucidate its problems. One of the factors contributing largely to this renewal of interest was the discovery by J. Schlecht, in 1900, of a Latin version of approximately the material of these first six chapters. A Latin fragment had previously been known, but it was too brief (containing only D 1:1-3a, 2:2-6) to be of much service in solving the problems which here press for discussion. But the service at this point of the Latin found by Schlecht is very considerable. It renders it clear beyond question that there existed in independent form the material of the "Two Ways," and arouses belief in the possibility of the recovery of its text.

Obviously, the first step to the recovery of the original text of the "Two Ways" is a comparison of the witnesses which contain the material so characterized. The first book which we have here to notice<sup>1</sup> is intended

<sup>1</sup> *Die Didache*. Mit kritischem Apparat herausgegeben. Von Hans Lietzmann. Bonn: Marcus & Weber, 1903. 16 pages. M. o.30.

to facilitate this task. It belongs to a series of "Kleine Texte für theologische Vorlesungen und Übungen." The text of the whole of D (*Didachē* of Bryennios) is printed with critical apparatus at the top of the page, and on the lower part of the page is printed the Latin of Schlecht, with the variants of M (Gebhardt frag.) and the correctors of L (text of Schlecht's Latin manuscript). No reference is made to critical questions, the simple explanatory introduction occupying but a single page. It is worth while to notice that B (Barnabas) is not quoted in the critical apparatus, but only in the *Citatenapparat*. Thus the author does not regard B as a primary witness of the "Two Ways," but classes it with Hermas and the canonical gospels. A remark at D 4:8 suggests that he regards K (Apostolic Canons) as based directly on D. Lietzmann has produced a convenient and serviceable booklet, but his disposition of B is probably not the most desirable one in any treatment, and is a distinct defect in this little book in view of the purpose which it is intended to serve. Of course, no one would be qualified to express a very intelligent opinion on the questions involved who had not studied the documents which are used in this work.

The second work which falls under consideration here\* is a serious study in the literary criticism of the witnesses to the material of the "Two Ways." Dr. Schermann believes that the original of this material was a Jewish catechism, but holds that all known witnesses are the work of Christian hands, and considers it impossible to recover from any one or all of them the original Jewish work. He argues for the primitive character of K, and thinks that in K and B we have the characteristic representatives of the two types of text which the material assumed in the course of its development. The distribution of the teaching among the eleven apostles which we have in K is not an indication of lateness, he thinks, but, on the contrary, is very old. Valuing K thus highly the author uses it in the attempt to determine the original extent of the "Two Ways" in its Christian form. No satisfactory explanation, he avers, has ever been given why K should break off at D 4:8, if the remainder of the teaching or any part of it lay before K's compiler. We must therefore conclude that he did not know it and that it is a later development.

Chapter 6 on close examination shows itself to be the work of the redactor of D, 6:2 being an interpolation, and is intended simply as an easy transition from chaps. 5-7 of D. According to Schermann, B must be the originator of chap. 5. A comparison of D 5:1 with D, chaps. 2-4,

\* *Eine Eljapostelmoral oder die X-Recension der "beiden Wege."* Nach neuem handschriftlichem Material herausgegeben und untersucht. Von Theodor Schermann. München: Lentner, 1903. vii+90 pages.



shows that, with the exception of three words, the latter contains either verbally or essentially all of the sins catalogued in the former; and, further, of the twenty-three words in D 5:1, B has seventeen, which include two of the three not contained in D, chaps. 2-4, the third being found in Romans and *Hermæ Pastor* in an adjectival form. If B had D 5:1 (in any recension) before him, it would be difficult to explain why he departs from his usual custom of using the material so freely, and copies it so slavishly here. The view that B is the originator of this catalogue of sins will explain what has heretofore been a difficult question, namely, why B has preserved nothing of D 3:1-6. Having compiled the catalogue, he sees that it would be superfluous to use 3:1-6, since it contains so nearly the same material. The evidence seems to be clear that B is responsible for the material now found in D, chap. 5.

Manuscripts recently discovered (Cod. Paris. and Cod. Napol.) furnish new evidence for the text of K and show that the original limit of this type of text was at the end of D, chap. 4. D 1:3-5 is drawn from *Hermæ Pastor*, Mand. II, 4, and we conclude, then, that the most primitive recoverable text of the "Two Ways" is equivalent in the large to D, chaps. 1-4, minus 1:3-5.

This X recension of the "Two Ways" is, by a comparison of the witnesses, quite materially reduced in particular passages, and in form is like K with its *Apostelliste*.

B represents a free reworking of the X recension, and it gained currency and pre-eminence over the X type because it was better suited to the temper of the time. A study of B, D, and X (=K nearly) shows that, while D has preserved the order of X without the *Apostelliste*, it has also included the additions of B. To account for this, we must have an intermediate recension between B and D. This recension ( $\beta$ ) is represented, as Schlecht has already seen, in L. It is very probable that the relation which L sustains to B, agreeing with it as against D (e. g., in L 1:1), is due to the translator, and that  $\beta$ , the Greek original of L, agreed more nearly in particular readings with X than with B. D is based directly on  $\beta$ , it being unnecessary to postulate any intermediate recension of the material composing the "Two Ways," but D contains many minor additions to  $\beta$ .

Such is, in brief, the theory of Dr. Schermann as to the relation of these primary witnesses of the "Two Ways." It must be said that it is carefully worked out, and is very interesting and suggestive. Schermann has not only studied all of his material, but is also well acquainted with all previous important work which has been done. Nevertheless, the theory is

open to serious criticism at several points. Everyone must, I think, agree with Dr. Schermann that the evidence is clear to demonstration that in the early decades of the Christian church a writing containing the material under discussion, in the form of a catechism, had an extensive and independent existence. In excluding D, chap. 6, from a place in this document the author is also on firm ground. But in the exclusion of D, chap. 5, as well, and making B the source of this material, his argument is less secure. That the resemblance of D and B as to order is very close here does not argue strongly for the originality of B, since this catalogue is so brief and, from its character as well as its brevity, would very probably be easily mobilized. Its absence from K is not conclusive against its presence in  $\Delta$  (the original recension of the teaching), since the manuscripts of the K type do not themselves agree in extent (if I understand Schermann correctly), and this type may at one time have included the material of D, chap. 5. Further, this supposition will not explain satisfactorily the absence from B of D 3:1-6. The parallels which Schermann adduces between D 5:1 and D, chaps. 2-4, are, on his own showing, to be found as much in chap. 2 as in 3, and the argument concerning the superfluity of 3:1-6 would apply with equal strength to those portions of D, chaps. 2 and 4, which B does not omit. Besides, a comparison of B, L, K, and D shows such an obvious growth of material at this point in the order as just indicated, and the formal, almost strophic, character of this section marks it off so distinctly, that one can but regard as most natural the suggestion that the material was not known to B, and that it had an independent origin and growth.

The argument of our author is at this point based upon a very high opinion of the value of K or X as a witness to the original form and content of  $\Delta$ . It is exceedingly doubtful whether this is justified. The distribution of the material to the several apostles seems to the present reviewer to be a mark of lateness rather than primitiveness. The same assumption as to the character of X underlies also the author's position that B is a free reworking of X. It would be difficult to explain on this assumption why the order of X is so nearly retained in L and D, and yet that the compilers had chosen to follow B in spirit and, if Schermann be correct, in additions of material. The supposition of L ( $=\beta$ ) as the intermediate stage between B and D is not sufficient answer, for our criticism applies as much to L as to D.

It is much more probable, and even natural, to say that B represents the form of the material when it had become fairly well crystallized, but before it had yet been put into written form, and that the order of the

material which is followed by every known witness except B is due to the first redactor of the material. Schermann is correct in holding L to be an intermediate stage between B and D. He probably does not, however, give as much consideration as he should to the possibility, and indeed the probability, that L is more largely influenced by B than was its Greek exemplar  $\beta$ . The phenomena seem also to require a recension between  $\beta$  (=L) and B, which we may call  $\Delta$ . K represents a stage later than  $\beta$  and earlier than the form preserved in D, but it is off the main line of development as represented by B,  $\Delta$ ,  $\beta$ , and D.

The question of date our author has not considered. This question is indirectly connected with the third work we must notice.<sup>3</sup> The period when such documents as L, K, and D arose will depend somewhat on the decision as to how early in the history of the church catechetical material began to be formulated. Professor Seeberg thinks that he has adduced proof that in the years "soon after the death of Christ there arose a catechism formed out of the words of the Lord. The content of the same was preached by the missionaries in the apostolic age, and was then taught to those who offered themselves for Christian baptism." He thinks that he has not only "been able to recover the chief elements of the catechism, but also frequently to suggest with more or less certainty its very words." He thinks this catechism contained two parts. The first was a series of rules or directions for moral conduct, and contained both prohibitions and positive commands. This part was known as "The Way," and was an indication to converts and would-be members of the churches, of the kind of life they would be expected to live in their heathen world. This material was incorporated in the church catechisms and manuals of post-apostolic times, and the catalogues of virtues and sins are reflected in many writings of this same period. Such catalogues, he holds, were also existent in Judaism before the time of Jesus. The second part of this catechism was a creed (*Glaubensformel*) to which the catechumens were required to express their assent. Such a formula he sees reflected in 1 Cor. 15:3-5, 1 Peter, the Pastorals, 1 Tim. 3:16, Luke, Hebrews, and throughout Paul. He thinks it contained, as Paul knew it, something like the following: "The living God, who created all things, sent his Son Jesus Christ into the world, who was born of the seed of David, died for our sins according to the Scriptures, was buried, was raised from the dead on the third day according to the Scriptures, appeared to Cephas and the Twelve, and sat down at the right hand of God in the heavens. All powers and authorities and angels being made subordinate to him, he will come upon the clouds

<sup>3</sup> *Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit*. Von Alfred Seeberg. Leipzig: Deichert, 1903. 282 pages. M. 6.

of heaven with power and great glory." Seeberg does not mean, so he says, that this formula has everywhere and throughout the apostolic age precisely the same form of words, but only that at one time and one place it had the same form. He certainly lacks but little, however, of arguing for the proposition which he thus disavows. His argument is carried out with great elaborateness and even diffuseness, and he shows ample learning and large acquaintance with the literature. It will not, however convince one who does not already share his conviction. He comes perilously near arguing in a circle. He must frequently assume that the formula which he desires to find is implied in a passage, and it is then of course easy to find it. Having then by his questionable method established a probability, he treats this as a certainty, and on the basis of it establish a second probability, which in turn becomes the basis for a new departure. His identification of the formula which he finds reflected in one passage with that of another is not infrequently based on the assumption of the truth of the very proposition it is his task to prove. Likewise his attempt to suggest the *Wortlaut* of the formula is open to the same criticism. The fundamental defect of the whole treatment seems to be a failure to discriminate between the view that the apostolic age held in common certain great facts and truths, with greatly varying form and fulness of expression, and the view which identifies the fact or the truth with the form of words in which it receives expression. That Paul did receive certain things which he handed on to others does not admit of question, but the evidence that he learned it as a catechetical formula and transmitted it as such to others is, even after Professor Seeberg, far from convincing. He seems to think that the establishment of the truth of his thesis would prove a strong apologetic for the Christianity of the church; for its nature as well as that of genuine primitive Christianity would not be a matter of fancy and *Phantasie*, but could be tested by a body of objective material. If he were correct in this view, I fear the ill success with which he has vindicated his position would prove disastrous. I greatly rejoice that such support is not needed. It is rather an incubus.

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## RECENT WORKS ON THE HISTORY OF DOCTRINE

Pfleiderer's views<sup>1</sup> on early Christian history are well known and have been set forth more fully in his *Das Urchristenthum, seine Schriften und*

<sup>1</sup> *The Early Christian Conception of Christ: Its Significance and Value in the History of Religion*. By Otto Pfleiderer. New York: Putnam; London, Williams & Norgate, 1905. 170 pages.

*Lehren* (2d ed., 1902). The present work is the expansion of a lecture, which in turn may be regarded as the condensation of the large work whose title has just been given. The volume is divided into five chapters: "Christ as Son of God," "Christ as Conqueror of Satan," "Christ as a Wonder-Worker," "Christ as the Conqueror of Death and the Life-Giver," and "Christ as the King of Kings and Lord of Lords." It is pointed out that "from the very beginning it was the belief of the Christian community that Jesus was the Son of God, but as to the degree and the significance of this divine sonship opinion was at first very divided." The author distinguishes two main phases of opinion, from which a third view was derived: the Adoptionist view, in accordance with which the man Jesus Christ, by a divine act in connection either with his resurrection or with his baptism, was exalted to divine sonship, which he finds embodied in the more ancient parts of the synoptic gospels. The second view, ascribed to Paul, "taught that Jesus was the Son of God because a spiritual personality, pre-existing in heaven, had become incarnate in him."

This Christ-spirit Paul had not yet, of course, thought of as God, but as the peculiar first-born Son and express image of God, and, moreover, as the archetype of mankind, the heavenly ideal man . . . who was destined from the beginning to appear in earthly form that he might redeem mankind.

This view was still further elaborated in the Johannine gospel, which "closes and completes this cycle of thought" with its Logos-doctrine.

Finally, these two conceptions of the incarnation of a God and the apotheosis of a man were combined in a third view, that Christ was the Son of God because he was supernaturally conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the virgin Mary, and so, although human because of his mother, he was yet Son of God in the most complete physical sense of the word.

The author proceeds to point out parallels to these views of divine sonship in Jewish and pagan religions and literatures, some of which are striking, but not, in the opinion of the reviewer, of much significance. Pfeleiderer is careful to point out that the coincidences between early representations of Jesus and those of Buddha, Zoroaster, and Pythagoras do not imply historical connection,

but that from the same psychological causes, and with like social conditions, conceptions similar in character may arise in different places quite spontaneously and independently of one another.

He describes the process by which primitive Christianity transformed "the Jesus of history into the Christ of faith" in such a way as at the same time fully to justify the transformation, and to deprive the New Testament and the early patristic representations of all historical value.

But who can fail to see that in this process the ancient forms are made the receptacle of a content essentially new, and accordingly acquire a much deeper religious import and a much purer moral significance than they ever had before? All the fantastic spirits, divinities, and lords of the religion of nature, and no less the earthly deities on the throne of the Cæsars, sank into nothingness before the one Lord Christ, who stands now "The Spirit," simply and absolutely (1 Cor. 3:17), because in his nature faith perceives the consummation of all those spiritual forces called into being by the impression made upon the soul by the personality of Jesus—the perfection of what she feels to be a new life from God, active and efficacious within herself.

After giving a highly appreciative estimate of the exalted personality and teachings of Jesus, he remarks:

It was only natural that this ideal, which had been realized in the historic personality of Jesus, should now be personified in an eternal heavenly being, a Son of God. Such personification was indeed quite in accordance with the animistic thought of antiquity, wherein all kinds of lively affections of the soul were objectified as spirit-beings, and explained as the result of the operation of these beings in and upon man.

Pfleiderer maintains that, the heathen world being constituted and circumstanced as it was, myth was absolutely necessary to the diffusion of Christianity.

Von Schubert's monograph<sup>2</sup> forms Part 4 of Vol. IX of the new series of "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur." The study of this remarkable polemical work in connection with the preparation of his *Lehrbuch für Kirchengeschichte*, in which he stated briefly the results of his research, led the author to make a more thorough study for the learned series in which it now appears. The text of the writing to which the monograph is devoted may be most conveniently found in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. LIII, cols. 579–692, where it is copied with prolegomena, notes, etc., from earlier editions without valuable independent criticism. The author of the polemic against hyper-Augustinianism remains unknown, and much of von Schubert's space is devoted to the elimination of names to which the work has been ascribed and to the ascertainment of the probable author. Internal evidence seems to point conclusively to a Pelagian or a group of Pelagians. While von Schubert admits that the writing has much in common with the acknowledged writings of Arnobius, Jr., he shows by an elaborate critical process that the latter could not have been the author. He finds it highly probable that Anianus of Celada, who knew Greek (as the author of the *Praedes-*

<sup>2</sup> *Der sogenannte Praedestinatus: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pelagianismus.* Von D. Hans von Schubert. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 147 pages. M. 4.80.

*tinatus* certainly did), and who translated and edited a number of Greek writings in support of the Julianistic type of Pelagianism, had to do with the preparation of the work. Yet he thinks it probable that not Anianus alone, but a group of Julianists, including Julian himself, perpetrated the shameful forgery that he believes Book II to be. The probable date of the writing is thought to be somewhat later than 418. Von Schubert makes an elaborate comparison of the epitome of heresies contained in Book I, in which the author acknowledges his indebtedness to Hyginus, Polycrates, Africanus, Hesiodus, Epiphanius, and Philaster, with the heresiologies of these writers so far as they have been preserved, and with Augustine's list of heresies, of which the author makes no mention, with the result of demonstrating that he has followed almost slavishly Augustine's work, and has depended upon this for most of his knowledge of the earlier heresiologies. This goes far toward establishing the fraudulent character of the work as a whole, and prepares the reader to accept the critic's conclusion with respect to Book II, which purports to be a treatise on predestination by a predestinarian. It should be stated that the *Praedestinati* are the ninetieth and last of the heretics catalogued and condemned by the author or authors, and the entire second book is devoted to an exposition of their errors in a tract of their own. The chief significance of von Schubert's monograph lies in his seemingly successful attempt to prove that this extremely predestinarian or fatalistic document was not a doctrinal writing in circulation among the *Praedestinati*, but a forged document, the materials of which are drawn largely from Augustine's writings, with the purpose of caricaturing the predestinarian views of Augustine, and thereby making odious his anti-Pelagian views. While von Schubert unquestionably indulges in a good deal of special pleading, and sweeps away somewhat lightly considerations that make against his theory, one can scarcely fail to be convinced that he has fairly succeeded in discrediting Book II as the work of an extreme Augustinian and the claim of the work that there was a sect of *Praedestinati*. It seems highly probable that the aim of the Pelagian writer or writers was to bring Augustinianism into contempt by caricaturing it.

The ante-Nicene Christian writers gave little or no attention to the collection of the doctrinal pronouncements of their predecessors in support of their own views. Even in the Arian controversy there was almost no appeal to authoritative utterances of earlier theologians. The first known occasion on which an array of proof-passages from earlier writers in support of a position to be maintained was a synod of Constantinople in 383, when Sisinnios, instead of arguing with his Arian opponents, presented a care-

fully prepared collection (*florilegium*) of orthodox statements on the point at issue from well-known writers of the past. From this time onward pertinent passages from the Fathers played a very important part in theological controversy. Many of these *florilegia* exist in manuscript, and Schermann has undertaken in the present work<sup>3</sup> to classify, describe, and deal critically with some of the more important of them. He begins with "Dogmatic encyclopædias from the fifth to the eighth century." Here the two most important documents are described as Cod. Vat. qr. 2200, and Paris, qr. 1115. The contents of the manuscripts are carefully described, and the question of authorship or editorship is in each case critically canvassed. Most of the manuscripts described under this head are in support of trinitarianism and orthodox christology. Collections on both sides of the Nestorian and Eutychean controversies, and on the Monophysitism of the sixth century; exegetical catenæ on Matt. 26:29 f., and Luke 2:52; *florilegia* from the time of the Origenistic and Three Chapter controversies, representing the views of the various parties on the monergistic and monotheletic controversies; a catalogue of the heresies mentioned at the councils of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries; *florilegia* from the time of the iconoclastic controversy; and trinitarian *florilegia*, are all in like manner described and criticised. These *florilegia* are important—not so much for the quotations they contain, though some of them contain extracts from lost writings, as because of the light they throw upon the doctrinal controversies that called them forth.

Wiegand's little monograph<sup>4</sup> constitutes the twenty-first number of the *Vorträge der theologischen Konferenz zu Giessen*. The question which the author seeks to answer is not regarding the text or form of the Apostolic Symbol as it was employed in the mediæval time, but as to the use that was made of the symbol from age to age. He shows that after infant baptism had become the rule, and before the great propagandist movement supported by the Carlovingian rulers had been inaugurated, catechetical instruction based upon the symbol as a preparation for baptism had degenerated into mere ceremonial, and popular expositions of the symbol had almost ceased to appear, such as did appear being formal and lacking in vigor. With the strenuous efforts for the conversion of the heathen and non-Catholic Christians of the North came a marked revival in the production of literature on the Symbol. Adult candidates for bap-

<sup>3</sup> *Die Geschichte der Florilegien vom V.-VIII. Jahrhundert*. Von Theodor Schermann. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. 104 pages. M. 3.50.

<sup>4</sup> *Das apostolische Symbol im Mittelalter: Eine Skizze*. Von D. Friedrich Wiegand. Giessen: Ricker, 1904. 54 pages. M. 1.



tism and sponsors for infants again underwent somewhat prolonged and careful instruction in the principles of Christianity, and Christian leaders devoted much attention to the preparation of catechisms, etc., that followed the order of the Apostolic Symbol. Thus the Symbol became once more a highly important means of popular religious instruction. Wiegand goes into a somewhat detailed examination of some of the most significant of the Symbol literature of this time. Expositions of the Apostolic Symbol were often accompanied by expositions of the *Pater Noster* and the *Two-fold Commandment of Love*. After Roman Catholicism had become firmly established, there ensued another period of inactivity and formalism in the use of the Symbol. Abelard, who regarded a right knowledge of Christian truth and the ability to confess intelligently as indispensable, expounded the Symbol as a means of edification; but his skeptical tendency was manifest in his exposition and provoked antagonism among the orthodox. With the spread of heresy in the twelfth and following centuries, Symbol literature experienced another great revival. But this time the Symbol was expounded with a view not so much to the edification of believers as to the detection and conviction of heretics, the treatise of Thomas Aquinas on the articles of the faith and the sacraments of the church occupying the foremost place in literature of this kind. With the Apostolic and the Nicene Symbols as his standard, he seeks to show that each heresy of the somewhat exhaustive catalogue at his command falls fatally short and is worthy of severest condemnation. Wiegand proceeds to show how the treatment of the Symbol was later modified by mysticism and the spirit of the Renaissance in turn, and defines the position of influence that it occupied at the beginning of the Reformation.

The volume<sup>5</sup> by Fischer is a licentiate thesis and is the result of the intensive study of Melancthon's teachings regarding the process by which the natural man becomes a child of God, conducted under the direction of Professors Loofs and Stange, of the University of Halle. The space at the disposal of the reviewer forbids any attempt to follow the monographist into the details of his exhaustive work. The questions he has sought to solve are Melancthon's conception of the fact, manner, and strength of the participation of God, on the one hand, and of man, on the other, in the change of the carnal man into the spiritual man, and the extent to which Melancthon's conception underwent changes during his forty years of theological activity. His conclusion is that Melancthon's conception of

<sup>5</sup> *Melancthon's Lehre von der Bekehrung: Eine Studie zur Entwicklung der Anschauung Melancthons über Monergismus und Synergismus unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der psychologischen Grundlage und der prädestinationischen Konsequenzen.* Von Ernst Friedrich Fischer. Tübingen: Mohr, 1905. 182 pages. M. 3.60.

conversion was at first quite openly, later more latently, but steadily in the deepest sense, monergistic (predestinarian); that fundamentally his teaching was theocentric, but later tended to become more and more anthropocentric. Melancthon's synergistic teachings are shown to have been due in large measure to the influence of Aristotle's psychology. In his earlier years he agreed with Luther in regarding Aristotle as the source of the Pelagianizing scholastic theology and as an arch enemy of Christian truth. Later he came to regard him as a pillar in the holy of holies of theology. His observation of the demoralizing effect of vigorous predestinarianism, with its denial of human responsibility, doubtless led him to insist more and more upon synergism, which involved a recognition of man's power to co-operate with God in the process of conversion, or to refuse co-operation and to fail of salvation.

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#### RECENT WORKS ON ETHICS

Anyone who has followed the trend of education during recent years has been impressed with the growing recognition of its moral and religious character. While it may be difficult to give any systematic instruction in morals during the early period of school life, yet it would seem that in the high school or academy stage, when strong temptations are experienced, and when the mind is liable to turn from the customs of the past and to seek the rational ground for action, such instruction should be given. It is with this conviction, and to meet this need, that Dr. Stimson has given us *The Right Life*.<sup>1</sup> He has written a practical book that has little to say about the metaphysical aspect of the moral life, and yet it is sufficiently philosophical in its nature and scientific in its method to meet the intellectual demands of its readers, and to provide a basis for character-building that will stand the strain and criticism of after-life. This work will also be helpful to the large class of young men and women who have not been able to take a college course, and will be welcomed by teachers and parents for its suggestions and guidance. The principles of good conduct are stated with such clearness and simplicity, and are so well applied to the concrete problems of life, and its moral and religious spirit is so wholesome and healthy, that one wishes it might find its way into every home.

<sup>1</sup> *The Right Life*. By Henry A. Stimson. New York: Barnes. 255 pages. \$1.20 net.

In his introduction the author of our second book<sup>2</sup> states that his purpose is clearly expository—"to indicate in outline the essential and permanent elements in Christian life and character;" and he believes that "that character has been essentially dependent upon belief in the cardinal doctrines of the Christian creed." Dr. Illingworth has given us a book of considerable merit. He is sane and clear in his statements, appreciates the many-sidedness of life, and is mediating in his positions; and the work is characteristic of a cultured Englishman of the Anglican church. It is probably one of the best English works upon the subject of Christian ethics, but it is not altogether satisfactory, and the ideal work remains to be written.

One regrets that as a basis and method of approach there was not a more thorough knowledge and use of psychology. To be sure, ethics is not psychology, but all the categories of the ethico-religious life, the ideal of the Christ, the concept of sin and guilt, the idea of faith, however they may be stimulated from without, must enter the stream of consciousness; and the more perfectly we know and trace the pathway by which they enter, the better are we able to exercise scientific control. If religion is a normal element of life, then its desires and motives and feelings are natural to the self, and can be understood along with all the other contents of the self with which they are connected; and if it should happen that the religious desires are the most fundamental, then they might furnish the goal of the self which would bring all other desires into harmony with it; and it might be from such a process that we could appreciate the feeling of sin. In the guilt-feeling it is the self which condemns itself, and before there can be a true interpretation of this feeling in the ethical life, there should be a psychological study of the whole situation out of which it rises. What is the psychology of faith, of sin, of conversion? Much attention is being given to this today, and it is being more generally recognized than formerly that psychology is the way of approach to a science of values, such as ethics.

Our author tells us that sin is a selfish will, and therefore the gospel deals with the individual, and by so doing shows a deeper insight than the moral reformers who aim to save society *en masse*. But now, when we ask what is meant by a selfish will, we must say that it is a life that habitually gives expression to its more superficial and immediate desires, and thus restrains the more fundamental tendencies of the self, the expression of which would mean the truer realization of the life. And it is only as we bring before the individual those fundamental values, as they are

<sup>2</sup> *Christian Character: Being Some Lectures on the Elements of Christian Ethics.* By J. R. Illingworth. New York: MacMillan. 206 pages. 7s. 6d.

realized in others, that we can reveal the man to himself, and thus effect his salvation. To save an individual apart from society is as much an impossibility as to save society apart from the individual, since either taken by itself is an abstraction. When I bring the gospel to a man, I seek to reach him through his environment, for I am part of his environment. And education aims to bring social values to the individual, and so does every moral reform. But the Christian believes that he possesses the fundamental values of life, and these are values very subjective in their nature, and therefore personal in their transmission.

And this brings us to the second criticism of this work. It fails to recognize the social character of religious values and the personal method of their transmission. "Belief in the cardinal doctrines of the Christian creed" is made the essential basis of Christian character, and for that reason the value of the person of Christ and of the society which reveals his inner life is not adequately recognized. As a consequence we are unable to discover a clear interrelation of the categories employed, and how they arise as stages of the religious experience that has its source in the person of Christ. When we are told that the doctrine of the eternal Trinity is necessary to our faith in God, since, according to the analogy of our own personality, without this doctrine it would be impossible to conceive of him as love, then we naturally ask how far we are to carry the analogy. To be personal, must we ascribe to God discursive thinking, unfulfilled purposes, progress, and therefore limitations and imperfections?

In *The Children of Good Fortune*<sup>3</sup> we have a very suggestive and interesting treatise on ethics. Our author tells us that he is not writing for the technical moralists, but for "the host of men and women who are struggling with the problems of morality with a view to putting them into practice." All technical language is avoided, and the work is written in a charming style, and possesses keen penetration and moral insight.

We are told that conduct is the whole of life, including even the involuntary action of the organs of the body; and ethics is the science of conduct. Good conduct is the proper relation between means and ends; it means worthy ends and efficient means. Some men are immoral because they are not efficient, and others because their ends are ignoble. In the treatment of the end of conduct, as the title of his book indicates, our author places the emphasis upon its subjective character. The true end is individual happiness, or even pleasure. Sometimes he makes the statement in such a way as to be open to the objections against the theories of

<sup>3</sup> *The Children of Good Fortune*. By C. Hanford Henderson. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 406 pages. \$1.30 net.

hedonism. He would seem to imply that the pleasure was sought for its own sake, as if the pleasure could be cut off both from the whole process of the self and from the objective conditions in which it is experienced. But the real meaning seems to be that the worth of life must be an individual and experienced one, that it is the satisfaction of the harmonized and rationalized desire. He fails to make clear that these desires are the self, and that in their satisfaction the self finds its freedom and self-realization. But that this is his view is made evident when he treats the objective character of the moral ideal. He tells us that the self is social in its nature, and that the ideal may be defined in social terms; that is, the true happiness of the individual may be defined in terms of social service. He points out very clearly that the individual happiness needs to "be chastened by social welfare," and the social ideal needs to be constantly valued by its ability to produce individual good fortune.

There is considerable that the scientific student of ethics would criticise in this book. The scope of ethics is both too broad and too narrow. Conduct, it is affirmed, is the whole of life, and all conduct comes under moral criticism. Ethics is a science both of the values and of the means of conduct. Ethics then includes natural science, for that deals with the world of means. That the ethical judgment is implicit in the scientific we will admit, and acknowledge that any phase of conduct *may* come under moral criticism; but the real question is this: When does a natural good become an ethical one; when does a question cease to be a purely scientific one and become a moral one; why does experience find the scientific judgment inadequate and pass on to ethical valuation? Our author fails to see that the ethical judgment is just a process of valuation, and that there are no desires that are morally evil in themselves, and that right and wrong arise in the process of the moral judgment. Right and wrong are terms of conscious valuation, and for that reason he is clearly in error when he applies them to unconscious processes, and even to the actions of animals and plants.

As morality is given the sphere of science, so it embraces also the realm of religion, for it includes all conduct, even the attitude one takes to the universe as a whole and to the future. There is a very close relation between morality and religion, and we believe it is not possible for a man to create in his own life the highest moral values and not be permeated with the religious spirit; and we may say that, when one becomes most deeply conscious of what is involved in a general moral attitude, he passes into the religious experience; but, in general, morals has to do with the creation of values, and religion is a faith in their conservation, so that religion is the attitude we take to the universe as a whole.

When we are told that morality has nothing to do with the fundamental moral categories, but that these belong to the sphere of religion, then we have too narrow or too abstract a sphere for ethics. For these categories, such as desire, duty, responsibility, and freedom, stand for and imply successive degrees of our consciousness of the nature of our conduct. If the good is concrete and individual, as we are informed, then it is difficult to see how we can understand its value apart from the whole situation in the individual consciousness in which it arises. Mr. Henderson seems to imply that morals is the science of religion. Morals is not experience, it is true, but it is the science of the moral experience, as theology is the science of the religious experience.

The statement that all sin and wrong-doing are the result of ignorance may arouse some objection, but the author explicitly states that by knowledge he does not mean mere information, but that knowledge implies moral conviction, an appreciation of values; and, when viewed in this sense, the position is correct, and all sin is moral ignorance.

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Mr. Davis<sup>4</sup> has given us a readable popular account of Stoicism. The introductory sketch of Greek philosophy before the Stoics is too fragmentary to be of independent value, nor does it lead up to Stoicism by emphasizing those doctrines of the earlier schools by which the Stoics were most influenced. The chapters on the founders of the Stoic school and their teachings, on the character and influence of Roman Stoicism, and the lives and writings of Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, contribute nothing new to the interpretation of Stoic doctrine, yet they give a substantially correct impression of the system, though frequently defective through lack of orderly arrangement of the material. The monism of the Stoics is well described, but it is rather misleading to add that the system was "strictly pantheistic," since that term usually connotes a denial of personality, while the Stoics, as the author rightly states, conceived of the universe as a rational being. The chapter on the relation of Stoicism to Christianity is disappointing, for the larger part of it is wholly irrelevant, and, while the author vaguely alludes to "many points of likeness" between the two systems, there is no real discussion of the interesting questions which such likeness suggests. Inexact and even unintelligible statements occur. "The *Phædo* of *Socrates* stands among the masterpieces of literature" (p. 37). Empedocles is

<sup>4</sup> *Greek and Roman Stoicism and Some of its Disciples*. By Charles H. Stanley Davis. Boston: Turner, 1903. 269 pages. \$1.40 net.

said to have held "that nothing of all that perisheth is ever created" (p. 20). The carelessness of the style is often annoying. The proof-reading is bad: "constitutes" for "consists" (p. 62), "appreciation" for "application" (p. 63), "evidence" for "endurance" (p. 81), "mental" for "moral" (p. 113). The value of the book is greatly increased by numerous quotations from good authorities. The well-selected extracts from Stoic writings in the last three chapters would be more useful if accompanied with references to the passages cited. There is no index, nor analytic table of contents.

Perhaps no man in Roman antiquity is a better representative of the ordinary moral standards of his age and nation than Cicero. Since he was neither a doctrinaire moralist, though the author of ethical treatises, nor an unscrupulous self-seeker, though an advocate and a politician, his moral code might be expected to be that of an honorable man of affairs. Also we might expect to find Cicero's real moral sentiments most freely revealed, not in his orations or in his philosophical essays, but in his letters, which were addressed chiefly to his intimate friends, and were probably written without thought of publication. Mr. Gordis' little book,<sup>5</sup> therefore, giving the results of an inductive study of the motives professed or approved in Cicero's correspondence, appeals quite as much to the general student of the history of morals as to the classical specialist. The work was well worth doing, and it has been thoroughly well done. The material is presented in carefully organized form, comprising (1) Cicero's estimate of personal motives, such as life, wealth, and the satisfaction derived from intellectual pursuits; (2) motives that spring from desire for the approval of others; (3) the sense of obligation to one's family, to one's friends, and to the state; (4) Cicero's ideal of character and his conception of duty abstractly considered. The author's paraphrases and translations of Cicero's statements, which naturally make up a large part of the book, are always idiomatic and lucid, and are furnished with references to the original text, which is frequently quoted verbatim.

Such a survey of Cicero's estimate of motives of conduct is at the same time an analysis of his own character. Extreme sensitiveness to public opinion is shown to be fundamental in his make-up. Reputation and position stand higher with him than personal safety. He regrets, for example, that he had not taken his own life rather than endure the disgrace of exile. Cicero's ideal of duty is not conformity with abstract right, still less obedience to supernatural authority, but "honorable" action, the *honestum*, which

<sup>5</sup> *The Estimates of Moral Values Expressed in Cicero's Letters*. By Warren Stone Gordis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1905. 102 pages.

he defines as "that which is by nature worthy of praise." His standard of political morality is that of the practical politician; the end justifies the means. Party loyalty was a powerful motive with Cicero, for he identified the supremacy of his party and the maintenance of the aristocratic republican government with the good of the state. Friendship, including gratitude for favors, stood high in his scale of motives, occasionally outranking regard for truth and justice, as is seen in the letters to the historian Lucceius and to Valerius the legate. Mr. Gordis' attempt to justify Cicero in the former instance (p. 30) is ingenious rather than convincing. But, in general, the moral standard set forth in the letters is by no means a low one; nor was Cicero incapable of action in harmony with his highest convictions, for at the most serious crises of his life we find him, after long hesitation and debate, finally choosing the nobler in preference to the safer course of conduct.

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## EVOLUTION AND CHRISTIANITY

In the introductory chapter of his book<sup>1</sup> Dr. Johnson says: "In this book I neither oppose nor advocate the doctrine of evolution. I am concerned only to estimate its value to the Christian who holds it." The author's attitude to evolution, however, is not at all doubtful or ambiguous. He believes that this theory has brought neither advantage nor valuable addition to Christian doctrine, but rather tends to bring into confusion or disuse much that is true and important in the historical belief of the church.

Some of Dr. Johnson's main positions are as follows: (a) The doctrine of an "absentee God" has never been taught by Christian theologians. The historic doctrine of the immanence of God is decidedly superior to the form of that doctrine taught by evolutionists. (b) The supposedly new teaching of evolutionists that the universe is to be regarded as developing from its beginning like a living being, e. g., a flower, rather than as passing through mechanical changes, is absurd as a scientific statement, and can be admitted only as a poetical figure. (c) The Christian evolutionist in speaking of "creation by evolution" is decidedly confused in his thoughts. As a Christian he cannot exclude the supernatural from the process, and when once the supernatural is admitted, the phrase has

<sup>1</sup> *The Christian's Relation to Evolution: A Question of Gain or Loss.* By Franklin Johnson. New York and Chicago: Revell. 171 pages. \$1 net.



no exact meaning, and is therefore without value. (d) The over-emphasis of the doctrine of God's immanence in nature makes the problems of evil and pain much more difficult instead of solving them. (e) Evolution, as applied to questions of man's sin and salvation, contains much less truth than, and is in its effect much inferior to, the historical doctrines on those subjects. (f) The *tendency* of evolution is toward Unitarianism, and this tendency is decidedly dangerous. (g) As to the supernatural in general, and the providence of God, the positions of evolutionists are ambiguous, unscientific, and in every respect unsatisfactory. (h) The tendency of evolutionists either to see something divine in other religions besides the Christian, or to make the latter a natural development, reaching a higher stage, but not otherwise essentially different from other religions, is absolutely unjustifiable, from a study of the moral teachings and effects of other religions. (i) The principles of evolution do not support the doctrines, of which nevertheless evolutionists are fond, of universal salvation, or conditional immortality, or, in general, of optimism with regard to the future. (k) Finally, Christian theologians have accepted evolution much too hurriedly and carelessly, and have gone too far from the historical positions, so that even the scientists are often nearer to the orthodox doctrines than Christian theologians.

Those who are interested in the relation of evolutionary theories to Christian theology will find this book decidedly worth their careful consideration. As to the positions of the historic theology, of course Dr. Johnson speaks with authority, and very often when he compares the church doctrines of the past with the views of Abbott, Fiske, Drummond, and Bascom, we shall be inclined to agree with him that the new lack much of value that was in the old, and are by no means pure gain.

The reader may be surprised at such words as these, in the introductory chapter: "But we can accept it [Darwinism] with little intellectual difficulty, if it shall prove to be true, for it will require us only to take a new, and by no means impossible, view of a few phrases of Genesis, of Romans, and of First Corinthians." This looks as if Dr. Johnson's biblical exegesis would vary with the scientific position of the day; and the question will arise whether such exegesis is scientific or not. The *ordinary* Christian evolutionist will not feel that his position has been impartially considered by Dr. Johnson. For instance, as to creation, he will hardly grant that the Genesis story was meant by its author to describe any such process of creation as would cover a period of milleniums, and make man a blood-relative and descendant of some non-human animals. Let evolution recognize God's supernatural action at various points in the process of

the creation or development of the universe, as well as his natural action in all the forces of the universe, and that account of the universe, as we see it, is still very different from the historic, and probably the correct, interpretation of the primary meaning of the Genesis story. Dr. Johnson has quite ignored this fact. Further, many Christian evolutionists will maintain the need of conversion today as strongly as Dr. Johnson has maintained it, and, whatever their view of the origin or nature of sin, will consider it just as awful as this author would do, and would not be ready to admit that, though it had its roots in the flesh, it would disappear when the spirit left the flesh. And then, in explaining or considering the cruelty of nature, they would not consider themselves limited at all by the principles which may have been emphasized by the leading authors in evolutionary theology, but would retain all that was helpful in the older theology. In short, the *average* evolutionist will feel that this book is more valuable as a critique of the writings of some of the "great lights" of this movement than as an impartial consideration of the necessary principles and tendencies of the theory in theology. If he feels that Abbott and Fiske have been successfully opposed, he will still be far from feeling that the theory of evolution has no value for Christian thought. Those Christians who oppose evolution will find Dr. Johnson, in this book, a valuable ally; those who favor it will find the book a healthful, wholesome check to an excessive enthusiasm and extravagance in their use of this theory to supplant or modify the received doctrines.

Mr. Phillips' book<sup>a</sup> is an attempt to state traditional theology in its ultra-conservative form, including the doctrine of the literal inspiration of the Bible, in terms of the most common evolutionary formulas. Part I is mainly taken up with showing (in familiar scholastic logic) the absolute agreement of the accounts of creation given by evolution and by the first chapters of Genesis. For the adherents of this theology this part might be valuable in showing, *according to its methods*, a way of reconciling it with today's natural science. Part II does little more than name over the various doctrines of Christianity, according to this theology, and say that they are evolutionary principles. The author is unfamiliar with modern theology or philosophy. In a naïve, optimistic way he undertakes to prove that there is nothing in the Bible to contradict anything generally maintained by present-day natural science, and that God would have made a mistake had he done anything in any other way than that in which he has in fact done it. The author's style is clear, modest, and popular.

<sup>a</sup> *Agreement of Evolution and Christianity*. By Samuel Louis Phillips (A.B., Princeton). Washington, D. C.: Phillips, 1904. Pp. vii + 197.

The book would not be of value to specialists in any of the departments entered, unless perhaps to those studying or teaching the scholastic theology.

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### PALESTINIAN GEOGRAPHY

These two works<sup>1</sup> on Palestinian localities are of very different character. M. Le Hardy has faithfully compiled from all sorts of writings references to Nazareth, and arranged them chronologically, weaving them together by means of historical sketches. He begins with the references in the gospels, and comes down century by century, quoting church fathers, pilgrims, Moslem authors, and modern travelers in turn. The sketches which form the setting of these quotations contain a comprehensive chronicle of Palestinian history. The whole is interesting, and the collection of sources is valuable, but the method leads, of course, to much repetition. Eusebius is quoted as saying that Nazareth had in his day two churches, one on the spot where Mary received the annunciation, the other where the Lord was brought up. Subsequent writers wearisomely repeat this statement. In the eleventh century three churches appear to have been in Nazareth, one having been added on the site where the synagogue in which Jesus read the Scriptures stood. The fountain from which the virgin obtained water begins at this time to be mentioned also. After this period the quotations become more abundant, and the checkered career of these sanctuaries under Fatimites, crusaders, and later conquerors is followed. When M. Le Hardy reaches the nineteenth century, he contents himself with recounting the history of the country and of Roman institutions there.

If M. Le Hardy's book is scholarly and mild, that of Père Coppens is polemic and spicy. The Assumptionist fathers, who entertain every year many Catholic pilgrims in their commodious hospice at Jerusalem, have had a guide-book prepared for the use of pilgrims. It is entitled *La Palestine: guide historique et pratique*. The Assumptionists have also purchased a garden on the eastern slope of Mount Zion. In the guide-book it is claimed that within this garden lies the site of the grotto in which Peter wept after his denial of Jesus, over which a church was built at a

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de Nazareth et de ses Sanctuaires: Étude chronologique des documents*. Par Gaston Le Hardy. Paris: Lecoffre, 1905. xvi+237 pages. Fr. 2.50.

*Le Palais de Caphsé et le nouveau Jardin Saint-Pierre des Pères Assomptionistes au Mont Sion*. Avec plans et figures. Par le P. Urbain Coppens. Paris: Picard, 1904. 94 pages.

later time; that here also is the site of the palace of Caiaphas, over which a church had also been built; and that these sites were identical and the churches were one and the same. Now, it had generally been supposed that the Church of the Tears of St. Peter was in the neighborhood of the Assumptionists' garden, but that the site of the palace of Caiaphas was farther up the hill near the Cœnaculum. The authors of *La Palésthine* attempt to show that the earlier pilgrims identify the two sites and place them in the garden mentioned, but that the Armenians since the fourteenth century, when they were dispossessed of the locality, have transferred the site of Caiaphas's palace farther up the hill. It is the aim of Père Coppens to disprove this, and to establish the generally accepted view. He shows that the authors of the guide-book have placed Tiridates of Armenia a century too late, have not quoted the Bordeaux Pilgrim correctly, and are guilty of other inaccuracies. He also, by reproducing a number of maps and sketches made by ancient travelers, seems thoroughly to prove his point. He writes with a vigorous and stinging pen, making it evident that under the somber garb of a Franciscan there stir feelings similar to those which burn under secular garments.

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## ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS

The book<sup>1</sup> by C. H. W. Johns is the first instalment of "The Library of Ancient Inscriptions," under the general editorship of Charles Foster Kent and Frank Knight Sanders.<sup>2</sup> The series promises to be a noteworthy contribution toward the diffusion of our knowledge of ancient Semitic history and literature. If the other volumes are as well thought, well wrought, and well brought as the present volume, we may safely congratu-

<sup>1</sup> *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts and Letters*. By C. H. W. Johns. New York: Scribner, 1904. xxiv+424 pages. \$3.50.

<sup>2</sup> The whole series, in nine volumes, is arranged as follows: (1) *History of the Discovery and Decipherment of Ancient Inscriptions*: (a) "Semitic Inscriptions," by C. F. Kent; (b) "Egyptian Inscriptions," by George A. Reisner.—(2) *Old and New Babylonian Historical Inscriptions*. By Christopher Johnston.—(3) *Assyrian Historical Inscriptions*. By Morris Jastrow.—(4) *Inscriptions of Palestine, Syria, and Arabia*. By C. C. Torrey.—(5) *Egyptian Historical and Biographical Inscriptions*. By W. Max Müller.—(7) *Egyptian Tales, Proverbs, Poems, and Belles Lettres*. By G. Maspero.—(8) *Babylonian and Assyrian Epics, Penitential Psalms, Proverbs, and Religious Texts*. By F. Delitzsch.—(9) *Egyptian Religious, Magical, Medical, and Scientific Texts; Legal and Business Documents*. By F. L. Griffith. The series sells for \$27.

late editors and publishers upon this undertaking. Johns's name, to be sure, is more familiar to Assyriologists than to theological students. The former have long known him as a most careful scholar and conscientious writer; and the character of his previous work entitles him to be listened to by a larger circle with attention and consideration.

So far as our Christian principles are distinct from Greek and Roman ideals, most of them have their roots in Jewish thought and ideas regarding society, family, religion, etc., which, in turn, were inherited from the far more ancient Babylonian civilization, an inheritance of which we need not be ashamed, as it bears the "hall mark," not only of extreme antiquity, but of sterling worth. A right-thinking citizen of a modern city would probably feel more at home in ancient Babylon than in mediæval Europe, whose laws and customs were less in harmony with modern ideas than were those of the Mesopotamian empire. While the other volumes of the series are properly translations, with brief introductions and a few notes, Johns's contribution of specimens of laws, contracts, and letters, ranging over a large period, necessarily consists of copious introductions and many notes, with a few translations; for, by their nature, from the point of view of the student of law and history, a thousand of these are little better than one. Every attempt has been made to discard nonessentials. Technical, philological, and historical discussions are avoided as much as possible, the book being intended, not for Assyriologists, but for the general student. The author considers first the law and the law courts, and the reader can thus follow the references to legal procedure which occur in the other sections. The longest, and by far the most important, ancient code hitherto discovered is that of Hammurabi (about 2250 B. C.), of which Professor J. D. Prince has rendered an account in this *Journal*, Vol. VIII, pp. 601-9. Johns gives a thoroughly revised translation of this code on pp. 44-68, and prints on pp. 389-96 a rendering of the prologue and the epilogue. The translation of the code is preceded by a chapter on "The Earliest Babylonian Laws," with special reference to the so-called Sumerian family laws. Of later Babylonian law very little is known. On the basis of the material printed in the first three chapters, the author next discusses "Judges, Law Courts, and Legal Processes," "Legal Decisions," and "Criminal Law." The rights of the state, the family, and the private individual come next. Here we find instructive texts and interesting information concerning the social organization of the ancient Babylonian state, public rights, the family organization, courtship and marriage, divorce and desertion, rights of widows, obligations and rights of children, their education and early life, and adoption. Then we learn of the classes

of property and the various ways of disposing of it. Beginning with a discussion of the rights of inheritance, the author enters upon his own chosen domain where he is a master and speaks with authority, amply exemplified in the following chapters on "Slavery;" "Land Tenure in Babylonia;" "The Army, *Corvée*, and Other Claims for Personal Service;" "The Functions and Organization of the Temple;" "Donations and Bequests;" "Sales;" "Loans and Deposits;" "Pledges and Guarantees;" "Wages of Hired Laborers;" "Lease of Property;" "The Law of Trade;" "Partnership and Power of Attorney;" "Accounts and Business Documents." In addition to these subjects, a variety of other topics, sometimes disconnected, is taken up throughout these chapters. "Babylonian and Assyrian Letters" are discussed and specimens given on pp. 307-88, with special reference to Professor Robert Francis Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, a collection which is justly called a "colossal task" (p. 313). The division adopted in the book—viz., laws, contracts, and letters—is merely conventional. The three groups have much that is common and mutually supplement one another. The introductory chapter on "Sources and Bibliography" (pp. 3-36) gives an excellent survey and shows a sympathetic appreciation of work done hitherto. In the Appendix the author treats of "Chronology," "Weights and Measures," and "The Bibliography of the Later Periods." We have read the book with great pleasure and much benefit. The editorial work is well done. Only at times do we find incorrect spellings of German and French names and titles; thus, e. g., on p. 312, l. 15, where Hronzy is printed instead of Hrozný, and l. 16, where we read *Anseiger* instead of *Anseige*. P. 162, l. 6, should read, of course, ina emuḫ ramānišu instead of ina emur ḫamānišu; *ibid.*, l. 12, should read pa-ḫat instead of the unintelligible pa-pa, i. e., the construct state of paḫātu, a perfect. P. 207, l. 3, makkasu not mikkasu. The diacritical points are quite often wanting, so that we find *t* instead of *ṭ*, *k* instead of *ḫ*, and *s* instead of *š*.

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## THE COSMOGRAPHY OF THE GREEKS

Scientific geography is preceded in Greece by a half-mythical account of the world; with this mythical geography is associated closely a mythical statement of the relation of the heavenly bodies to the earth; this double field, not yet differentiated into geography and astronomy, Berger calls *mythische Kosmographie*. To trace the early efforts of the Greek to orient himself in the universe; to reconstruct his conceptions of the earth as

related to the sun and moon, to the abode of the gods, and to the abode of the dead; to follow his geographical knowledge as poetical stories gradually give way to fact and a true picture of at least the Mediterranean world is developed—such is the interesting task proposed in the present monograph.<sup>1</sup> No one was better fitted to undertake it than the author of the *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen*, Hugo Berger, whose death is chronicled with sorrow in the preface signed by editor and publisher.

In the name *Okeanos*, interpreted as “embracing,” Berger finds the earliest conception of a divine power surrounding the world above and below; with the rise of the idea of Olympos above and Tartaros below, the conception of Okeanos is shifted to mean a stream forming the boundary of earth and sea, a stream that finally in a more scientific geography was identified with the Atlantic Ocean. The thought of Olympos above, a heaven supported by an old sea divinity, Atlas, runs through the Homeric poems, and comes out most clearly in the account of the shield of Achilles (and the shield of Heracles). The mythological conception of the earth between the abyss above and the abyss below formed the starting-point for the science of Anaximander and the Pythagoreans.

The early studies of the heavenly bodies are ascribed to the practical value of the “world-clock” to sailor, shepherd, and farmer. Setting aside the question of foreign influence, the author holds that the stars must have been studied for this practical end, that the knowledge thus gained necessarily took a mythical form, and that this poetical science furnished the basis for a real astronomy. The phases of the moon are mentioned in Hesiod and suggested in Homer as the basis of the calendar. The equinoxes and the points where the sun rose and set (the gates of the sun) were known by the Greeks in earliest times; until some scientific explanation was possible, the “chariot of the sun” served as a poetical statement of the facts.

The general account of the earth began with the assumption of an east-and-west axis, because, Berger holds, men sailed toward sunset and sunrise along the Mediterranean; only later, as differences of climate became known, did the north-and-south axis become more important. In the account of the long night of the Cimmerians and the long day of the Læstrygonians are found the first mythical references to the polar day and the polar night. Among the most important means of determining the relation of different parts of the earth as pictured by the early Greeks are

<sup>1</sup> *Mythische Kosmographie der Griechen*. Von E. H. Berger. [—“Roscher's Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie” Supplement.] Leipzig: Teubner, 1904. vi+42 pages. M. 1.20.

the references to the winds; this material Berger examines (pp. 19 f.), with the result that only some few points in the picture come out clearly.

Within the larger setting thus determined falls the actual geography of the period. Four extreme peoples are mentioned in the period of the epic (p. 21): the Hyperboreans of the north, Ethiopians in the east and the west, and Pygmies in the south. The Hyperboreans and the Ethiopians stand farther from the poet and nearer to the gods than ordinary men. It is partly this same principle, we are told, partly the brilliancy of the sunset, which led to the belief that precious products, gems, etc., come from the ends of the earth. The "inner geography," especially the journeys of Menelaus and Odysseus, is then examined. It appears that the coast of Asia Minor is known from experience, that of Crete and Egypt only by hearsay. The journey of Odysseus is a purely mythical treatment of stories brought by wanderers in the west; only a few points, like the land of the lotus-eaters, can be definitely located. The author is inclined to accept the Leucas-Ithaca theory of Dörpfeld, in spite of weighty objections to it. One of the most interesting suggestions in the book is that many points in the geography of the west may be explained as due to shifting of legend from the east, in the period when the colonial interests of the Greeks were shifting from the east to the west. In the catalogue of ships, finally, is found a real geography in its beginning; the line between myth and science is already crossed.

Such a monograph is bound to be more or less unsatisfactory in what it omits as well as in what it undertakes to give. The work of Berger, however, treats an interesting theme in an interesting and careful manner.

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## RECENT LITERATURE ON THE HISTORY OF RELIGION

Torge discussess<sup>1</sup> briefly but thoroughly tree-worship in ancient Israel; then, similarly, the Ashera in the Old Testament. He reaches the conclusion that the Ashera had no connection with tree-worship, but infers from the fact that certain passages, such as Judg. 3:7, have Asheroth instead of Ashtaroth, that the Ashera was a symbol of Astarte, as the *ṁaššēbah* was of Baal, and that the name of the post—the cultus symbol of the goddess—could easily be used for the goddess herself. He concludes that there never was a goddess Ashera, except as the name was used for Astarte. The divine name Ashirta, which occurs in the El-Amarna letters, he declares

<sup>1</sup> *Aschera und Astarte: Ein Beitrag zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*. Von Paul Torge. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 58 pages. M. 2.



to be a feminine of Aššur, on the ground that Delitzsch<sup>2</sup> says that such an adjective was formed from Aššur. Most of the positions of this little book are well taken and admirably sustained, but as to a goddess Ashera, Torge's information was not so complete as it should have been, and a broader view of the evolution of Semitic religion suggests a better explanation of her name in the El-Amarna letters than a borrowing from Aššur. When Torge wrote, the name of the goddess had been published in four inscriptions, which were apparently unknown to him.<sup>3</sup> It has since been found in a tablet discovered by Sellin at Taanek.<sup>4</sup> This cumulative evidence has weight. The name undoubtedly is related to the name Aššur, but the more probable view is, as I have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> that the name of the wooden post which marked the limits of the sanctuary (*ashera*) in several parts of the Semitic world became, by independent though analogous evolution, the name of a deity. Aššur was one of these, Ashera another, and Athirat in south Arabia a third.

Preuschen refutes<sup>6</sup> the claim put forth by Weingarten<sup>7</sup> that Christian monasticism was borrowed in the third century from the Egyptian cult of Serapis, of which St. Anthony had once been a member. Preuschen proves from the contents of various papyri that there was a class of devotees, both male and female, connected with the worship of Serapis, who were not priests, but were called "Possessed," and who foretold the future by means of dreams. They lived in the temple precincts. He shows that a similar class of persons was attached to cults of Semitic gods, several instances occurring in the Old Testament. He might well have quoted here the case of Assurbanipal's dreamer-seer,<sup>8</sup> connected with the goddess Ishtar. Preuschen then seeks to show that the Serapis cult was borrowed from the Semites. This point the evidence does not necessarily prove, for Hamites and Semites were so closely related that we should expect to find Egyptian institutions similar to the Semitic. Preuschen rightly concludes, however, that Monasticism was distinct from Serapis, for the Serapis

<sup>2</sup> *Assyrische Lesestücke*, 4th ed., p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> *King's Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, No. 66; Reisner's *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*, pp. 82 ff.; and *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. VI, pp. 161, 241.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Tell Ta'anek* (Vienna, 1904), p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> *Semitic Origins*, pp. 223, 248.

<sup>6</sup> *Mönchtum und Sarapiskult: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Abhandlung*. Von Erwin Preuschen. 2te vielfach berichtigte Ausgabe. Giessen: Ricker, 1903. 68 pages.

<sup>7</sup> *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1876.

<sup>8</sup> George Smith's *Assurbanipal*, pp. 119 ff.

monks lived in the temple, Christian monks in caves or cloisters; Serapis monks saw oracular visions, Christian monks gave themselves to prayer. St. Anthony never was a Serapis monk—that is an error.

The whole discussion is illuminating in that it calls attention to analogies and differences which are often overlooked.

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The name of Alfred Jeremias, pastor of the Luther Kirche at Leipzig, has become familiar to readers of this *Journal*, as it has been for years to Assyriologists. His book on *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients* was noticed in this volume, p. 171, and also by König in his article published in the July issue of this year. In former volumes reports were printed of his *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern* and *Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel*, of which more than ten thousand copies have thus far been distributed. As a continuation of the first-named book Jeremias has lately published a pamphlet on Babylonian elements in the New Testament.<sup>9</sup> The two together are intended to cover, only from a different point of view, the same ground taken up by Winckler-Zimmern's third edition of Schrader's *Cuneiform Texts and the Old Testament*. The present book is directed more especially against the main New Testament representatives of the history of religion school, Gunkel and Bousset, to whom Christianity is but a syncretistic religion, while the author maintains that it is unique in its character, and that in the history of comparative religion it should be accorded not only a relative, but an absolute character of perfection. Religion is communion with God. Paganism seeks such through and in nature; Christianity, through and in Jesus Christ. Therefore Christ is *the* religion. The desire to understand more thoroughly the truth of the Christian religion demands an investigation of the tenets and institutions of other religious systems. The Christian religion as a revealed religion rests on an oriental background. Language, style, and conceptions of the writers of the Old as well as the New Testament were influenced by the Semitic-oriental surroundings in which they lived. Hence their outward resemblance in language and style to the religious literature of the neighboring nations. The author endeavors in the opening chapters to describe the universal longing for redemption pervading the whole ancient Orient, and to show how this was realized in the Christ of the New Testament. In ten chapters he discusses: (1) The calendar myth of the dying

<sup>9</sup> *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament*. Von Dr. Alfred Jeremias. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905. iv+132 pages. M. 3; bound, M. 4.

and victoriously rising year-god, so well known in Babylonian mythology. Parts of the legend form the background for (a) the pictorial description in Rev. 4:2<sup>10</sup>—5:12 concerning the death and the resurrection of the Christ; and of Rev. 12:17; (b) the narrative of the mockery of the suffering Jesus (Matt. 27:27; Luke 20:21); (c) the parable of the dying corn of wheat (John 12:11:20 ff.; cf. 1 Cor. 15:36 f., 42 ff.). Then follows an excursus on the seven planets in the Apocalypse of John (chaps. 6 ff.), which are representations of the seven stellar gods of the Babylonian pantheon (see also Rev., chaps. 2 f.). (2) The Redeemer-King: What is said in the New Testament of Jesus is found in the oriental mythology of almost every Asiatic nation. He is (a) of mysterious, unknown origin; (b) is persecuted soon after his birth; (c) inaugurates a blissful period and an era of wonderful prosperity, being mentioned especially as the founder of the wine cultivation (see John 15:1 ff.). The oriental legend presenting these features is used by John in Rev., chap. 12, to picture Christ's victory at the end of time. (3) The Birth of Jesus as given in the Gospel according to Matthew shows that the author knew the oriental legends concerning the redeemer-king, and therefore uses this form to express his ideas of the King Jesus in whom the hope of all ancient mythology has become a reality. Here the author discusses (a) the appearance of the redeemer-king as son of the virgin; (b) his birth is announced by the stars; (c) the worship and the offering of gifts to the infant; (d) the persecution of the child and the flight into Egypt, which in eastern mythology is equivalent to the netherworld; (e) the child is hailed as the one who brings blessing to the whole world. Added to this chapter is an excursus on Emperor Augustus as redeemer-king. Here are also found all the features of oriental mythology. (4) The terrestrial shrines as symbols of the heavenly sanctuaries. (5) The Book of Life, which is equivalent to the Babylonian "tablet of life," etc. The expression occurs in the Old Testament and in the New (see Luke 10:20; Phil. 4:3; Heb. 12:23; Rev. 3:5; 13:8; 17:8; 20:12). (6) The Water of Life, the Bread of Life, the Stone of Life. (7) The three and the seven Heavens. (8) The Angels. (9) The Twelve Apostles and the Zodiac (see Rev. 21:10—14, 19, 20); the four gospels and the four ends of the world. (10) Oriental (Semitic) glosses to selected passages of the New Testament.<sup>12</sup> Pp. 118—21 contain some corrections

<sup>10</sup> Not 21, as printed on p. 12, last line of text.

<sup>11</sup> Not 22, as Jeremias has it.

<sup>12</sup> Matt. 3:7; 4:1 ff.; 6:24; 8:9; 9:23; 10:14, 35; 11:27, 29; 12:43 f.; 15:26; 16:18; 22:11; 23:5; 26:64; 27:45; 28:10, 19. Mark 4:11; 6:13; 7:33; 8:23; Luke 1:19; 2:13, 41 ff.; 7:17; 16:24. Acts 1:26; 7:23; 12:15; 16:13; 25:10. 1 Cor. 3:16; 11:10; 13:1; 15:28. Eph. 4:9. Rom. 8:19 f. 2 Pet. 3:5 f.; Rev. 9:1 ff.; 13:1 ff.; 14:1.

and additions to the author's *Das Alte Testament*, etc.<sup>13</sup> The book has excellent indexes of names and subjects, and of passages from the Old Testament, the New Testament, the pseudepigrapha, Talmud, and other literatures. It appears to us that, on the whole, there is not such a wide difference in the views and methods of the author and those of Gunkel, Bousset, and their school. He commands a most vivid imagination, deep learning, and wide reading; but it is not quite proved that everything, as he maintains, comes originally from Babylonia.<sup>14</sup>

A year ago the same writer published also a booklet on *Monotheistische Strömungen innerhalb der babylonischen Religion*,<sup>15</sup> an elaboration of an address read at the second international congress for the history of religion held at Basel in 1904. The author's intention is to show that the evidence available from inscriptions tends to prove that in the religious literature of Babylonia and Assyria there is a distinct monotheistic strain. In five chapters he takes up: (1) The secret, mystic science in the Babylonian astral-religion system, with an explanation (pp. 13-16) of the Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries. (2) The worship of the most high God in the cosmos. Anu, in the triad Anu, Bel, Ea, is the *summus deus*, the king of the gods. His place, later on, is taken, among the Babylonians, by Marduk, the city-god of Babylon, while the Assyrians upheld Nebo as the "only god." Sometimes we find also Sin<sup>16</sup> and Ninib occupying the place of *summus deus*. (3) The monarchic polytheism of the people's religious belief. The Assyro-Babylonian belief and worship are a product of their mythology. It centers in the two festivals, that of Tammuz, the day of mourning over the dying nature, and the joyful festival of the reviving nature, the Akktu festival. (4) The theology of the so-called Babylonian "penitential psalms." (5) The universal and uniform monotheistic tendency during the sixth century B. C., reaching from Rome in the west to China in the east. The book is written very cleverly, and the author's position is strengthened by a number of striking passages quoted from prayers, hymns, and penitential psalms which at first sight would seem to support his thesis.

<sup>13</sup> We hope that the author in a new edition of this book will also state that his new interpretation of the Urim and Thummim was long anticipated by the present reviewer in his article on this subject published in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. XVI (1900), pp. 193-224; an interpretation adopted also by A. H. Sayce in his *Religions of Ancient Egypt and of Babylonia* (1902), pp. 282, 292, 425.

<sup>14</sup> P. 25, rem. 1, l. 5 from below, read MVAS, not MOAS.

<sup>15</sup> *Monotheistische Strömungen innerhalb der babylonischen Religion*. Von Alfred Jeremias. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904. 48 pages. M. 0.80.

<sup>16</sup> IV Racolinson, Pl. 9.

A closer scrutiny of these passages, however, will prove that their character is henotheistic rather than monotheistic, and that, as is the case with other races and in other creeds, the Babylonian worshiper treated any god as supreme while in his presence and addressing his prayers to him.

Professor Franz Cumont, of the University of Ghent, Belgium, has been known for many years as the foremost interpreter of Mithraism, and we welcome with great pleasure the excellent translation of his recent work on this recondite subject.<sup>17</sup> We have not only enjoyed, but greatly profited by the reading of this charming book treating of the origin and the history of Mithraic religion. We would have wished that the author, even in a general way, had indicated the causes which explain the establishment of oriental religions in Italy, and had shown how their doctrines, which were far more active as fermenting agents than the theories of the philosophers, decomposed the national beliefs on which the Roman state and the entire life of antiquity rested; and how the destruction of the edifice which they had disintegrated was ultimately accomplished by Christianity. It would have greatly interested us to see the author trace the various phases of the battle waged between these oriental religions and the growing church to which Mithraism, to be sure, gave some of the most characteristic conceptions, such as its ideas concerning hell, the efficacy of the sacraments, and the resurrection of the flesh, while its fundamental dogmas were irreconcilable with orthodox Christianity. But all this lies beyond the scope of the present work, which is concerned with one epoch only of this decisive revolution, it being the author's purpose to show with all distinctness how and why a certain Mazdean sect, the worshipers of Mithra, failed under the Cæsars to become the dominant religion of the empire.. In seven chapters he describes: (1) "The Origin of Mithraism;" (2) "The Dissemination of Mithraism in the Roman Empire," illustrated by a most instructive map, opposite p. 228; (3) "Mithra and the Imperial Power of Rome;" (4) "The Doctrine of the Mithraic Mysteries;" (5) "The Mithraic Liturgy,"<sup>18</sup> Clergy, and Devotees;" (6) "Mithraism and the Religions of the Empire;" (7) "Mithraic Art." Press-work, paper, and binding are very good. We trust that many more volumes of its kind and quality will be added to the Open Court series of the "History of Religion" books.

<sup>17</sup> *The Mysteries of Mithra*. By Franz Cumont. Translated from the second revised French edition by Thomas J. McCormack. With a Frontispiece, Map, and fifty cuts and illustrations. Chicago: Open Court, 1903. xiv+239 pages.

<sup>18</sup> Shortly after the publication of this English translation appeared the important work of Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig, 1903), which should be consulted in connection with this chapter.

The book of Professor Ernst Maass, of the University of Marburg, on Greeks and Semites on the Isthmus of Corinth<sup>19</sup> is a protest against those scholars who in recent years have endeavored to deduce all early Greek culture and religion from a Semitic-Phœnician origin. In five sections, headed "Melikertes," "Palæmon," "Ino," "Melikertes and Palæmon," "Palæmon and Portunus," he emphatically defends the autochthonous origin of Greek religion and culture in a style and manner most interesting even to those who do not share his views. The name Melikertes is considered, with Fick-Bechtel, of Greek origin and derived from *κείρω* and *μέλι*, "he that cuts out the honey," the name being coined first in those regions of Greece that were famous for their honey. Whether, however, this is a more convincing etymology than that from the Phœnician Melkart, i. e., "the king or ruler of the town," is quite doubtful. To those who read this delightful book we would recommend as a contrast the large two-volume publication of the Paris professor of geography, M. Victor Bérard, on *Les Phéniciens et l'Odysée*,<sup>20</sup> in which views diametrically opposed to those of Maass are elaborately worked out.

J. Rendel Harris always writes in an interesting style. His books are never found dull; but the author does not always carry conviction. His booklet on *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*<sup>21</sup> acquaints the reader with (1) Florus and Lauros; (2) Judas Thomas; (3) Protasius and Gervasius; (4) Speusippus, Elasippus, and Mesippus; (5) S. Kastoulos and S. Polyeuctes. In the general introduction we should like to have had a few words on the origin of the Dioscuri legend in general,<sup>22</sup> and its development on Greek soil in particular;<sup>23</sup> for it is but natural to assume that the Greek legend formed the background, so to speak, for all Christian legends concerning Dioscuri. The third of Harris' sections has been made the center of attack by M. Dufourcq,<sup>24</sup> who shows that Harris uses a text dating probably about 500 A. D. to prove a cult introduced about 386 B. C. What is missed in general is the local connection which necessarily should exist between the cult of the pagan Dioscuri and that of the

<sup>19</sup> *Griechen und Semiten auf dem Isthmus von Korinth: Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*. Von Ernst Maass. Berlin: Reimer, 1902. x+135 pages. M. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Paris: Collin, 1900 and 1903.

<sup>21</sup> *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*. By J. Rendel Harris. London: Clay, 1903. 64 pages.

<sup>22</sup> See Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament, etc.*, p. 20; Zimmern in Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3d edition, p. 363.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Eitrem, *Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen* (Christiania, 1902).

<sup>24</sup> *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, May-June, 1904, pp. 404 ff.

Christian twins. This being the case, the book is of very little value, though full of ingenious theories.<sup>25</sup>

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### RECENT BOOKS ON BUDDHISM

What chiefly strikes the observant reader of Dr. Robson's book<sup>1</sup> is that, although it is now in its third edition, the number of errors contained in this little manual would discredit even a first edition. Since the book as a whole is a very neat résumé of what has been learned, and often printed, concerning Hindu religions in the last twenty-five years, it is a pity to have retained such obvious inaccuracies of all kinds as are here collected. Many of these are due to ignorance of Sanskrit, and it may be questioned parenthetically whether a study of Sanskrit works by one incapable of reading them deserves a third edition. But, however that may be, a third edition evidently fills a want, and, in fact, for the missionary it provides an easy path to the knowledge which he could otherwise gain only by the persual of several volumes in several languages. All the more peculiar, it may be added, is the fact that scarcely any authorities are cited.

The book comprises thirteen chapters, only four of which are devoted to the Vedic, Buddhistic, and Jain religions. Modern Hindu philosophy, pantheism, polytheism, caste, the modern sects, Mohammedanism, and finally Christianity in India, with a short sketch of reform movements and an appendix on schools of philosophy, are the topics treated, superficially, but not unsatisfactorily, considering the object of the work, except for the inaccuracies noticed above. It is because such a manual as this is a useful book for those too busy or unlearned to seek knowledge elsewhere that we take pains to enumerate the more glaring defects which a fourth edition can easily remedy. First, the transcription is not only careless but inaccurate. The various sibilants are confused, and so are *y* and *j*. The author, who has evidently drawn his wisdom in part from English and in part from German books (where *y* is transcribed *j*), seems to have discovered this, and in a prefatory note calmly says that *jogi* may be written *yogi*, and "*jati* or *yati*" is correct. Consequently he writes *jati* both for *jāti* ("caste")

<sup>25</sup> That Huz and Buz are twins is not proved at all. Why does Harris (pp. 1, 2) speak of the triad Huppm, Muppm, and Ard, just because in Gen. 46:21 they are mentioned last in the list of the ten sons of Benjamin? Why not speak also of Belah and Becher? And contrast Numb. 26:39, 40. P. 2, below, Tolstoi's famous book is *War and Peace*, by no means *Peace and War*. I wonder whether Pierre, Count Bezuki, a graduate of European universities, should be classed as "a Russian peasant."

<sup>1</sup> *Hinduism and Christianity*. By John Robson. xi + 211. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1905. 3s 6d.

and for *yāti* ("ascetic")! As for the three sibilants, it is a mere matter of chance whether he spells a word correctly or not, and among other delicate intimations that the author or proof-reader of this third edition was asleep we have *Soma* for *Sāma*, *Athārva* for *Atharva*, and such sciolistic blunders as *Jaggahnāth* for *Jagannāth*, and *Itihāsa* for *Itihāsa*.

More serious are the attempts at definitions and the historical errors. *Nirvāna* is translated "being without possession" or "being possessed of nothing!" The word means "extinguished," "blown out" (like a lamp), and a blunder like this is inexcusable. In connection with this characteristic word of Buddhism may be noticed the apparent inference that "Buddhism bears witness to the fact that man desires annihilation!" But apparently the author lit on some authority other than that which produced his astounding translation of *Nirvāna*, for on the same page (p. 51) he says that this word has "changed its meaning from a state of absence of desire before death to a state of quiet repose after death." The author attributes "the introduction of the worship of idols into Hinduism" to the influence of Buddhism (p. 54), and yet (p. 35) finds "the worship of images" to be a feature of Hindu religion "before Buddhism appeared." He ascribes the rise and fall of Buddhism to a period subsequent to that of the *Mahābhārata* (p. 34)! Surprising in the account of Buddhism is the crude statement that Buddha, denying the human soul, "taught that, when one being died, he was born again in the sense of the same *parts* being brought together again" (p. 43). Finally, Buddhism was never "expelled" from India (p. 60). Other curiosities are the translation of *Pārvā Mīmāṃsā* as "original decider," and *Uthara* as "second decider," the statement that the *Trimūrti* was first "set up" in the fifteenth century (based on an inaccurate reference to Lassen; p. 108), and the further statement that Pushkara is "the only *ūrtha* in India sacred to Brahma."

On the other hand, the remarks on the difference between the Hindu and Christian conceptions of the Trinity are excellent (pp. 68, 107), the exposition of the difference in the Buddhistic and Hindu faith admirable, and the presentation of the later faiths of India clear and succinct. The author's attitude toward the Hindus and their religions, as that of one who seeks to demoralize the foe, is, it may be hoped, due to the same looseness of expression on p. 187 as that which allows him to say "All fruit have" on p. 160. So long, however, as the conversion of India is presented in terms of war it is doubtful whether this is a mere *lapsus linguae*; yet to talk of the "demoralization of the foe" is a bit old-fashioned even in a missionary. It certainly is not the best phrase to plant in the breast of a Christian seeking to win India to Christian belief, and it is to be hoped that Rev. Dr. Robson's desire is in part to inspire the young missionary with a fuller



sympathy for all that is so admirable and beautiful in the great religions of India.

In curious contrast to this work, with its superficial learning and unimpeachable contention that Christianity is a higher religion than that known from Hindu sources, stands the work of Bruno Freydank,<sup>2</sup> with its accurate historical view and superficial contention that Buddhism is the best of all religions and will be "the religion of the future." This is one of a number of similar modern Buddhistic (Theosophical) essays. It is based on modern scholarship, and is generally correct in reiterating what has been said of Buddha by such writers as Oldenberg and Hardy, but it is weak in its chief contention and unfortunately vulgar in tone. Moreover, though the author has drawn for his historical facts on received authorities, his judgment is of the caliber that cites with equal approval the works of Oldenberg and Blavatsky, while his claim that Buddhism today induces an optimistic and happy frame of mind is due to a confusion between what was taught by Buddha and the modern theism which is called Buddhism in Burma, Tibet, and other countries, where "Buddhism" survives in such a form as to be unrecognizable by Buddha himself. The claim that Buddhism is not pessimistic cannot be supported by the statement that Buddha taught his disciples to meet the condition of life with an equable mind, or the evasion, customary to such works, that *Nirvāṇa* is eternal happiness. There is no happiness for the Buddhist except to be obliterated, to escape life forever. Dogma or revelation, as one will, is the support of the claim of Buddhist and of Christian; but the result is on one side the hope of death, on the other the hope of immortality; except where Buddhism has lost its tenets and become a theosophy, admitting, as in Burma, a supreme God and the expectation of a conscious life hereafter. Freydank devotes a large part of his volume to the rebuttal of the charge that Buddhism is selfish and passive. He urges the sympathy for animals inculcated by Buddhism, and cites the command that one should love all the world. Over against these, he urges as proof of the hard heart of Christianity the burning of witches and the wars of the Crusades! Finally he recognizes the doctrine of Karma as an insight or inspiration of Buddha; but claims that this fundamental doctrine is not necessary to the Buddhist laity. But if this is so, what is left of Buddhism save a highly moral system of ethics? It is a great pity that these rather useless discussions as to the abstract superiority of one of the great religions over the other cannot be conducted in a more gentlemanly manner. The vile and silly epithets which Freydank hurls at Christians (missionaries and pastors seem to be

<sup>2</sup> *Buddha und Christus*. Von Bruno Freydank. Leipzig: Buddhistischer Missions-Verlag, 1903. 192 pages.

his pet aversion) betray a less calm and lovable temper than would have been approved by his acknowledged master.

Freydank's chief opponent is Bertholet, professor of theology in Basel, whose two addresses appear as a pamphlet.<sup>3</sup> The first address is merely a historical sketch, describing the life and teaching of Buddha; but it is not without original features. Thus the loss of personality, but retention of individuality, in the process of Karma is likened, apologetically but cleverly, to a kinematographic series of pictures. His reply to Freydank's and others' claim that Buddhism is essentially altruistic is given in a single anecdote, "Nothing is dearer than one's self" being the dictum propounded and accepted as a matter of course by two eminent Buddhists. Bertholet attacks not only Freydank, but Dahlke, whose two volumes<sup>4</sup> set forth the claim that Buddha alone of all religious teachers has promulgated a system of facts which can be proved, and that Buddhism is "free of all hypotheses." In the second address, Bertholet in a few clear words shows the illogical position of the Buddhist who asserts that he can remember his previous births, and yet has no identity with the former person whose acts alone survive. Further, from a purely logical point of view, where does the Karma doctrine lead to? Its dictum is that there is no existence without previous act. The act of the past conditions the existence of the present. Whence then, inquires Bertholet, came the first existence of that individual whose existence anyway depends always on a precedent act? Whence the act that conditions first existence? I know only that as a product of former acts I exist, and that all existence is sorrow. That is Buddhism, dogmatic, illogical. Is it not also pessimistic? And he says truly that this Buddhistic (pessimistic) view of existence belongs to a people "too weak to feel bravely, too old to feel well." Many historical points obscured by such works as Olcott's "catechism" are here merely touched upon, but left in a clearer light. Such, for example, as the absurd statement of modern Buddhists of the Freydank and Olcott order that women in Buddha's religion "are placed upon an equal footing with men," or that the "compassion" of the Buddhist is equal to the love of the Christian for his kind. Even Dahlke in his *apologia* for Buddhism, mentioned above, characterizes this Buddhistic substitute for Christian love as "cold and colorless" (i, p. 114). In fact, no better description of Buddhistic "altruism" can be found than that contained in Dahlke's

<sup>3</sup> *Der Buddhismus, und seine Bedeutung für unser Geistesleben.* Von Alfred Bertholet. Tübingen und Leipzig: Mohr, 1904. 65 pages. M. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Aufsätze zum Verständnis des Buddhismus.* Von P. Dahlke. Berlin: Schwetschke, 1903. Two essays: 157 + 137 pages. M. 2.50.

words: "Buddhistic morality is merely a sum in arithmetic set by cool egoism: As much as I give another, so much will accrue to my benefit. . . . Love in Buddha's system *can have no other meaning*" (p. 108). As this frank statement indicates, Dahlke's volumes are of different caliber from that of Freydank, and may be recommended as presenting an honest and sober study of the chief factors in Buddhism, however much the author exploits as the best this system of hypotheses which he mistakingly regards as scientific facts. Dahlke belongs to that coterie of the Occident who, discontented with religious dogma and being really moral atheists, are yet dissatisfied to be without a religion. For such Buddhism is a refuge. They comfort themselves with the thought that they have a religion and at the same time are free of superstition. It is an empty thought, for there is no greater dogma than that of Karma, which connotes an unscientific and improbable substitute for the psychic element, an I that is not I, an I that is act alone, surviving, but in another I, an illogical I that is pure suffering (because act) and yet survives without suffering on the destruction of itself! If this be not dogma, where is dogma found?

With the idea of opposing the modern affectation of Buddhism, Professor Silbernagel, of Munich, lectured a few years ago on the history and content of Buddhism. These lectures have now appeared as a volume,<sup>5</sup> but since they are professedly based on the work of other scholars, they will require no special discussion save in one regard. As Dahlke's clear exposition has been recommended for what it is really worth, so Silbernagel's defense of Christianity, as opposed to Buddhism, though neither original nor particularly brilliant, deserves to be read by those who have given ear exclusively to the Theosophical (Buddhistic) side of this controversy respecting the comparative merits of the two great religions of the world—a controversy which has agitated Germany, though it can scarcely be said to have become active in England or America, where, except in California, native "Buddhists," if they really exist, are rather shy of proclaiming their faith. As Silbernagel says: "Buddhism is a philosophy, not a religion; to appear as a religion it assumes a mask by introducing a cult" (p. 33). As such Buddhism appears in Burma, Tibet, China, etc.; but this is not the religion of Buddha. These theistic developments of Buddhism are very well sketched in Silbernagel's little volume.

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<sup>5</sup> *Der Buddhismus, nach seiner Entstehung, Fortbildung und Verbreitung.* Von Isidor Silbernagel. München: Lentner, 1903. 203 pages. M. 3.

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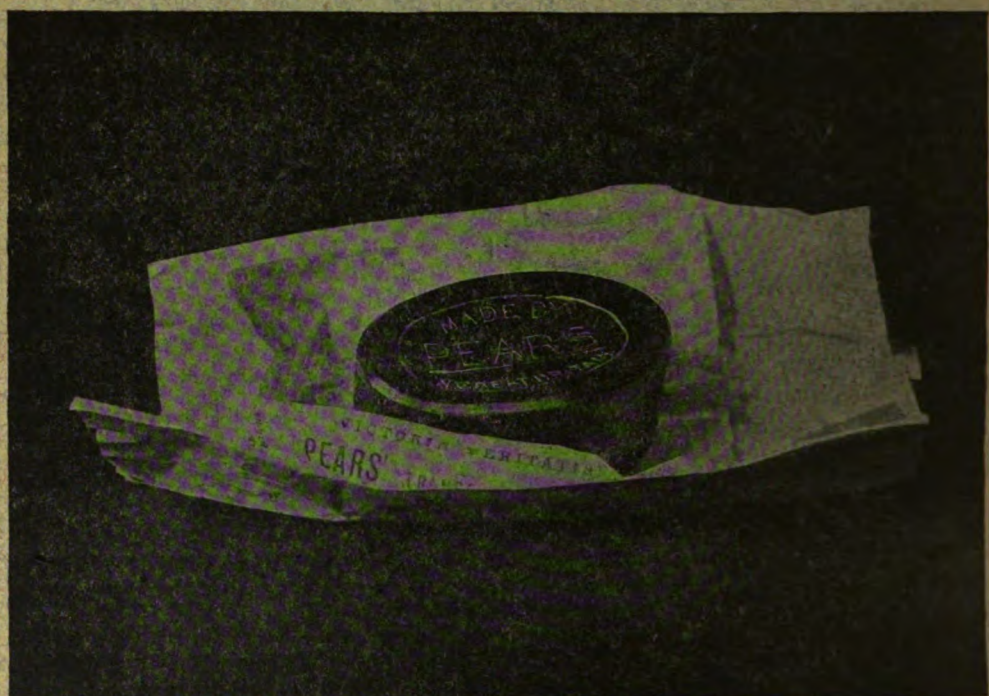
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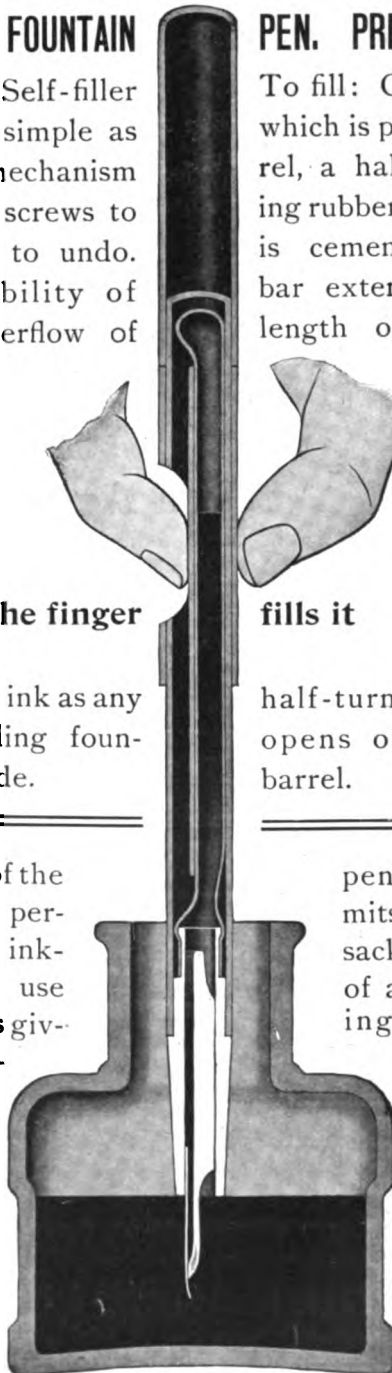
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For twenty-four years the steadfast advocate of Biblical Study and Teaching, *The Biblical World* has of late sought especially to promote the application of the historical method to the study of the Bible, the personal study of the Bible, the development and extension of Religious Education, Exploration and Discovery in Oriental Lands.

## **AN ADVANCE STEP**

While much remains to be done in all these directions, it is the conviction of the editors that the time has come for a distinct advance step. Steadily maintaining the purpose which has hitherto controlled the journal, to render the largest possible assistance to preachers and religious teachers, and recognizing that there is an increasing number among these who are endeavoring to apply the historical method in their own study of the Bible, and are now eagerly inquiring how they may make the results of such study in the highest measure practically effective in their work for others, the *BIBLICAL WORLD* will in the coming year lay emphasis upon the application of biblical teachings to the ethical and religious problems of personal and social life, and upon the question, how religion and morality are in the present day to be most effectively taught. It will therefore be

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*Fifth*, The improvement of homiletical method: The more effective presentation of truth, especially biblical truth, to the men and women of this day.

*Sixth*, The publication of the results of Exploration and Discovery in the lands whose history illustrates the Bible.

*Seventh*, Exposition of selected portions of the Bible.



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- A. THE APPLICATION OF BIBLICAL THOUGHT TO ETHICS AND RELIGION.  
Articles on: *Men or Institutions: Which Exist for the Other? Legalism, Liberty, and Lawlessness; Marriage and Divorce; Righteous Acquisition of Property; Righteous Distribution of Property; The Ordinances of the Church.*
- B. PEDAGOGICAL PROBLEMS OF THE PREACHER AND RELIGIOUS TEACHER.  
Articles on: *Authority in Education; Do We Need an Expurgated Bible? Truthfulness in Teaching Truth; Faith and Superstition: How Can the Former be Substituted for the Latter? The Sunday School Curriculum: Should it be Exclusively Biblical?*

Each of these topics will be treated first from the biblical point of view, and then with reference to the application of biblical teaching to the problems of the present day.

- C. MESSAGES OF THE NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS TO THE CHRISTIANS OF TODAY.

Articles on: *The Religion of Egypt; The Religion of Zoroaster; The Religion of the Greeks; The Religion of Buddha; The Religion of Mohammed; The Religion of Confucius.*

These articles will aim not only to present the characteristic features of each of these religions, but especially to point out what message they bring to modern Christians, alike by what they have accomplished and by what they have failed to achieve.

- D. THE MESSAGES OF MODERN SCIENCE TO THE RELIGIOUS TEACHER.  
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- F. ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN THE GREAT MUSEUMS.

Articles on: *Monuments in the British Museum; Monuments in the Museum at Gizeh; Monuments in the Louvre at Paris; Monuments in the Royal Museum at Berlin.*

Each of these four articles will be written by a scholar thoroughly acquainted with the particular Museum, and will give a succinct account of the most notable ancient monuments, in the Museum in question, that are illustrative of biblical history. These articles will be fully illustrated.

#### G. GEOGRAPHY, ARCHÆOLOGY, AND HISTORY.

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In addition to these articles the journal will contain monthly reports of the results of recent exploration and discovery. A member of the staff of the BIBLICAL WORLD personally engaged in exploration in Egypt will furnish reports from time to time, and facilities have been provided for promptly reporting the most important facts respecting discoveries in other oriental lands.

#### H. EXPOSITORY STUDIES.

Having reference to the fact that the International Lessons for 1906 are to be devoted to the Life of Christ, the BIBLICAL WORLD will publish in each number a series of short expository studies covering in the course of the year all of the lessons upon the Life of Christ. Each study will contain a brief discussion of the critical questions necessary to be considered in order to the right interpretation of the passage, an exposition of the passage from the historical point of view, and an outline expository study making *application of the previous exposition to modern life*. These studies will aim to assist teachers, especially teachers of adult classes, in effective presentation of the gospel story of the Life of Christ to their pupils. These expository studies will be accompanied by illustrations.

### OTHER DEPARTMENTS

In addition to the Editorials which will discuss each month some important topic of current significance, the pages of the BIBLICAL WORLD will continue to furnish information concerning the most important books in the departments of biblical study and religious education, and brief comment upon some of the most notable articles appearing from time to time in other magazines.

### EDITORS AND CONTRIBUTORS

The BIBLICAL WORLD is edited by President William R. Harper, with the active co-operation of the members of the Divinity Faculty of the University of Chicago, and their colleagues in closely related departments. The staff of Associate Editors includes Ernest DeWitt Burton, Shailer Mathews, Ira Maurice Price, Robert Francis Harper, James Henry Breasted, Clyde Weber Votaw, Herbert Lockwood Willett, Eri Baker Hulbert, Franklin Johnson, Charles Richmond Henderson, George Burman Foster, Alonzo Ketcham Parker, John Wildman Moncrief, Gerald Birney Smith, James Richard Jewett, and Edgar Johnson Goodspeed.

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The December number will be devoted entirely to the Life of Jesus, in preparation for the study of this subject in the International Sunday School Lessons for 1906. It will contain articles on:

*Why Should We Study the Life of Jesus? The Land of Jesus; Jesus and Contemporary Judaism; John the Baptist; How to Teach the Infancy Stories to Children; The Chronology of the Ministry of Jesus; The Practicability of the Laboratory Method in Teaching the Life of Christ; Jesus' Thought about Himself; The Service of Worship in the Sunday School; Books for the Study of the Life of Christ*

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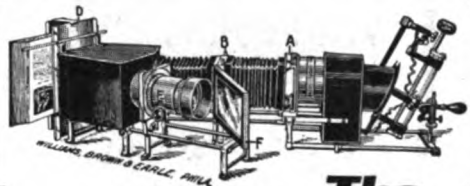
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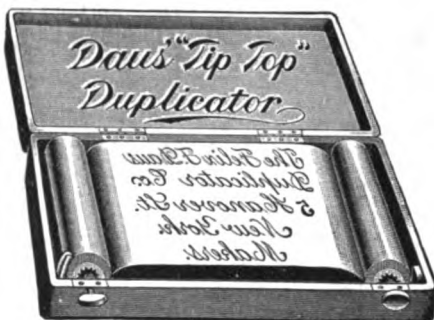
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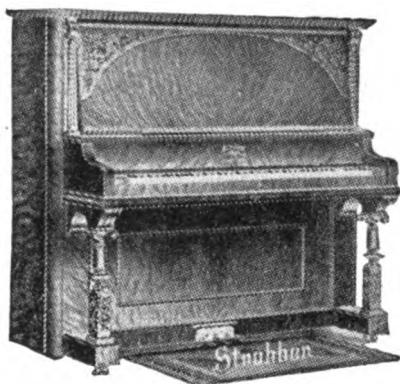
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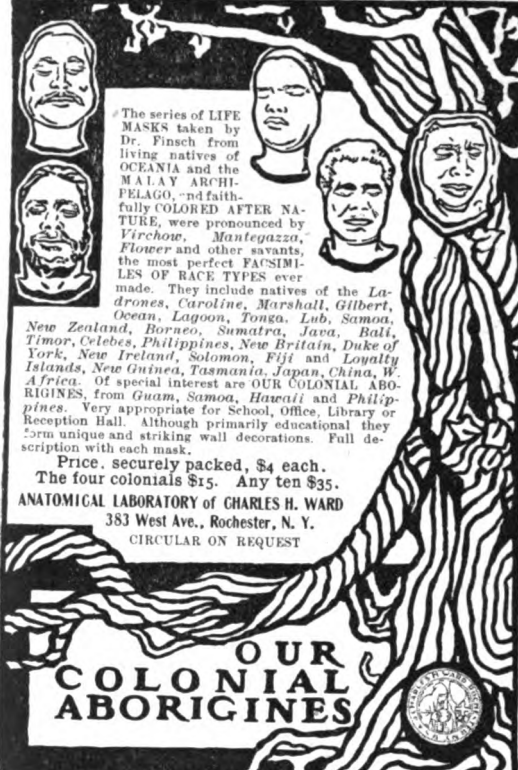
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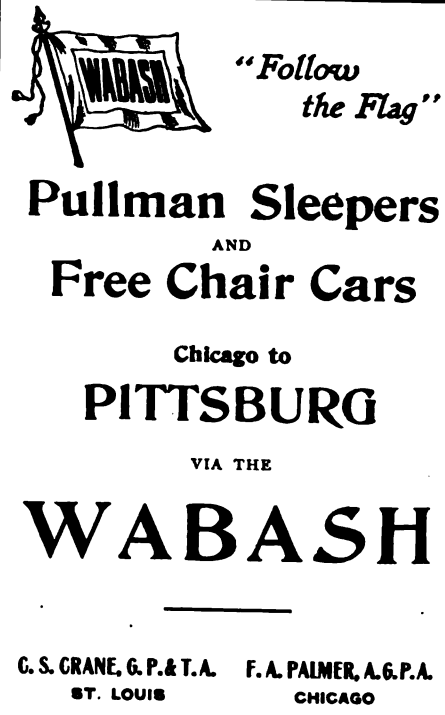
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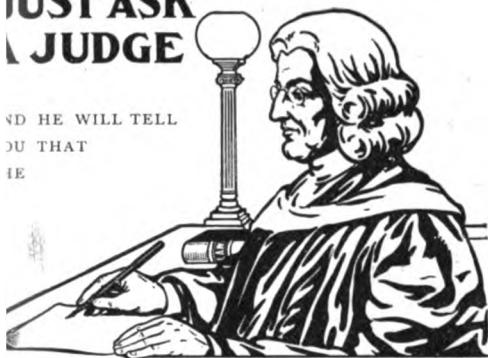
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